FRONTISPIECE TO "EDWARD VII: HIS LIFE & TIMES"

FROM AN AUTOGRAPH PORTRAIT BY MESSRS W. & D. DOWNEY

Edward R & I.

EDWARD VII

His Life and Times

EDITED BY

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PROFUSELY ILLUSTRATED WITH SPECIAL PLATES ORIGINAL DRAWINGS, PHOTOGRAPHS & ENGRAVINGS

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EDWARD VII

HIS LIFE AND TIMES

WHEN the work to which this is a foreword was begun, it was the fervent hope of its Editor that it would appear in far happier circumstances than a sudden, severe, and tragic Fate has permitted. At the time of the lamented death of King Edward the writing of the pages which follow had been almost completed, and the whole work had been planned and undertaken under the direct approval of his Majesty himself.

When the enterprise was first contemplated, those responsible for its initiation took this very desirable step of ascertaining the wishes of King Edward, being resolved that not a page should be written until it was known that the work would carry the authority of the personal approval of its illustrious subject. King Edward was not only pleased to express his interest in the project, but graciously approved of the appointment of its Editor, whose long association with the Royal Household may be considered some qualification for the supervision of a work of this character.

All who are in any sense familiar with, or cognisant of, the character of the beloved monarch whose presence among us so recently was one of our chief glories, and whose loss we shall ever lament, will know that no mere feeling of vainglory could have actuated him ; that an ordinary biographical work of the too familiar panegyrical character would indeed have been distasteful to him, and could under no circumstances have awakened his interest or induced him to give favourable consideration or actual encouragement to its production. It was because the scheme of the present work differed vitally from the usual biography that it met with King Edward's immediate and hearty approval.

It was represented to his Majesty that the work he had done during his ever-memorable reign in the interests of the peace of Europe and universal progress was the subject of such world-wide appreciation and of such historic moment—though accomplished in a reign that was to be, alas, all too short—that the time had come when some record of this work and the era of the Royal worker should be given to the public, with whom his personality was more popular than that of any king who has ever occupied the same historic throne.

Thus, what has here been attempted is something more ambitious than an ordinary biographical record, for we have sought to show by means of a closely-reasoned and well-detailed history the progress of the whole world from the beginning of the Victorian era to the present day, with the personality of King Edward VII., from his birth until his death, threading the whole, due place being given in the narrative to the essential points in his early life, until we arrive at the time when he becomes the dominant figure in the whole world. The work may therefore be described as a mingling of the historical and the biographical methods, and the reader will find, as he pursues the narrative, that while the personality of our late gracious Sovereign is disengaged sufficiently to be emphasised and made the eminent feature of the book, the times in which he lived and fulfilled his high destiny are also surveyed by the deft hands of accomplished historians.

Personally, I may, as Editor, assert with confidence, this would have been the wish of his Majesty himself, and I can only hope that since I have not been privileged to take the completed work into the ever-kindly presence of one whom I revered and served, I may have contrived to the shaping of it on lines which, had he still been happily spared, I believe would have had his entire approval, and I cannot but think will meet with wide acceptance as the record of the great reign of a great and noble king.

It only remains to say that the form of publication has had to be altered somewhat by the unhappy course of events and treated differently on the pictorial side. But the history as it stands is essentially as it would have been had it first appeared in the orthodox book form.

Richard R. Holmes

A LITTLE PORTRAIT GALLERY

KING EDWARD'S EARLY DAYS

(1) At the age of eleven, from Winterhalter's painting. (2) Drawn by Prince Albert, from a sketch by Sir W. C. Ross, R.A., when the future King was five years old. (3) From a painting by Winterhalter, in 1845. (4) When three years old, reproduced from Hensel's picture, in the possession of the Emperor of Germany. (5) Albert Edward, at the age of seventeen months, with the Princess Royal, from the miniature by Sir W. C. Ross, R.A. (6) Another charming miniature by Sir W. C. Ross, R.A. (7) The King and his younger brother, Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, painted by Sir W. C. Ross, R.A., in 1847. (8) From Winterhalter's picture of the Royal brothers, in 1849.

CHAPTER I

THE NEW DYNASTY AND THE OLD

Being a general survey of the origins of Britain's Royal House, the passing of the Georgian branch, and the rise of the present dynasty in King Edward VII.

THE first month of the first year of this century saw the close of a reign the longest in our annals, and the accession of the first king of a new dynasty. The new King was his Most Gracious Majesty Edward VII., whose death the whole empire is still lamenting, and whose birth took place a little more than four years after the accession of his mother, Queen Victoria of gracious memory. For fifty-nine years Albert Edward Prince of Wales was heir-apparent to the British throne. It is always with something of a shock that we realise that his accession, in a technical sense, inaugurated a new dynasty. In the popular sense a change of dynasty means that the course of the succession has been deflected, or has reverted to a junior branch, but in the technical sense the dynastic name is derived through the male line; and, unless by an accident, it changes whenever a monarch succeeds through the female line. The King succeeded as being his mother's son, but the dynasty takes title from his father.

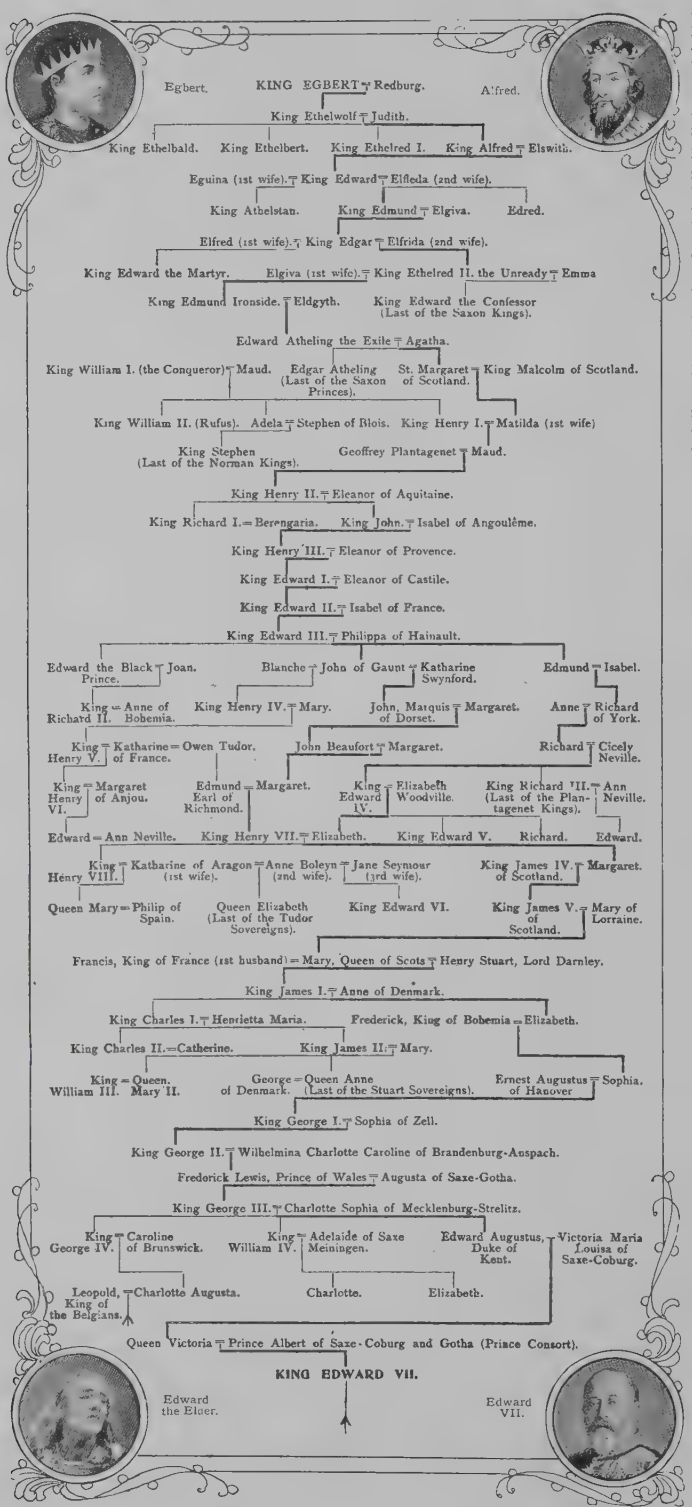
It is all but two hundred years, however, since a new dynasty in the popular sense began to reign over Britain. Yet during that time there have been critical moments when the future course of the succession hung in the balance. It will not be without interest if, in opening a review of the life and times of our late Sovereign—a period practically extending over the long reign of his illustrious predecessor—we give some consideration to a remoter past; to the circumstances which for the third time set a queen regnant upon the throne of England, the circumstances which established a constitutional monarchy in the House of Brunswick, and the causes to which we owe the unique fact in European history that the monarch who sits on the throne of England to-day is the lineal descendant of the monarch who sat on the throne of England a thousand years ago; who by a curious coincidence bore the same name as our lamented King—Edward the Elder, the son of King Alfred, for whom it may not unreasonably be claimed that he was the first King of all England.

In the year 1688, James II. of England and VII. of Scotland was not only the lineal descendant, but actually the lineal representative by right line of descent on the purest legitimist principles both of Alfred the Great and of William the Conqueror, as well as of the "gracious Duncan" who was done to death, probably in open battle, by Macbeth. Dynasties had changed, but the Norman line and the Wessex line were united in the mother of the first Plantagenet king. Plantagenets fought each other for the crown, and at last gave place to the first Tudor, but the first Tudor's wife was the legitimist representative of the first Plantagenet; and through her eldest daughter, the great-grandmother of King James VI. of Scotland, that remarkable prince became the legitimist representative of the line when the House of Tudor ended with the death of Elizabeth. In due course James II. and VII. succeeded to the crowns which had been worn by his grandfather.

It is at this point that the one and only permanent deflection occurs in the line of succession. The theory had been often enough maintained and acted upon before that the nation was entitled to change the line of succession provided that the new line was of the blood royal; but

A FAR-OFF ANCESTOR OF EDWARD VII.

Edward the Elder, son of Alfred the Great, reigned in England a thousand years ago, and Edward VII. was in the line of descent from him, as the genealogical table on page 4 will illustrate. The above drawing by Caton Woodville shows the elevation of Edward the Elder at his coronation at Kingston-on-Thames in 901.


Egbert.
KING EGBERT = Redburg.
Alfred.
King Ethelwolf = Judith.
King Ethelbald.
King Ethelbert.
King Ethelred I.
King Alfred = Elswith.
Eguina (1st wife). = King Edward = Elfleda (2nd wife).
King Athelstan.
King Edmund = Elgiva.
Edred.
Elfred (1st wife). = King Edgar = Elfrida (2nd wife).
King Edward the Martyr.
Elgiva (1st wife). = King Ethelred II. the Unready = Emma
King Edmund Ironside. = Eldgyth.
King Edward the Confessor (Last of the Saxon Kings).
Edward Atheling the Exile = Agatha.
King William I. (the Conqueror) = Maud.
Edgar Atheling (Last of the Saxon Princes).
St. Margaret of Scotland. = King Malcolm of Scotland.
King William II. (Rufus).
Adela = Stephen of Blois.
King Henry I. = Matilda (1st wife)
King Stephen (Last of the Norman Kings).
Geoffrey Plantagenet = Maud.
King Henry II. = Eleanor of Aquitaine.
King Richard I. = Berengaria.
King John. = Isabel of Angoulême.
King Henry III. = Eleanor of Provence.
King Edward I. = Eleanor of Castile.
King Edward II. = Isabel of France.
King Edward III. = Philippa of Hainault.
Edward the Black Prince. = Joan.
Blanche = John of Gaunt = Katharine Swynford.
Edmund = Isabel.
King Richard II. = Anne of Bohemia.
King Henry IV. = Mary.
John, Marquis of Dorset. = Margaret.
Anne = Richard of York.
King Henry V. = Katharine of France.
Owen Tudor.
John Beaufort = Margaret.
Richard = Cicely Neville.
King Henry VI. = Margaret of Anjou.
Edmund Earl of Richmond. = Margaret.
King Edward IV. = Elizabeth Woodville.
King Richard III. (Last of the Plantagenet Kings). = Ann Neville.
Edward = Ann Neville.
King Henry VII. = Elizabeth.
King Edward V.
Richard.
Edward.
King Henry VIII. = Katharine of Aragon (1st wife).
Anne Boleyn (2nd wife).
Jane Seymour (3rd wife).
King James IV. of Scotland. = Margaret.
Queen Mary = Philip of Spain.
Queen Elizabeth (Last of the Tudor Sovereigns).
King Edward VI.
King James V. of Scotland. = Mary of Lorraine.
Francis, King of France (1st husband) = Mary, Queen of Scots = Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley.
King James I. = Anne of Denmark.
King Charles I. = Henrietta Maria.
Frederick, King of Bohemia = Elizabeth.
King Charles II. = Catherine.
King James II. = Mary.
King = Queen. William III. Mary II.
George = Queen Anne of Denmark. (Last of the Stuart Sovereigns).
Ernest Augustus = Sophia, of Hanover
King George I. = Sophia of Zell.
King George II. = Wilhelmina Charlotte Caroline of Brandenburg-Anspach.
Frederick Lewis, Prince of Wales = Augusta of Saxe-Gotha.
King George III. = Charlotte Sophia of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.
King George IV. = Caroline of Brunswick.
King William IV. = Adelaide of Saxe Meiningen.
Edward Augustus, Duke of Kent.
Victoria Maria Louisa of Saxe-Coburg.
Leopold, King of the Belgians. = Charlotte Augusta.
Charlotte.
Elizabeth.
Queen Victoria = Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha (Prince Consort).
KING EDWARD VII.
Edward the Elder.
Edward VII.

KING EDWARD'S GENEALOGICAL TREE

hitherto by a series of accidents the succession had been brought back after each deflection into the actual legitimist line. The theory, however, was now to be asserted and acted upon once more. King James was not satisfied with being an ardent Roman Catholic himself; he made it clear that he was determined to restore the supremacy of Roman Catholicism in England. Whereas, England was ardently Protestant, at least in the sense in which that term is opposed not to Catholic but to Romanist; and Scottish Protestantism was still more uncompromising. Both England and Scotland made up their minds not only to shake off their allegiance to a Romanising monarch, but to limit the succession for the future to a Protestant line. The king simplified matters by a flight from the country, which was assumed to be an act of abdication. The Romanist king and the son who was to be brought up in his faith being excluded, his Protestant daughters obviously stood next; and next to them and their children his Protestant nephew, the Prince of Orange, who happened also to be the husband of the elder daughter. By a compromise, technically indefensible, but politically imperative at the moment, the nephew personally was given precedence over the second daughter. But when Mary died leaving no children, and all Anne's children died before they grew up, the problem revived. Where was a Protestant line of the blood royal to be found?

The Protestant Succession

There were no Protestant descendants of the last three kings of the House of Stuart. It was necessary to go back to the offspring of James I. His daughter Elizabeth had married the Elector Palatine, a Protestant. The electoral family had reverted to Romanism in the next generation; the princes who had held to their Protestantism died childless, but the Princess Sophia had remained a Protestant, had married a Protestant, the Elector of Hanover, and her son had succeeded to the electorate. Sophia, then, was the nearest Protestant of the blood royal. England definitely decided, and expressed her decision in the Act of Settlement, that after Anne the succession should go to Sophia. Scotland, strongly disposed towards the complete severance from England, threatened to choose a different successor; but the disagreements between the two countries were adjusted by the Treaty of Union in the reign of Anne, and the succession to the throne of Great Britain was settled in the House of Brunswick. Sophia died before her cousin, and on Anne's demise George I. ascended the throne as the first King of Great Britain and Ireland of the Brunswick or Hanover dynasty.

The Coming of the Hanoverians

The exiled House of Stuart, after some abortive and romantic attempts to recover the crown, died out completely in the year 1807; and no one has ever seriously contemplated the possibility of asserting the claim of the descendants of the Electress Sophia's brother, though such claims would hold good on the pure principles of legitimism.

The accession of George Lewis, Elector of Hanover, to the British throne in 1714 associated

Great Britain with a German principality for a period of a hundred and twenty-three years. King George himself was as thoroughly German as a man could be. He could not speak English, and he was never anything but a foreign figurehead who was called King of England, simply in order that a Stuart might not recover the title. His son George II. was already over thirty when he became Prince of Wales; and throughout the thirty-three years of his reign his sympathies were more Hanoverian and German than English. But the third George, born and bred in this island, gloried in the name of Briton, and the connection with Hanover thenceforth played a less important part. It was finally severed, as we shall presently see, when a queen inherited the British throne; since that of Hanover, which became a kingdom in 1815, was restricted to heirs male.

Antiquity of the Last Dynasty

It will not be out of place here to recall briefly something of the history of that ancient family which replaced the House of Stuart in this country. The rivalry of the parties called Guelphs and Ghibellines is familiar to all students of later mediæval history. The Bavarian House of Guelph acquired the dukedom of Saxony by marriage in the twelfth century. The strife between the great Hohenstaufen, Frederick Barbarossa, and the great Guelph, Henry the Lion of Saxony, ended in the victory of the former, who transferred the dignities of the dukedom to another House; from which, it may be remarked in passing, the late Prince Consort was descended. Henry the Lion, however, was not bereft of his territories of Brunswick and Luneburg. It would be superfluous to follow the fortunes of the Guelphs in any detail. According to the practice prevalent within the Empire of partitioning the family dominions, Hanover passed to Duke John Frederick in the seventeenth century. John Frederick was succeeded in 1679 by Ernest Augustus, the husband of the Princess Sophia; his duchy received the dignity of an electorate in 1692. His son George Lewis, second elector, became our King George I.; but the senior branch, which held the duchy of Brunswick, was the actual representative of the historic House of Guelph, though the representation would in 1884 have passed to Queen Victoria had she been capable of succession to Brunswick.

ENGLAND'S EDWARDS OF OLDEN TIMES

The dynasty which ruled from 1714 till 1901 over the British Empire had a very important function to discharge—a function which may be somewhat paradoxically described as primarily one of passivity. The Crown and the Parliament had already at last fought out the greater part of their long quarrel. It had ceased to be possible to evade, to defy, or to circumvent the parliamentary claim based on the declaration of Magna Charta that the assent of the national Council was necessary for taxation or legislation. The claim was aggressively asserted for the last time in the Bill of Rights; it has never since been challenged by word or deed, and has never required anything beyond a passing reference *pro forma*. The Crown had been deprived of the last instruments by means of which it had been able to use the law as an engine of coercion in its own hands when the Habeas Corpus Act secured prompt trial, and when, a few years later, the Crown was deprived of the power of removing the judges so that the independence of the Bench was secured.

But a struggle concerning specific points usually involves unforeseen corollaries; and this constitutional struggle had been no exception. In fighting for historic rights the parliaments had more or less unconsciously made it necessary to assert claims which had no historic basis, but were, nevertheless, logically bound up with the historical claims. Complete control of the purse meant, and must mean, complete power of controlling the administration, and the possession of the power seems to imply the right to exercise it. When William III. was king he was still able in the main to control policy, for the simple reason that he was the indispensable man. The country could not afford to let him resign the crown and retire to Holland. Parliament might have stopped supplies, but it dared not do so at the price of losing its Dutch monarch.

Thus the demand to control administration and policy was to a certain extent held in check for a time; but only because of the unique conditions and the personal qualities of King William. Those conditions, however, disappeared completely with the accession of the House of Brunswick. The Georges could not force Parliament to a compromise by threats of withdrawing to Hanover. To the country they were a *pis-aller*. It was content to keep them so long as they were not troublesome; but if they were troublesome there was a king over the water who, however unsatisfactory he might be, would still, like Charles II., be disinclined to go on his travels again if he once got back into England. Till some while after the Jacobite overthrow at Culloden, the House of Hanover was, so to speak, on its good behaviour, and that meant extreme caution in intervention.

The first George, then, was completely in the hands of his Ministers. The second George, being a keen politician, as concerned European affairs, was restive; but it was proved to demonstration that the will of Ministers who could command a parliamentary majority must prevail. The Pelhams, with their exceedingly moderate abilities were too strong for the very much abler Carteret, though the King disliked them, and had complete confidence in the man whom they forced to resign. In spite of George's dislike of William Pitt, the Pelhams were able to bring him into their Ministry; and a little later, when the alliance of Pitt and Newcastle was demanded by parliamentary conditions, the King again found himself obliged to submit, however reluctantly. By the time that George III. ascended the throne it had become finally impossible for the King to override Parliament.

Growth of the Constitution

But the political conditions which had brought this about were already materially modified. A dynasty which had been placed on the throne by Act of Parliament for

THE FOUR GEORGES, WHO REIGNED IN SUCCESSION FROM 1714 TILL 1830
The portrait of George I. is from a painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller; that of George II. is after R. E. Pine; George III., from a painting by West, at Kensington Palace; and George IV. is also from one of the Kensington Palace Collection.

the exclusion of an exiled house, whose supporters were still sufficiently numerous and vigorous to be capable of armed insurrection, and to maintain hopes of a restoration, could not place itself in antagonism to that power from which it derived the sanction of its existence. Kings who were regarded by their subjects as well as by themselves not as Englishmen, but as Germans, could by no possibility appeal to that abstract sentiment of loyalty on which the most incompetent Stuart had always been able to place a large reliance. The novel practice, which was the logical outcome of constitutional principles that had been maintained for centuries and at last had ceased to be challenged, could under these conditions become established as fundamentally constitutional almost without anyone discovering that an innovation was taking place.

The Hanover Dynasty Secure

Now, however, a king was on the throne who regarded himself, and was regarded by all his subjects as a Briton. The dynasty was absolutely secure; even the most enthusiastic adherents of the exiled house no longer pretended to believe that its restoration was a possibility. The old sentiment of personal loyalty could be transferred to the young monarch; and the young monarch had every intention of carrying out his mother's reiterated injunction to "be a king." There was not in Europe a single state where the powers of the prince were even approximately so limited as in Great Britain; yet in Great Britain to attempt the recovery of the Royal power by the old methods was out of the question. It was equally impossible either to do without Parliament or to override it. There remained the third method of capturing Parliament; and this was what George III. set himself to achieve, with a very considerable measure of success.

Under the old electoral system a very large number of votes in the House of Commons was controlled by a very small number of persons. Acting as allies, that small number of persons could control the House of Commons and form an effective oligarchy against which the Crown was powerless, and even a personality so mighty as that of the elder Pitt could only make head in extraordinary circumstances. But if the alliance could be broken up, if the King could rally to his own standard a solid proportion of the oligarchs, the control which had been theirs would be his. When George III. had been on the throne for ten years he was able to construct a Ministry which regarded the King himself as its head, and, at the same time, commanded a decisive majority in the House of Commons. This Royal supremacy was lost only for a brief interval during 1782 and 1783. With the return of the younger Pitt to power, the Royal predominance was restored. There was no suggestion in principle that the King's will should overrule the will of Parliament, but the King had practically secured that the will of Parliament should coincide with his own. It must be observed, however, that this fact was in no small degree due not only to the break-up of the Whig oligarchy, but to the support which Pitt received from the forces external to the control of the families.

How efficient was the power which the Crown had recovered at this time we may see by two illustrations. In 1782 the overwhelming pressure of events absolutely compelled a change in the policy which had already practically deprived Great Britain of her older colonies in North America, and had drawn France, Spain, and Holland into active hostilities against her. The resignation of Lord North and the formation of a Whig Ministry were inevitable. But personal antagonisms among the Whigs presently drove out the Ministry, which was replaced by the discreditable and almost incredible coalition between the more extreme Whigs and the Tories under Lord North. The coalition had a large majority in the Commons; nevertheless, towards the close of 1783, the King was able by bringing personal pressure to bear in the Upper House to obtain the rejection of Fox's India Bill by that chamber, and to transfer the administration to the younger Pitt, who for some weeks maintained his position in the face of a violently antagonistic House of Commons. It is true that the General Elections which followed amply justified the argument that the country was entirely hostile to the coalition. Had the coalition been successful at the polls, the King would have been obliged to give way; but the fact remains that the King's powers were

The Power of the Crown

so exercised, that they were exercised with complete success, and that his action, wholly unconstitutional according to present-day ideas, was emphatically endorsed by the country.

Again, in another way, our point is illustrated by the events in connection with the Regency Bill in 1788. Here we have not to do with any exercise of the Royal prerogatives which actually took place. But the King was temporarily incapacitated by an attack of that disease which hopelessly clouded the later years of his life. The questions arose of the appointment of a regent, and of the powers which the regent should exercise. There was no doubt that the Prince of Wales would be nominated; the Prince of Wales was the personal intimate of Charles James Fox, the leader of the opposition to Pitt. It was absolutely taken for granted by the whole world that as soon as the Prince became regent, Pitt's political career would be closed and the Whigs would return to power, because the regent favoured the Whigs. *Solvuntur risu tabulæ.* The whole affair actually ended in smoke, because the King recovered, and Pitt's ascendancy was established more firmly than before; but the whole episode demonstrates the extent of the powers which were then supposed to reside in the Crown.

In 1789 the States-General met in France for the first time after an interval of a century and three-quarters. In a very short time France appeared in the eyes of the immense majority of spectators to be a weltering chaos. The great champion of constitutional Whiggery in England, Edmund Burke, severed his long-standing friendship with Fox; the lightnings of his splendid wrath blazed against the revolution which he saw and foresaw. Those whom he called the New Whigs gloried in their advocacy of the principles of the revolution, which horrified the conservative instincts of the Old Whigs as well as of Tories. All conservative forces, in short, were united in the dread of Jacobinism, and in support of the Crown. When at last a vital difference of opinion declared itself on the subject of Catholic Emancipation between the King and the great Minister with whom he had hitherto been in such close accord, it was the Minister who had to give way. Pitt resigned; and when the exigencies of the situation absolutely demanded that he should resume office, he was obliged to accept the Royal decision on the point of controversy.

The Dread of Jacobinism

THE FATHER AND MOTHER OF QUEEN VICTORIA

The Duke and Duchess of Kent with the Princess Victoria, from the portraits by Sir William Beechey, R.A., in the Royal Collection.

Fourth son of King George III., Prince Edward, Duke of Kent and Strathern, was married at Kew to Victoria Maria Louisa, Princess Regent of Leiningen, this union giving to Britain's throne the Queen whose illustrious reign marked a new era in national history. In the lower illustration, Queen Victoria, at the age of three years, is seen in the arms of her mother.

Pitt died; the King was again overtaken by the disease which never again left him, and the Prince of Wales actually assumed the regency which had so nearly been conferred on him twenty-two years before. Again there was a general expectation that the change would mean also a change of Ministry. But the Prince quarrelled with the Whigs, and from thenceforth identified himself with the Tories, who remained in office for nearly twenty years. The practical effect, however, was to increase the power not of the Crown, but of the oligarchy, which was now avowedly Tory, though half its members belonged to the old Whig party. The movement for emancipation from its grip, which had been growing before the French Revolution, but had been stifled in the terrors which that cataclysm inspired, revived, and was fostered by the Whigs, who had remained in opposition. The dread of Jacobinism in the country at large was dying down; the demand for reform was growing clamorous, and at last took effect in the Reform Act of 1832.

That Act swept away the oligarchy. The great houses might combine as they would, but they could no longer exercise the controlling influence over the return of members to the House of Commons. That increase of the power of the Crown which George III. had brought about rested on its ability to capture the House of Commons. After the Reform Bill it was no longer possible for it to do so. The House of Commons had become a completely, instead of only a partially, independent body. The possibility that it

THE FATHER AND MOTHER OF THE PRINCE CONSORT

Duke Ernest of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld, brother of the Duchess of Kent, visited England, with his two sons, in May, 1836, when, during their residence at Kensington Palace, they made the acquaintance of the Princess Victoria—an acquaintance which, ripening into a warm affection, led to the marriage of Prince Albert with Britain's youthful Queen. The Prince Consort's mother, the Princess Louise of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg, died in her thirty-second year, when the Prince was only twelve years old.

would again pass under the continuous sway of the Crown had disappeared; nothing short of a revolution could renew it. It was the Reform Act which made the British monarchy constitutional in the sense in which we now understand that term. It was the great work of Queen Victoria to show that a constitutional monarch need by no means be a mere lay figure, but has functions to perform of which the wise or unwise discharge is of vital import to the nation. It is sufficiently obvious that the future of this empire depended very largely on the personality of the sovereign who should succeed the elderly monarch who was in his sixty-seventh year when the Reform Act was passed. In the second quarter of the last century monarchies were, for the most part, powerful but not popular institutions. In Great Britain, a king who had set himself to defy the popular will might well have brought about a revolution. A king who proved himself merely an expensive nonentity might presently have found himself altogether dispensed with in a utilitarian age. Great Britain and Russia, for two very opposite reasons, proved in the event to be the only European nations where the monarchical principle was, as a matter of fact, unchallenged; in more than one country it was mainly owing to the British example that that principle survived in practice the middle of the century.

Queen Victoria's Great Work

It is curious and interesting to consider that it was almost an accident which placed Victoria on the throne. The large family with which King George III. was endowed—there were thirteen children—gave promise that the succession would offer no problems; but five years after the Prince of Wales became regent, affairs had assumed a very different aspect. He, George, had married, and a daughter had been born to him in the first year, the Princess Charlotte; but from that time he and his wife had lived apart. There were six other sons. Frederick, Duke of York, had a wife but no children; William, Duke of Clarence, and Edward, Duke of Kent, were both unmarried; so was the seventh son, Adolphus of Cambridge. The marriage of the sixth son, the Duke of Sussex, had infringed the Royal Marriage Act, and there remained only the fifth son, Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, who had just taken a wife. Of King George's six daughters only one had married, and she was childless; while the unmarried brothers showed no disposition towards matrimony. The Duke of Cambridge, the youngest of them, was past forty; and George III. had only one grandchild living who was capable of succeeding to the throne.

The hopes of the nation centred in the Princess Charlotte, who was now nearly twenty. Although actually little known, she was extraordinarily popular; and, apart from her personal merits, her accession would carry with it two very material advantages. It would separate England from Hanover, where the succession was limited to the male line; and it would shut out the Duke of Cumberland, who was by far the most unpopular of a by no means popular family, and was also the one member of the Royal Family who might reasonably be expected to have children to succeed him. There would seem, indeed, to have been considerable justification for her popularity in her character. Brought up in seclusion, apart from parents who themselves lived apart from each other, neither of them distinguished for virtue, the princess had escaped the degrading influence of the society of either of them. Fortunately, she had escaped one marriage which politically would have been unsatisfactory, inasmuch as it would have cancelled the advantage of separation from Hanover. It was intended in 1813 that her hand should be bestowed on the Prince of Orange, the heir-apparent of the throne of Holland; but as the marriage would have entailed her residence abroad the princess broke off the engagement, to the great annoyance of the regent.

The Princess Charlotte

In 1816, however, a new and eminently suitable candidate for her hand was found in the person of Leopold, the third son of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg—a prince who at a later date as King of the Belgians displayed a consummate grasp of the duties of a constitutional monarch, and was for many years one of the most trusted counsellors of his niece, the Queen of England. He would have been well fitted to play the part afterwards so admirably filled by his nephew, the Prince Consort; and there can be little doubt that Charlotte herself would have been an admirable queen.

But the Princess Charlotte was destined never to become Queen of England. Eighteen months after her marriage the nation was plunged into very genuine mourning by the news of her death. George III., still living under the pitiful doom of his later years, enveloped in all but impenetrable darkness, both mental and physical, had seven

PRINCE ALBERT IN THE ROBES OF THE GARTER

From the painting by Winterhalter in the Royal Collection. Inset is a portrait of Queen Victoria in the year 1845.

sons living, but never a grandchild to carry on the line. One child had been born to Ernest of Cumberland, but that, too, had not survived.

So long as the Princess Charlotte was alive the brothers appear hardly to have been awake to the fact that there was a chance of the issue of the Prince of Wales failing.

In theory, of course, his daughter had never been more than heir-presumptive to the throne. If a son had been born to him, that son, not his daughter, would have succeeded. Indeed, when the Prince Regent had urged the marriage of the Princess Charlotte to the Prince of Orange—a marriage which he is reputed to have favoured partly at least in the hope that it would take her out of the country and out of his sight—George combated her objection to the match by arguing that a mere heir-presumptive might just as well live abroad as in England. The fact remains, however, that he was a married man whose relations with his wife precluded the prospect of their having any more children.

There was practically no chance that he would be able to get rid of her, and even if he did it was more than doubtful whether the prospect would be improved. *Mutatis mutandis*, very much the same might be said of the Duke of York, who was on friendly terms with his duchess, unlike his elder brother, but had been married for five and twenty years without having children.

Hence, when the princess died in giving birth to a still-born child, the two next brothers, William of Clarence and Edward of Kent, realised the existence of the possibilities which they had hitherto ignored; nor was their younger brother of Cambridge behind them. In the course of the year 1818 all the three married. William married Adelaide of Saxe-Meiningen. The Duke of Kent married Victoria of Saxe-Coburg, widow of the Prince of Leiningen. The Duke of Cambridge married Augusta of Hesse-Cassel. It was tolerably obvious that all three marriages were dictated by considerations of expediency rather than of romance.

QUEEN VICTORIA IN THE YEAR OF EDWARD'S BIRTH

This charming portrait of Queen Victoria is from a miniature by R. Thorburn, A.R.A., painted in 1841.

The Birth of Queen Victoria

William had provided himself with a spouse who was to be his queen when he ascended the throne in succession to his elder brother in 1830, the Duke of York having died in the meantime; but she did not present him with an heir. Failing the Duke of Kent, the succession would have passed to the Duke of Cumberland. The Duke of Kent died in January, 1820, but his marriage was more than justified by its happy results for the nation. Eight months before his death his wife had given birth to the Princess Victoria, who, eighteen years later, ascended the throne. The duke had chosen wisely. The sister of Leopold of Saxe-Coburg was eminently fitted to be the mother of the future Queen of Great Britain and Ireland.

The sons of George III., as a group of brothers, do not inspire enthusiasm. They were not men who accomplished great things themselves, or men by whose offspring it might be expected *a priori* that great things would be achieved. Two of them occupied the throne. The eldest, after holding the regency for nine years, ruled as King George IV. for ten years more. He acquired the title of "the first gentleman in Europe," and Brighton undoubtedly owes him a debt of gratitude—a sentiment which it is not easy otherwise to associate with him. As a young man he was not without promise. And when so much has been said for him, the candid historian has gone as far as he conscientiously may in the direction of eulogy. Children do not always inherit either the virtuous or the vicious propensities of their parents. Had George's daughter lived there is every reason to believe that she would, in fact, have displayed the best qualities of her grandparents; and in their best qualities they were both admirable. But if the Prince Regent and Caroline of Brunswick had endowed the world with more children, it is difficult to believe that the world would have had cause for gratitude.

The Duke of York was hypothetically a distinguished soldier, as witness a certain column close to St. James's Park. His actual performances in the field did not greatly redound to the glory of the country. However, as commander-in-chief, not in the field, he was not without merits. Still, history does not point to him as a desirable progenitor of kings.

King William has received considerable praise which was not altogether undeserved. His great merit lies in the actual fact that he accepted a situation which was by no means to his liking, and secured the passage of the Reform Act, although it is tolerably certain that he was personally averse to reform. He had his father's honesty, but not all his obstinacy; certainly it cannot be said that he showed signs of marked ability. It may be presumed altogether that the British nation would have had little cause for thankfulness if any of the Duke of Kent's elder brothers had left children to succeed to the throne.

Of the three younger brothers, the last, the Duke of Cambridge, was perhaps the most conciliatory of the family. He was the father of the late commander-in-chief, a man who beyond question possessed many excellent qualities and on the throne might have repressed those reactionary sympathies which as a soldier he not unnaturally developed. But no one would venture to suggest that the late Duke of Cambridge would have been a preferable alternative monarch to his cousin. Of the Duke of Sussex it may be remarked that he associated himself more definitely with progressive political ideas than the other brothers; but his marriage with Lady Augusta Murray had precluded the possibility that any descendants of his should ascend the throne.

The Sons of George III.

Either of the two youngest dukes, however, might have succeeded William on the throne without any serious results. But the same can hardly be said of the Duke of Cumberland, who was heir-presumptive to the throne until the birth of the Queen's first child in November, 1840.

KING OF THE BELGIANS

Leopold I. was the uncle of Queen Victoria, her counsellor and friend, to whose good offices her happy marriage with Prince Albert was largely due.

a matter of common knowledge that the younger brother made it his business to keep the elder up to the reactionary mark. On one occasion he threatened that if a popular demand were conceded he would leave the country; but the threat was received with such manifest delight by the nation that the Duke thought better of it. His unpopularity was increased by his marriage in 1815 with a lady whose antecedents were anything but reassuring; whose espousals his mother, old Queen Charlotte, refused to grace with her presence.

Popular rumours and scandals painted the Duke's private character in the blackest colours; it was possible for Lord Brougham to refer to him publicly in the most insulting terms. When William IV. died, the crown of Hanover, which had been made a kingdom in 1815 and could be inherited only by a male, necessarily passed to the Duke instead of to Queen Victoria; his first act on taking possession of his kingdom was to abrogate the constitution which had been granted a few years before, and to re-establish absolute rule. In England, George IV., as regent and as king, had almost destroyed the prestige of the Crown and the Court. Something had been recovered under William IV., but it is more than probable that the accession of such a man as the Duke of Cumberland would in those days have given an impulse to the anti-monarchical spirit throughout the country which might have seriously endangered the existence of the throne.

In the year 1818, when the Duke of Kent married the widowed Princess of Leiningen, it would be an exaggeration to say that any one among the Royal princes was popular. Public sentiment was sufficiently demonstrated by the very scanty allowances which were grudgingly conceded on their respective marriages—concessions, by the way, from which the Duke of Cumberland was excluded. But the Duke of Kent's career, if not remarkably distinguished, had been honourable and free from reproach. Politically he was more advanced than his brothers, and was in sympathy with Whig principles. He looked upon himself as a soldier, and in that capacity had done his duty in the West Indies, in Canada, and at Gibraltar. His popularity among his troops was somewhat affected by his character as a rigid disciplinarian; but that was a fault on the right side. At any rate, he was the most respected and the most deserving of respect among the sons of George III. Popular sentiment was pleased that a barrier should be interposed between his younger brother and the succession; and when both of the children born to the Duke of Clarence died, little Princess Victoria became the subject of a good deal of public anxiety.

Happily, her survival and vigorous growth made the danger more remote that her most unpopular uncle would one day occupy the British throne; and the prospect was the more satisfactory because the House of Coburg had an encouraging record of character in European history. That the house was worthy of its ancestry was soon to be demonstrated in the persons of the brothers of the future queen's mother, of whom the third, as we have already noted, was to be the first King of the Belgians, and the eldest was the father of that prince who, born just after the little Princess Victoria, was destined to take his place by her side as the Prince Consort.

A few words must be added as to the gain to this country of the accession of a queen instead of any king at this juncture. The connection with Hanover had been a sufficiently serious matter in complicating foreign policy ever since an Elector of Hanover became King of England. In the progress of European events after the death of William IV., it would have been inevitable that Great Britain should have been forced to play an embarrassing part, not in her own interests, but in those of her king as King of Hanover, in the extremely complicated problems which ultimately found their solution in the formation of the present German Empire. It is ground for unmixed thankfulness that the accession of Queen Victoria delivered us from the Hanoverian incubus.

THE BABY KING EDWARD WITH HIS MOTHER

This famous painting by Landseer shows Queen Victoria at the age of twenty-three, with the Princess Royal and the Prince of Wales. The original painting was a birthday gift from Queen Victoria to the Prince Consort.

KING WILLIAM IV.

More popular with the nation than any of his immediate predecessors, this monarch died in 1837, his passing away leaving the throne to his niece, the Princess Victoria, whose reign was to witness a new era of national advance and prosperity.

CHAPTER II

A GREAT QUEEN AND MOTHER

A personal study of Queen Victoria, her powers of sovereignty, her domestic virtues, and her influence on the future King

BEFORE studying the history of King Edward's youth and manhood, it will be well to recall very clearly and simply the chief characteristics and the guiding principles of those two great personalities Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, in order to understand their influence upon the career of their Royal son.

The influence of parentage is always great; but it is greater in proportion as it is noble in character; and it is greatest of all, as in the case of the present subject, where it involves inspiration and training, not only in the common duties, virtues, and pieties of mankind, but also in the august traditions and responsibilities of the highest earthly office.

King Edward had completed his twentieth year before Prince Albert died, and for over thirty-nine years more Queen Victoria presided over the British people before they became the subjects of his late Majesty. It is obvious that the personal dispositions of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, their private interests and predilections, their affections and sympathies, their mode of life, their way of thinking in religious, political, social, and æsthetic matters, their principles of education, and the like, are of great importance to the understanding of their children's lives. And it is equally certain that no study of King Edward's reign would be well founded if it left out of account the influence upon his youthful mind of Queen Victoria's view of kingship, which was the dominant principle in all her life.

Queen Victoria had certain noble qualities in a very high degree. Her temperament was one of great force, vitality, and energy. She was very courageous and independent, confident in her own judgment, and inflexible in purpose. She was brilliantly transparent, straightforward, and truthful. She was remarkable for her benevolence, her warm family affection her tender solicitude for her people, and her deep sympathy with suffering and sorrow. Fortitude, sincerity, and goodwill are the three graces of this queenly character, which was formed principally by her great vocation.

The often-cited maxim that the sovereign reigns, but does not govern, needs much qualification. A biographer of Queen Victoria remarks that a constitutional sovereign "is in theory invested with all the semblance of power, but is denied any of its reality or responsibility"; but it might be said, with equal truth, that, while the sovereign is in theory denied every semblance of power, he is, in fact, invested with a great deal of its reality. The fact is that the sovereign's reign is obvious and apparent, but his activity and influence as governor are hidden for many years. Popular judgment is easily misled by formulæ. It forgets that this British State, this vast, concrete, historic thing, transcends us and eludes our analysis. The majesty of Britain was not built upon a theory, and theory is utterly inadequate to define its parts and its factors. The place and power of the Crown at any period are not to be estimated by the abstract formulæ of constitutional lawyers, but rather by the concrete investigations of the historian of later date. The time has not yet come for anything like a complete estimate of the part which the Sovereign played in the history of Great Britain during the last fifty years of the nineteenth century. But the estimate which the Sovereign herself took of her office and its duties is well known.

KING EDWARD AT THE AGE OF FOUR WITH HIS MOTHER
From the miniature by R. Thorburn, A.R.A.

A ROYAL GROUP IN 1845
In this picture, reproduced from the painting by W. Drummond, the future King is shown in his mother's arms, while the Princess Royal is seated on the chair.

From the first day of her reign until its close, Queen Victoria held a very noble and religious view of her vocation and of its responsibilities. She was in no error with regard to the limits which surround a constitutional monarch; she was scrupulously careful of precedent; but to her mind monarchy came always first and its limitations afterwards. "She never seemed to doubt," says Lord Esher, "that the country was *hers*, that the Ministers were her Ministers, and that the people were *her* people. Ministers and Parliament existed to assist her to govern. She was the ruler of her kingdom, and the crown was, in her eyes, not the coping-stone of the fabric, but the foundation upon which the fabric rested." In this royal interpretation of her magistracy, and with industry, constancy, and devotion which have never been surpassed, Queen Victoria fulfilled throughout her long reign the resolution which she set down in her Journal on the day of her accession: "Since it has pleased Providence to place me in this station, I shall do my utmost to fulfil my duty towards my country."

Being in her own view the lawful and actual ruler of the State, Queen Victoria occupied herself incessantly with the detailed business of government. Baron Stockmar, who had done so much to form her mind, had warned her continually against even the appearance of being involved in party and faction, but had impressed upon her the fact that the British sovereign need not by any means be a "nodding mandarin." King Leopold, among many other counsels, had urged the danger of giving immediate decisions upon matters of importance, and had taught the Queen to insist upon having every proposal of policy submitted to her in writing, in order that she might study the affair at leisure, and give a deliberate and well-considered judgment. But Lord Melbourne, Prime Minister at the time of her accession, was her admirable tutor in the particular affairs of State. With fatherly solicitude he devoted himself entirely to her interests, acting not only as her Minister, but also as her private secretary, companion of her leisure, and her confidential guide; with the affectionate regard of a daughter she leaned on him in everything. Yet the strength of her own personality and her trust in her own judgment prepared her quickly to stand alone. She admitted no infringement of her right to be informed and consulted upon all that was proposed and done, and criticised independently, and quite fearlessly, every project of her Ministers. For the acts of government were, in her view, acts for which she was, in the last resort, responsible. If it became inevitable that measures of which she disapproved should be taken, she was able at least to retard the decision, and to compel Ministers to a more thorough reconsideration.

The Queen's Responsibility

This intimate personal control of matters of State was exercised chiefly, though not exclusively, in respect of foreign affairs, the interests of the Navy and Army, and questions of patronage. Queen Victoria was a shrewd judge of character and of the fitness of public servants for their posts, and based her judgment on grounds of personal merit only. A letter to Sir Robert Peel of September 9, 1841, is an example of many: "The Queen cannot refrain from saying that she cannot quite approve of Sir Charles Bagot's appointment, as from what she has heard of his qualities she does not think that they are of a character quite to suit in the arduous and difficult position in which he will be placed. At the same time the Queen does not mean to object to his appointment (for she has already formally approved of it); but she feels it her duty to state frankly and at all times her opinion, as she begs Sir Robert also to do unreservedly to her.

"For the future, it appears to the Queen that it would be best in all appointments of such importance that before a direct communication was entered into with the individual intended to be proposed that the Queen should be informed of it, so that she might talk to her Ministers fully about it—not because it is likely that she would object to the appointment, but merely that she might have time to be acquainted with the qualities and abilities of the person." But Sir Robert Peel had already been instructed by Lord Melbourne with regard to the Queen's way with Ministers. Writing five days earlier, in his "Memoirs," Charles Greville says: "I dined at Stafford House, and met Melbourne. After dinner he took me aside, and said, 'Have you any means of speaking to *these chaps?*' I said, 'Yes, I can say anything to them.' 'Well,' he said, 'I think there are one or two things Peel ought to be told, and I wish you would tell him. Don't let him suffer any appointment he is going to make to be talked about, and don't let her hear it through anybody but himself; and whenever he does anything, or has anything to propose, let him explain to her clearly his reasons. The Queen is not conceited. She is aware there are many things she cannot understand, and she likes to have them explained to her elementarily, not at length and in detail, but shortly and clearly. Neither does she like long audiences, and I never stayed with her a long time.'"

Her Views on Foreign Policy

Queen Victoria throughout her reign held particularly clear and well-informed views on foreign policy; and by demanding continual and detailed reports from her Ministers, and by the inspection of their despatches before they were sent off, she impressed her judgment and will directly upon the course of affairs. She did not, except on the rarest occasions, initiate policy; but the degree in which she controlled and modified it, by toning down harsh despatches, by criticising narrow and short-sighted views, by retarding decisions inspired by impatience and

excitement, and often by encouraging down-hearted Ministers to persevere in their well-chosen course, becomes ever more impressive as the documents emerge to the light. Yet perhaps the greatest service which the Queen rendered to her country by keeping so closely in touch with the business of the Foreign Office was that she thereby compelled an appeal from the Foreign Secretary to the Prime Minister, and established more firmly than before the principle of collective ministerial responsibility. "The inestimable value," says Lord Esher, "of the delay imposed by the Crown was not to obtain sanction for the view the Sovereign happened to express—that was not the vital issue—but to get the intellect of another statesman of first rank, and often of the whole Cabinet, applied to a problem which could not safely be left to be solved by a single mind. There are many illustrations of this thesis scattered through the volumes of the Queen's letters, not only in relation to foreign, but to domestic affairs. In every case the Sovereign was triumphant, if triumph is measured, not by the ultimate issue, but by the vindication of this sound principle—that the act of a single Minister should not be allowed to commit the country to a vital policy without the conscious and reasoned adherence of his colleagues in the Cabinet. The ultimate decision was a minor consideration compared with the principle of Cabinet responsibility as against individual ministerial action. For this the Queen fought steadily all her life."

QUEEN VICTORIA AND THE PRINCE CONSORT
From the painting by Sir Edwin Landseer, R.A.

The method by which Queen Victoria's close superintendence of affairs was exercised was by means of frequent and elaborate, written communications from her Ministers. Her correspondence, which is preserved in the archives at Windsor, extends to 1,050 large folio volumes, and it is estimated that when the arrangement of the documents has been completed, the number of these volumes will not be less than 1,250. Her industry in correspondence was unprecedented in the history of the throne, and it entailed on the part of her Ministers a labour which was as arduous as its effects were salutary.

QUEEN VICTORIA WITH PRINCE ALBERT AND THEIR CHILDREN IN 1846
From the painting by F. Winterhalter in the Royal Collection.

Notwithstanding her intimate concern with affairs of State and all her confidence in her own judgment, Queen Victoria never carried her conviction, however strong it might be, into a fruitless and disturbing struggle with the popular will as expressed in the decisions of Parliament, but was ready, in the end, to express formally her assent to measures which appeared to herself to be mistaken. She even interposed, more than once, in the interests of unanimity, to further the progress of measures which had the country behind them, although to her mind they were indefensible. Thus, when Gladstone brought forward, in 1869, his Bill for the disestablishment of the Irish Church, the Queen, who deprecated the measure as hasty, ill-considered, and as opening the way for injustice, yet made strenuous and successful efforts to bring about a compromise in the matter between the House of Commons and the House of Lords; and secured, by her personal mediation, the passage of a Bill which she disliked, in order to avoid the worse evil of a bitter conflict between the two Houses. Queen Victoria proved again and again that, though

THE CONQUEROR OF NAPOLEON DOES HOMAGE TO THE FUTURE "EDWARD THE PEACEMAKER"
The Duke of Wellington presenting a casket to the infant Prince of Wales. From the painting by Winterhalter in Kensington Palace.

she regarded the power, prerogative, and responsibilities of the Crown very highly indeed, she had no less regard either for constitutional precedent or for public convenience and equanimity.

Queen Victoria began her reign with strong leanings towards Liberal principles. Her father, the Duke of Kent, who died in her infancy, held extremely Radical opinions, and was openly sympathetic to the socialist Robert Owen. In the first years after her accession she was surrounded by a Whig Ministry, and Lord Melbourne, leader of that party, was her chief confidant. Though she retained complete independence, she openly favoured the Whigs; and when they were defeated at the General Election of the summer of 1841, she indicated her dissatisfaction with the Tory reaction by absenting herself from the opening of the new Parliament. The patience and good-sense, however, which Sir Robert Peel, her new Premier, showed in his difficult position, together with the wise counsels of Prince Albert, soon won the Queen to an equal confidence in the Tory party.

The Queen was throughout her life a firm Unionist. Her conviction in the matter was made public as early as 1843, O'Connell's "great Repeal year," when that implacable agitator was still confident of his power to undo a bond which had been made barely a generation before. Though she was anxious that everything possible should be done to alleviate the distresses of Ireland, she was determined that anarchy and crime should be put down with a strong hand. Sir Edward Sugden, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, was indiscreet enough to announce that Queen Victoria was personally opposed to Repeal; and his statement, when challenged by O'Connell, was explicitly corroborated by Sir Robert Peel. When the question again became acute, forty-three years later, the Queen set herself immovably against Gladstone's project of Home Rule.

The Queen and Ireland

She characterised his policy as an ill-considered adventure of separation, for which the country was unprepared. In her view, the coronation oath which she had taken involved the maintenance of the Union, and she saw nothing in these unexpected proposals but a capitulation to anarchy and the abandonment of the loyal population of the north. When Home Rule was again before Parliament, in 1893, and was thrown out by the House of Lords, her attitude was still unchanged; and to the end Gladstone never regained his Sovereign's confidence.

But Queen Victoria was never afraid of any change in which she saw a possible benefit to her people. Thus she was always in favour of the policy of Rèform, by which the franchise was at last extended, in 1867, so as greatly to

broaden the basis of parliamentary representation. She had a profound confidence in the loyalty and good-sense of the democracy. Another proof of a liberal and unprejudiced mind may be found in her eager enthusiasm in the cause of Free Trade. "The Queen is very sorry to hear," says a letter of November 28, 1845, "that Sir Robert Peel apprehends further differences of opinion in the Cabinet at a moment of impending calamity; it is more than ever necessary that the Government should be strong and united. The Queen thinks the time is come when a removal of the restrictions upon the importation of food cannot be successfully resisted. Should this be Sir Robert's own opinion, the Queen very much hopes that none of his colleagues will prevent him from doing what it is *right* to do."

The Act abolishing the Corn Laws could hardly have been passed in 1846 if it had not been for the determined support which she gave to Sir Robert Peel. A passage in the speech with which she opened the fateful session on January 22, 1846, reflected her own convictions: "I have had great satisfaction in giving my assent to the measures which you have presented to me from time to time, calculated to extend commerce and to stimulate domestic skill and industry, by the repeal of prohibitive and the relaxation of protective duties. I recommend you to take into your early consideration whether the principle on which you have acted may not with advantage be yet more extensively applied."

Where the foreign relations of her country were concerned, all Queen Victoria's sympathies, and her most determined interventions in the counsels of her Ministers, were in favour of peace. Thus, in 1859, when Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell were encouraging the Italians to resist the terms of the Treaty of Villafranca, the Queen enforced her decision that Britain should maintain complete neutrality in the matter. Again, during the American Civil War, when English feeling was for the most part strongly in favour of the Southern States, a warship in the service of the Northern States captured at sea two Southern envoys who were on board a British vessel, the Trent. Palmerston wrote a strongly worded dispatch, demanding instant apology and compensation for this illegal action by the North, a document which would in all probability have involved Britain in the conflict, and on the wrong side of the conflict. That this dispatch was withheld was due solely to the personal intervention of the Prince Consort on the Queen's behalf; the remonstrance actually forwarded to Washington assumed a milder tone, and the danger was at an end. And again, in 1866, when war was imminent between Prussia and Austria, the Queen commanded her Prime Minister, Lord Russell, to do everything that was possible for the maintenance of peace, and even authorised her Government to offer her services as mediator between the two parties—an offer which Bismarck rejected.

An Advocate of Clemency

THE CHRISTENING OF KING EDWARD VII. IN ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR, ON JANUARY 25, 1842

The birth of an heir to the throne was the occasion of great national rejoicing, while to Queen Victoria herself the coming of the Prince filled her with rapture and gratitude. "I wonder very much whom our little boy will be like," she wrote to her uncle, King Leopold of the Belgians, adding, in a natural outburst of affection for her husband, that she hoped he would "resemble his father in every respect, both in body and mind." The christening ceremony in the beautiful St. George's Chapel at Windsor which Sir George Hayter has pictured in the above illustration, was described by the Royal mother as "beautiful and imposing."

The Queen took a deep interest in all the British colonies, and was always thoroughly well informed with regard to their affairs. But of all her dominions beyond the seas, India lay the nearest to her heart. Her letters to Ministers during the Mutiny burn with intolerable anxiety, and are full of the most urgent appeals to action. "The Queen must say," she writes to Palmerston, "that the Government incur a fearful responsibility by their apparent indifference." After the suppression of the Mutiny, when the government of India was reconstructed by the abolition of the East India Company, and by the transference of all its lands and authorities to the British Crown, the Queen set herself to establish the most direct possible relation between the sovereign and India, and sought to show, by the terms in which her sovereignty was proclaimed, that there remained no vindictive feeling for the dreadful past. Writing to her Prime Minister on August 15, 1858, she says: "The Queen has asked Lord Malmesbury to explain in detail to Lord Derby her objections to the draft of Proclamation for India. The Queen would be glad if Lord Derby would write it himself in his excellent language, bearing in mind that it is a female sovereign who speaks to more than 100,000,000 of Eastern people on assuming the direct government over them after a bloody civil war, giving them pledges which her future reign is to redeem, and explaining the principles of her government. Such a document should breathe feelings of generosity, benevolence, and religious feeling, pointing out the privileges which the Indians will receive in being placed on an equality with the subjects of the British Crown, and the prosperity following in the train of civilisation."

Queen Victoria and India

Again, writing to Lord Canning on December 2, 1858: "It is a source of great satisfaction and pride to her to feel herself in direct communication with that enormous empire which is so bright a jewel of her crown, and which she would wish to see happy, contented, and peaceful. May the publication of her Proclamation be the beginning of a new era, and may it draw a veil over the sad and bloody past! The Queen rejoices to hear that her Viceroy approves this passage about religion. She strongly insisted on it." The reference is to the Queen's wise determination that the customs and beliefs of her Eastern subjects should be scrupulously respected.

It was thus expressed: "Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our Royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law."

The Queen's affection for India was fully understood by Disraeli, by whose suggestion the Prince of Wales undertook his very successful tour throughout India in 1875 and 1876, and who added to the Royal titles, in the latter year, the title of Empress of India.

The Queen never forgot that she was a soldier's daughter, and throughout her life she took a special interest in the Army, which she regarded as the sovereign's special charge. She closely scrutinised every change in military administration, and never failed to express a decided opinion upon it. In times of peace a military review was one of her greatest pleasures, and when war broke out she would urge counsels, encouragements, and reproaches upon her Ministers, who could not act quickly and decisively enough for her. Her queenly and maternal sympathy with her soldiers at the front was shown again and again in every war, and when they returned they returned to her. She had unbounded confidence in their courage, and in the destiny of the British arms. Any weakness or incompetence in backing up her Army was intolerable to her; she felt the abandonment of the Transvaal after Majuba Hill like a wound to her country; she felt the abandonment of General Gordon to be an indelible stain on her country's honour. "It is too fearful," she telegraphed to Gladstone, "to consider that the fall of Khartoum might have been prevented and many precious lives saved by earlier action." This culpable error of the British Government, and the consequent dereliction of the Sudan to a savage anarchy, cast a heavy gloom over the Queen's spirit.

A MEMORY OF FIFTY YEARS AGO

In this group of Royal children, painted in 1856, the artist, F. Winterhalter, gives a charming study of two brothers and a sister of King Edward—Prince Arthur, Prince Leopold, and the Princess Louise.

Queen Victoria was naturally and spontaneously affectionate; her power of loving and the tenderness of her sympathy were inexhaustible. This affection of hers reached its highest point in her illustrious devotion and loyalty to her husband, and in her delight in her children, and in their children, and in her incessant solicitude for them. But its wealth flowed out far beyond her family. She loved her people; and wherever merit, or weakness, or sorrow, or suffering, or oppression, came to her knowledge, she showed that she loved her people individually. It was a humble, sensitive, womanly charity of heart, that was, in its turn, grateful for every token of love, fidelity, sympathy, or appreciation. She took a self-forgetful interest in the personal welfare and happiness of all who were placed about her.

The sorrows of those who had lost husband or wife, parent or child, especially touched her, and she would always do all in her power to alleviate their desolation. Her genuine and practical interest in hospitals and in other philanthropic efforts has had incalculable effect in the development of the modern social conscience. It is by her choice that nurses are working, under her name, throughout the towns and villages of Britain to-day.

The Queen's Religion

The Queen's religion was of a very simple and very genuine kind. It was nearly, if not quite, undogmatic, and represented a phase in the development of Protestantism which is more general now than it was in her earlier years. She looked with extreme suspicion on the new High Church party, and had little or nothing in common with the

BUCKINGHAM PALACE

Where King Edward was born, and where he died

As seen from the front

Looking from St. James's Park

From the Lake in the Palace Grounds

The Ball and Concert Room

The Picture Gallery

Queen Victoria's Bedroom

The White Drawing Room

The Marble Hall

The State Dining Room

The Throne Room

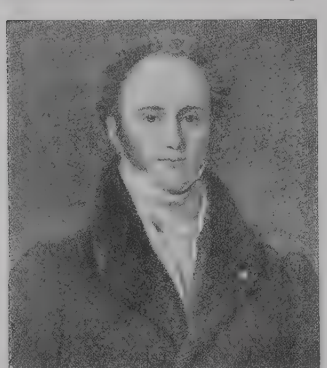
SIR ROBERT PEEL

This great statesman, who left an enduring mark on the legislation of his time, was one of the earliest Ministers of the young Queen, who was not slow to revise the actions of her advisers, as is shown by the letters of her Majesty to Sir Robert.

Evangelical section. She probably felt more sympathy with the Presbyterian than with the Anglican service, and Dr. Norman M'Leod, a minister of the Church of Scotland, was her favourite preacher and a real friend. Her view of the Church of England was altogether Erastian; and her deep annoyance with Gladstone, when he brought forward his Resolutions and Bill for the disestablishment of the Irish State Church, showed how highly she regarded the principle of establishment as an element in the constitution of the realm. She was jealous of her right of appointing Anglican bishops, not only because it was one of the Crown's prerogatives, but chiefly because she was anxious to discharge faithfully a great responsibility. In their selection she often forced her will on her Prime Minister. Referring to her exercise of patronage, Wilberforce wrote: "The Church does not know what it owes to the Queen. Disraeli has been utterly ignorant, utterly unprincipled; he rode the Protestant horse one day; then got frightened that it had gone too far and was injuring the county elections, so he went right round and proposed names never heard of." In circumstances such as these we may well believe that the Queen's keen judgment of human character and her simple piety may have often had vast influence for good. In accordance with the broad rationalism which she owed to the German influence of her family and of her marriage, she was exceedingly tolerant, and detested every form of intolerance in religious matters.

In all questions of morals her attitude and her judgment were uncompromising. She gave no countenance to people of doubtful reputation. The principles of her Court were Puritan principles.

Queen Victoria held very clear views with regard to the proper position of women. No one could think more highly than she did of their power and responsibilities in every rank of society, but she was utterly hostile to the whole movement in favour of their greater liberty and publicity; she regarded the claim for "women's rights" as an abandonment of their true rights and duties, of their real strength and their appropriate grace.



LORD PALMERSTON

Presiding over the Foreign Office when Queen Victoria came to the throne, Lord Palmerston, as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, exercised much influence at Court, and through him her Majesty kept in close touch with foreign affairs as they affected national interests.

No one can estimate the value which Queen Victoria has had for her country for all time to come, just by walking before her people, in that eminent place, in the ways of duty, wisdom, charity and simplicity. Together with other wonderful factors, the nobility of her life created for her at last an awful and a touching majesty in the minds of the people. Writing of her later years, Lord Esher speaks of the "hushed reverence surrounding the Queen, hard to describe and difficult even to suggest. It is no exaggeration to say," he continues, "that eminent statesmen and humbler folk alike moved through the corridors of Windsor as through a shrine. It was not the atmosphere of sycophancy or adulation. It was the atmosphere of deep memories, of noble names, of imperial growth, of national struggles, and of glorious triumphs. It was an atmosphere of queenly pity, of intrepid courage, of personal sorrows, and of duties simply performed through long years, stretching far back beyond the remembrance of any save the Queen herself. In spite of its grandeur, there was a solitude, an aloofness, about the life of the Queen which made men half afraid to speak above a whisper."

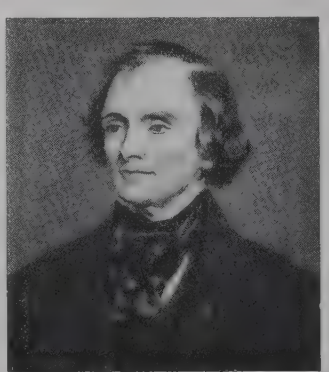
LORD MELBOURNE

Twice Premier, he was in office at the accession of Queen Victoria in 1837, and early won the regard of the youthful Sovereign by his kindly devotion to her person and her throne, and by his fatherly solicitude for her welfare.

There is indeed a sense in which the powers and responsibilities of the Crown were diminished during Queen Victoria's reign, and that not a little through her own actions and predilections. The sovereign's prerogative of mercy practically passed from her hands, the immediate connection between the Crown and the Army was severed, and the Prime Minister came more and more to replace the Queen as the fountain of honours. Her early antipathy to London and her avowed preference for a quiet country life; her long widowed seclusion from the public eye; her habitual neglect to open or to prorogue Parliament except upon rare occasions; her unprecedented liberty of foreign travel without the appointment of a regency; her unfortunate neglect of Ireland—these and other personal characteristics, combined with the inexorable advance of democratic principles, undoubtedly made the Crown seem in many ways a less active and important element in the constitution than it had seemed before.

The Victorian Inheritance

But there is another and a far profounder sense in which the majesty and the beneficence of the Crown have been incalculably enriched by the reign of Queen Victoria, and to this ennoblement her personality has contributed equally with the expansion of the Empire. We esteem offices chiefly in the light of those who have held them, and our forefathers of the third generation were not able to esteem kingship as we do. Queen Victoria has greatly fortified the throne of future kings. And this has been due to her own straightforward way of interpreting and of doing her duty, and to her admirably courageous, sincere, and benevolent nature.



LORD JOHN RUSSELL

Another of the early Ministers of Queen Victoria, Lord John Russell was Home Secretary in Melbourne's Cabinet, and in this office was brought into close contact with the youthful Sovereign. Subsequently he was twice Prime Minister.

CHAPTER III

THE FATHER OF A GREAT KING

The Prince Consort studied in his own character and his shaping of the mind of his illustrious son

PRINCE ALBERT, born on August 26, 1819, three months after the birth of Queen Victoria, was the second son of Ernest, Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld. His elder brother, Ernest, was born in the previous year, and the two were the only children of the family. Unfortunately for them, when Prince Albert was only five years of age, a separation took place between their father and mother—Louise, daughter of the Duke of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg; the separation was followed by a divorce; and the boys, who were deeply attached to her, never saw their mother again. She was a woman of great beauty and charm. "The Prince," wrote Queen Victoria, "never forgot her, and spoke with much tenderness and sorrow of his poor mother, and was deeply affected in reading, after his marriage, the accounts of her sad and painful illness." Thus Prince Albert's early home was shattered.

He was naturally a bright, vivacious child. "Every grace," his tutor wrote, "had been showered by Nature on this charming boy. Every eye rested on him with delight, and his look won the hearts of all." He early showed a simple, serious, upright character; he was very gentle, kindly, and grateful; his mind was quick, and he was eager in acquiring knowledge. The most careful attention was given to the education of the two brothers; they were highly cultivated in a wide range of studies; and by the time of his confirmation, in 1835, Prince Albert's earnest, thoughtful, and devout nature had been widely remarked.

So it was that King Leopold I., revolving in 1836 the question of the marriage of his niece, Princess Victoria, by this time the certain heir to the British crown, considered Prince Albert to be the worthiest choice that could be made for her husband. He consulted the judicious Baron Stockmar, whose opinion was given in a letter to King Leopold:

"Albert is a fine young fellow, well grown for his age, with agreeable and valuable qualities; and who, if things go well, may in a few years turn out a strong, handsome man, of a kindly, simple, yet dignified demeanour. Externally, therefore, he possesses all that pleases the sex, and at all times and in all countries must please. It may prove, too, a lucky circumstance, that even now he has something of an English look.

"But now the question is: How as to his mind? On this point, too, one hears much to his credit. But these judgments are all more or less partial; and until I have observed him longer, I can form no judgment as to his capacity and the probable development of his character. He is said to be circumspect, discreet, and even now cautious. But all this is not enough. He ought to have not merely great ability, but a *right* ambition, and great force of will as well. To pursue for a lifetime a political career so arduous demands more than energy and inclination—it demands also that earnest frame of mind which is ready, of its own accord, to sacrifice mere pleasure to real usefulness. If he is not satisfied hereafter with the consciousness of having achieved one of the most influential positions in Europe, how often will he feel tempted to repent what he has undertaken? If he does not from the very outset accept it as a vocation of grave responsibility, on the efficient fulfilment of which his honour and happiness depend, there is small likelihood of his succeeding."

This letter is of interest, not only as a tribute to the young Prince's merits, but also as evidence of the kind of influence which was being

PRINCE ALBERT AT THE TIME OF HIS MARRIAGE

From the painting by George Patten, A.R.A., by permission of Messrs. Graves.

BIRTH-PLACE OF PRINCE ALBERT

The view shows Rösenau Castle, near Coburg, and inset is a reproduction of Queen Victoria's favourite portrait of her Consort.

impressed on his receptive mind. From childhood Prince Albert had been exceptionally serious and earnest; yet it is required of him that he shall be, if possible, more serious and earnest still; and to that end the efforts of Baron Stockmar were soon directed. In the meantime, however, the project of the marriage had proceeded so far that the two brothers were brought to England by their father in May, 1836, for a visit of a few weeks. The hope which prompted this introduction was kept secret from Prince and Princess alike, but King Leopold confided his wishes to his niece, Victoria, just before the return of her cousins to the Continent. Her reply of June 7, 1836, shows her inclination clearly enough:

"I must thank you, my beloved Uncle, for the prospect of *great* happiness you have contributed to give me, in the person of dear Albert. Allow me, then, my dearest Uncle, to tell you how delighted I am with him, and how much I like him in every way. He possesses every quality that could be desired to render me perfectly happy. He is so sensible, so kind, and so good, and so amiable too. He has, besides, the most pleasing and delightful exterior and appearance you can possibly see.

"I have only now to beg you, my dearest Uncle, to take care of the health of one now *so dear* to me, and to take him under *your special* protection. I hope and trust that all will go on prosperously and well on this subject of so much importance to me."

A further period of education followed, directed by the advice of Baron Stockmar, during which, first at Brussels and then at Bonn University, Prince Albert studied mathematics, statistics, history, economics, law, philosophy, the natural sciences, and music. On the occasion of Queen Victoria's accession he wrote to her, on June 26, 1837: "Now you are Queen of the mightiest land of Europe, in your hand lies the happiness of millions. May Heaven assist you and strengthen you with its strength in that high but difficult task! I hope that your reign may be long, happy, and glorious, and that your efforts may be rewarded by the thankfulness and love of your subjects."

In Training for the Future

Early in the following year, the project of his marriage with Queen Victoria was communicated to Prince Albert by King Leopold. "If I am not very much mistaken," King Leopold wrote on this occasion to Baron Stockmar, "he possesses all the qualities required to fit him for the position which he will occupy in England. His understanding is sound, his apprehension clear and rapid, and his heart is in the right place. He has great powers of observation, and possesses singular prudence, without anything about him that can be called cold or morose."

It was now decided that Prince Albert's education should be completed by a tour in Italy, in which he was accompanied, at Queen Victoria's request, by Baron Stockmar. Setting out towards the close of the year 1838, they remained until March, 1839, at Florence, visiting afterwards Rome, Naples, Milan, and other cities. His observant companion wrote of him at this time: "The Prince bears a striking resemblance to his mother, and at the same time, though differing in much, takes after her in many respects, both physical and mental. He has the same mobility and readiness of mind, the same intelligence, the same overruling desire and talent for appearing kind and amiable to others; the same tendency to *espièglerie*, and to the treatment of men and things in a droll and consequently often pleasant fashion, the same habit of not dwelling long on a subject. His constitution cannot be called strong; still, I incline to think that, with proper dietetic management of himself, it may easily gain strength and stability. After any exertion he is apt to look pale and exhausted. Great exertion is repugnant to him, and his tendency is to spare himself both morally and physically.

"Full of the best intentions and the noblest resolutions, he often falls short in giving them effect. His judgment is in many things beyond his years; but hitherto, at least, he shows not the slightest interest in politics. Even while the most important occurrences are in progress, and their issues undecided, he does not care to look into a newspaper.

Baron Stockmar and the Prince

"As respects *les belles manières*, there is still room for improvement. This defect must be in a great measure ascribed to the fact that his earliest years were passed without the advantage of the society or care of a mother or other cultivated woman. On the whole, he will always have more success with men than with women, in whose society he shows too little *empressement*, and is too indifferent and retiring."

Prince Albert, who had relaxed none of his studious habits during this tour, was observing, too. He was able to write "My range of observation has been doubled, and my power of forming a right judgment will be much increased by having seen for myself." And that judgment was, on the whole, one of depreciation: "Italy is truly a most interesting country, and an inexhaustible source of knowledge. One contrives, however, to taste extraordinarily little of the

KING EDWARD'S FATHER

From a portrait in the Royal Collection, painted by F. Winterhalter in 1859.

enjoyment one promises oneself there. In many, many respects the country is far behind what one had expected. Climate, scenery, artistic feeling and skill—in all these one feels most disagreeably disappointed."

On June 21, 1839, when his brother came of age, Prince Albert also was declared of age by Act of Legislature. "Now," he remarked, "I am my own master, as I hope always to be, and under all circumstances."

Queen Victoria had no purpose of an early marriage when Prince Albert and his brother arrived again in England in October, 1839. The Prince had matured greatly since they had last met. Writing of his appearance at this time, General Grey says: "Prince Albert was eminently handsome. But there was also in his countenance a gentleness of expression, and a peculiar sweetness in his smile, with a look of deep thought and high intelligence in his clear blue eye and expansive forehead, that added a charm to the impression he produced in those who saw him far beyond that derived from mere beauty or regularity of features." The Queen wrote in the same sense to King Leopold on October 12, 1839: "Albert's *beauty* is *most striking*, and he is so amiable and unaffected—in short, very *fascinating;* he is excessively admired here." And three days later: "My dearest Uncle,—This letter will, I am sure, give you pleasure, for you have always shown and taken so warm an interest in all that concerns me. My mind is made quite up, and I told Albert this morning of it; the warm affection he showed me on learning this gave me *great* pleasure. He seems *perfection*, and I think that I have the prospect of very great happiness before me. I *love* him *more* than I can say."

THE GREAT EXHIBITION OF 1851: QUEEN VICTORIA AND THE PRINCE CONSORT AT THE OPENING CEREMONY

To the enterprise and energy of the Prince Consort, the Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations, held in Hyde Park in 1851, was primarily due. Remaining open for twenty-three weeks, the Exhibition did much to extend a knowledge of the world's manufactures, and was visited by upwards of six million persons. Both pictures illustrate the opening ceremony on May 1 by Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort, who, with the Duchess of Kent and the Royal children, are seen standing in the upper picture, on the dais; members of the Ministry are standing on the left and foreign ambassadors on the right.

On February 6, 1840, Prince Albert landed once more at Dover, where he was received with great popular enthusiasm. He arrived at Buckingham Palace on the eighth, and on the tenth was married to Queen Victoria in the Chapel of St. James's Palace. So began a married life of pre-eminent affection and felicity.

The Prince Consort was a man of many, great, and varied excellencies. His natural gifts, which were of no mean order, had been assiduously cultivated to the highest pitch. He was proficient in learning and in art; he had great aptitude for practical affairs; he devoted himself unreservedly to the public interest. He was singularly upright, amiable, patient, dutiful. He made the Queen happy as few women are happy; she adored him while he lived, and after his death she mourned him as few are mourned. With all this, why was the Prince Consort unpopular in England? Unquestionably, as the Queen knew, because he was not understood. Well, then, why was he not understood?

The fact is that, with all his excellencies, the Prince Consort suffered from a great and irremediable disadvantage in his position as the first of Englishmen. It was largely due to his education, and therefore we have dwelt on his earlier years at some length. Doubtless it was largely due to a motherless childhood. But it was chiefly due to the fact that he came from surroundings and traditions, and belonged to a type of culture, that were narrow, recent, and superficial, as compared with the old rich stream of English life. All that over-serious way of taking oneself and of taking life, the haunting self-consciousness and anxious self-improvement, the unrelieved servitude to duty, the intellectualism and idealism, the pragmatical earnestness, the Puritanism — all these things, which we cannot help calling excellencies in their way, are yet not of the manner of

A FAVOURITE PORTRAIT OF KING EDWARD AS A BOY

This is one of the most popular of the many portraits of his boyhood, and shows him at the age of seven. The artist was F. Winterhalter, whose work is so prominent a feature of the galleries at Windsor Castle.

England. They are too self-conscious for the English manner. Some men's principles are like their bones, a sturdy frame within, hidden by flesh and vesture, unseen, unthought of, yet controlling every movement. Others wear their principles like armour, inviolable, polished, gleaming in the sun, and these control every movement too. And not only individuals, but entire societies, differ in this respect. On the whole, the former has been the English way. It is not necessarily the better way, but it is certainly very different from the other. So different, indeed, are these two kinds that they rarely come near understanding one another. Prince Albert did not understand the English, neither did they understand nor like him, though they came in the end to respect him. He could not understand their levity; they could not understand his seriousness.

The whole record of Prince Albert's life is full of examples of this habit of self-conscious principle. As has been said, it belonged to his circumstances, and was quite inevitable. But to show its character more clearly, and to show also how baffling it is to the English mind, one capital instance may be taken. It is at the supreme moment when the proposal of a marriage with the girl-queen Victoria has been for the first time communicated to him. "I have had a long conversation with Albert," King Leopold writes to Baron Stockmar, "and have put the whole case honestly and kindly before him. He looks at the question from its most elevated and honourable point of view. He considers that troubles are inseparable from all human positions, and that, therefore, if one must be subject to plagues and annoyances, it is better to be so for some great and worthy object than for trivial and paltry ends." There is here, indeed, no lack of elevated principle; but, as a reply to the suggestion of a marriage with a perfectly charming girl, it is certainly bewildering to an Englishman. Yet it is absolutely characteristic of Prince Albert. He looked at every question "from its most elevated and honourable point of view."

But quite apart from this essential foreignness of Prince Albert's mental constitution, there were specially disadvantageous circumstances at the time of his coming which made it hard for him to come into touch with the English people. Writing a few weeks before the betrothal, Greville remarks on the decay of loyalty in the Tory party among other bad signs of the times. "The Tory principle," he says, "is completely destroyed by party rage. No Opposition was ever more rabid than this is. No people ever treated or spoke of the Sovereign with such marked disrespect. They seem not to care one straw for the Crown, its dignity, or its authority." Bad taste and ill-manners were carried to their highest possible point in the wretched parliamentary discussions on the Prince's religious allegiance, on the question of the annuity to be settled on him, and on his title and precedence. For some time even his domestic position was uncertain. Three months after the marriage he wrote to a friend: "In my home life I am very happy and contented; but the difficulty in filling my place with the proper dignity is—that I am only the husband, and not the master in the house."

Prejudice against Prince Albert

These early difficulties passed away, only to be succeeded by others of a more serious kind. The Prince Consort proposed to devote himself to public affairs, but the country in general, and Ministers in particular, were not unnaturally suspicious of his influence; they recognised his place in the Royal Family and in society, but could find no place for him in the councils of the State. For the first two years of his married life he was not even admitted to the Queen's consultations with her Ministers. Difficulties of this kind arose again and again, and the Prince Consort was made the object of the most ferocious newspaper attacks; on one occasion it was even given out that he had been committed to the Tower!

It is unnecessary to go into all these miserable stories; the only point that matters is, that by patience, courage, loyalty, application, and sheer goodwill, the Prince Consort won his way against every disadvantage. He triumphantly realised his ideal, which we have in his own words from a letter to the Duke of Wellington, declining to accept the office of Commander-in-Chief of the Army. He had steadily endeavoured, he says, "to sink his own individual existence in that of his wife; to aim at no power by himself, or for himself; to shun all ostentation; to assume no separate responsibility before the public; to make his position entirely a part of hers; to fill up every gap which, as a woman, she would naturally leave in the exercise of her regal functions; continually and anxiously to watch every part of the public business in order to be able to advise and assist her at any moment in any of the multifarious and difficult questions brought before her, political or social, or personal; to place all his time and powers at her command as the natural head of her family, superintendent of her household, manager of her private affairs, her sole confidential adviser in politics, and only assistant in her communications with the officers of the Government, her private secretary, and permanent Minister."

The Prince in a True Light

In point of fact, the Prince Consort became more than all this. The Queen held, with good reason, the most exalted views of his wisdom and rectitude; she gave the widest and most ardent interpretation to wifely obedience and submission of judgment; further, she had all the cares of motherhood. The Prince Consort was, with her and indistinguishably from her, *de facto* Sovereign of Britain.

KING EDWARD VII. IN THE FIRST YEAR OF HIS REIGN

From the painting by R. Lonsdale Staples

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Onerous as were the duties which the Prince Consort thus fulfilled through the twenty-one years of his married life, he yet found time and energy to direct and to foster, if not to initiate, a whole new movement in England. It was not long before the unwonted presence in the highest place of a thoroughly cultivated intellect began to take effect. Both by his direct efforts, and by the indirect force of example and suggestion, the Prince Consort's wide interest in the fine arts, in the sciences, in technology, and in philanthropic questions, awoke a corresponding interest in the minds of the people.

The Prince was a keen and accomplished musician, both as executant and as composer, and, like the Queen, he was an excellent singer. Oratorios and concerts were given at the Royal palaces, and Felix Mendelssohn and other eminent musicians were welcomed with an engaging simplicity. Within a few weeks of his marriage the Prince Consort was appointed one of the Directors of the Antient Concerts, and in that capacity chose the music for public performances, attended rehearsals, and quickly promoted popular attention to classical music. The stage also received the discriminating patronage of the Queen and Prince Consort, who not only attended the theatre, but also commanded many performances at Windsor. These Windsor plays were directed by Charles Kean until 1857, and thereafter, until the death of the Prince Consort, by William Donne; many Shakespearean and other plays were presented by the most eminent actors, including the Keans, Macready, Charles Mathews, and Buckstone. The Royal Family gave many commissions to painters, of which the numerous portraits by Winterhalter, Landseer, and others, and the elaborate frescoes from "Comus" in the summer-house at Buckingham Palace, are examples. All this spontaneous delight in the fine arts on the part of the Queen and Prince Consort was reflected, to its great benefit, in the public mind.

KING EDWARD AS A BOY IN HIGHLAND COSTUME

The King, like Queen Victoria, had a genuine love of the Highlands, and from his earliest years was frequently to be seen in the "garb of Old Gaul." This painting by R. J. Lane is one of the most effective in the Royal Collection.

The Prince Consort's first public speech, in England and in English, on June 1, 1840, was delivered at a demonstration in favour of the abolition of the slave trade; the subject was typical of those to which he was always most ready to lend his authority. He presided on June 20, 1857, over the first meeting of the Conference on National Education, and summed up, in a profoundly thoughtful address, the urgent problem of illiteracy and ignorance to which the country was just awaking.

A Picture of Domestic Happiness

In 1843 he set himself to abolish the practice of duelling, then prevalent among Army officers, and, by securing an amendment in the Articles of War, succeeded in finally discrediting "affairs of honour." In his progresses with the Queen through various parts of the country he took every opportunity of visiting factories, and of studying the circumstances of the operatives.

The Prince Consort had long deliberated over his project of the Great Exhibition before he took a few statesmen and representatives of the Society of Arts into his confidence in July, 1849. The movement was publicly inaugurated at a great meeting early in the following year, at which foreign Powers were represented; and at a banquet, in March, the Prince imparted his exalted conception in an eloquent speech. "No one," he said, "will doubt that we are living at a period of most wonderful transition, which tends rapidly to accomplish that great end to which indeed all history points—*the realisation of the unity of mankind.* Not a unity which breaks down the limits and levels the peculiar characteristics of the different nations of the earth, but rather a unity the *result and product* of those very national varieties and antagonistic qualities. . . . The Exhibition of 1851 is to give us a true test and a living picture of the point of development at which the whole of mankind has arrived in this great task, and a new starting-point from which all nations will be able to direct their further exertions."

The intimate home life of the Queen and the Prince Consort was one of great simplicity. They both much preferred a retired country life to the crowded life of town; their happiest days were spent at Windsor, later at Osborne, and last, and most of all, at Balmoral.

Here, year after year, the Queen and Prince Consort refreshed themselves, with their growing family, from the cares of Royalty; entertaining friends, riding about the countryside, sketching, reading, writing. But here, also, most of all, they showed themselves model landlords. The Prince busied himself with building better cottages, seeking to improve the system of agriculture followed by his tenants, establishing schools and rewarding industry.

For twenty-one years Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort thus lived in perfect wedded happiness, each all in all to the other, fulfilling in all sincerity and with all their power their Royal responsibilities. Then, for thirty-nine years more, the widowed Queen was left to reign alone and mourn her husband. Looking on his face for the last time, she asked: "Will they do him justice now?" Her Laureate's reply spoke for the nation.

> We know him now: all narrow jealousies
> Are silent; and we see him as he moved,
> How modest, kindly, all accomplished, wise,
> . . . thro' all this tract of years
> Wearing the white flower of a blameless life,
> Before a thousand peering littlenesses,
> In that fierce light which beats upon a throne
> And blackens every blot.

CHAPTER IV

THE BRITISH EMPIRE AT KING EDWARD'S BIRTH

A General Survey of the political situation in the United Kingdom, and the progress of Britain Beyond the Seas, in the year 1841

WE turn now to pass in brief review the conditions of the British Empire, into which the future King Edward VII. was born, and which was to become his unrivalled inheritance.

Within these islands the eleven years which preceded the birth of the Prince of Wales saw the end of the long Tory supremacy, the complete overthrow of the oligarchical system, the activity of the Reform Parliament under a Whig ascendency, and the accession of the Queen who was to perfect in practice the conception of a constitutional monarchy. Before these eleven years were ended, the Whig ascendency had worn itself out. The country was, in fact, entering on a new political phase, in which parties and party leaders were in what may be called a state of readjustment. It was half implied by the new party names, Liberal and Conservative, which were now displacing the old Whig and Tory; and the balance of political power had passed from the land-owning to the manufacturing class. It was the middle class which now held in its hands the destinies of the British Empire.

The United Kingdom was in advance of nearly all Continental nations in respect of the existing sources of European unrest. Yet she was not free from troubles on the same lines. It was not possible to escape from the fact that the state consisted primarily of three nations; for the idea of a separate Welsh nationality had not then emerged. Antagonism between England and Scotland was, indeed, a thing of the past. Scotland had learnt to be satisfied with a partnership in which England did not attempt to overrule Scottish ideas on Scottish questions. But the position of Ireland was different. She had not, like Scotland, developed commercial prosperity. Her population was almost entirely agricultural and extremely poor. Before the Union, at least, she had never been treated as on an equality with England, but always in some degree as a subject province; and so far as she had been allowed to control her own government, that government had itself been in the hands of an oligarchy largely English or Scottish in origin, and differing in religion as well as in race from three-fourths of the population. There had never been a time when Ireland acquiesced in the English dominion except when she was too prostrate to resist.

The Union had placed Ireland theoretically on an equality with Scotland; she had her full representation in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, but she did not control the administration of Irish affairs as Scotland practically controlled the administration of Scottish affairs. Catholic Emancipation had indeed given a reality previously lacking to her representation, but she still held herself to be a subordinate partner, virtually not ruling herself but ruled by England, which, to the mass of her population, was an alien power. Under such circumstances it was inevitable that economic depression and agricultural discontent, together with ecclesiastical grievances still unremedied, should issue in nationalist demands. "The liberator,"

IN THE PLAY-DAYS OF KING EDWARD VII.

The above is reproduced from a drawing by Queen Victoria made in 1853, and represents a group of the Royal children taking part in the German play of "Die Tafel Birnen." The two figures on the right of the picture are the Princess Royal, who took the part of "Louise," and King Edward, who played that of "Max."

Daniel O'Connell, had no sooner won the battle of Catholic Emancipation than he became the champion of the cause of Repeal, the restoration to Ireland of an independent legislature.

The Reform Act had secured a constitution such as was dreamed of by the educated classes on the Continent; and educated opinion at home was satisfied. The idea was abroad that the glorious Revolution of 1688 had attained its final consummation. That happy medium had been achieved which secured the nation alike against the tyranny of a monarch, the tyranny of an oligarchy, and the still worse tyranny of the mob. Most of the persons who supported the Reform Bill would probably have scouted the idea that it was but a step, though an exceedingly important one, on the road to democracy.

Nevertheless, there remained a lurking fear of the working classes; an actual memory among older men of sans-culottism, and even among younger men a tolerably vivid impression of what that had meant. It had wrought the Reign of Terror, and it had given birth to the Napoleonic wars. Sans-culottism was the giant against whom William Pitt had drawn the sword. The fear of sans-culottism had been the dominating motive of the diplomatists at Vienna, and remained incarnate in the hero of Waterloo, who was still in many respects the most remarkable living personality in England—the one man at whose word of command the Tory party was capable of turning to the right-about.

ROYAL CHILDREN PERFORMING IN A [illegible]

Like the illustration on the opposite page, the above is one of Queen Victoria's [illegible] 1853, representing her own and other children taking part in Racine's tragedy [illegible] King Edward, who was then in his twelfth year, played the part of "Ab[illegible]"

The Reform Act had satisfied the middle classes; it had not satisfied the group of advanced intellectuals who were known as philosophic Radicals, or the working classes, who regarded political power as a magic wand by the possession of which they could procure an economic readjustment scarcely distinguishable from the millennium. The working class demand was formulated in what was called the People's Charter in 1838. The Chartists, of whom we shall hear more presently, created a good deal of disturbance by their agitation, and were repressed with some severity at the close of 1839. At the same time economists were discovering a different solution of the problem which was at the bottom of the Chartist movement, in Free Trade, and especially in the abolition of the Corn Laws. In fact, the country was, in a sense, exceedingly prosperous. In the course of seventy years an enormous manufacturing industry had developed; England had become a country mainly manufacturing instead of mainly agricultural. First had come great improvements in machinery; then the application of water as the driving power; and then the employment of steam. The Napoleonic wars had almost killed production in the European states, which were devastated by vast armies, and drained of their best manhood, to serve or to resist the designs of the emperor. England, in which the only foreign foes who set foot were prisoners of war, had a clear field to pursue her manufacturing progress, and a market for her goods on the Continent of which no Berlin Decrees could deprive her; for the simple reason that the goods were needed at any price and could not be produced elsewhere. When the war was over, competition could not raise its head against her established commercial supremacy.

Commercial Supremacy

But the prosperity had not extended to the working classes. Goods were produced in enormous quantities by machinery at a price which created an ample market, but the huge increase in production was accomplished with a smaller quantity of human labour. Machinery had for the time diminished employment, and at the same time it had deprived the small agriculturists of the means by which they had hitherto eked out their livelihood. The destitution in rural districts had been dealt with by a system of poor relief admirably calculated to multiply paupers. One of the earliest measures introduced by the reformed Parliament was the Reform of the Poor Law, which had remained almost unaltered since the days of Queen Elizabeth. The change was entirely salutary in the long run; but its immediate effect was to deprive of relief a large number of persons who had hitherto depended on this extraneous assistance to preserve them from starvation.

Thus there was widespread distress, which was greatly aggravated by the high price of food. The heavy taxes on imported corn secured to the farmer high prices for wheat, and inflicted on the labourer high prices for bread. Competition for employment was greater than demand for labour, and wages remained low. It was not, indeed, pure philanthropy which made manufacturers desire the removal of the Corn Laws so much as the consciousness that with cheap bread cash wages could be lowered. On the other hand, the evil of unemployment as concerned men in the labouring classes was aggravated by long hours and by the extensive employment of women and children. The working man with a family perceived that if his children and his womenkind were labouring for wages, they brought home sundry shillings at the week's end. He did not recognise that by employing them the manufacturer was released from the necessity of employing a considerable number of men, and that, in fact, this form of cheap labour very materially reduced both the amount of employment and the scale of wages for efficient male labour. For the wages paid to women were low, and for child labour were scandalous. Workmen and manufacturers combined to resist the demand of philanthropists for legislation which should improve the conditions under which women and children worked, so far at least as that would involve reduction in the hours of labour or raise the age at which children might begin to earn a

Industrial Problems

KING EDWARD AS A BOY ON HORSEBACK
From the drawing by A. Hunt.

trifle, however small, towards the household expenses. Nevertheless, the philanthropic movement had begun, and the first Factory Act had been passed immediately before the amendment of the Poor Law. Still, it had not yet penetrated to the minds of employers at large that efficient labour at a comparatively high wage may be a good deal less costly than inefficient labour at a low wage. The movement so far found its support on grounds of philanthropy, not on economics.

The British Empire is not bounded by the four seas. It had been parted from the great bulk of its colonies by the American War of Independence in the reign of George III. That great rift, however, of the British race had occurred after the acquisition of a new dominion beyond the St. Lawrence and the establishment of the East India Company as the ascendant territorial power in India; while no colonies were lost, except the thirteen which formed the United States. The British flag was planted on the Australian continent just before the outbreak of the French Revolution; and South Africa was added to the British dominions by the transfer of Cape Colony from Holland to Britain, completed at the close of the great war.

Australian Development

Australian development had been slow for many years. That continent was regarded mainly as a dumping-ground for convicts. Convict settlements were undesirable neighbours; and emigrants who preferred experimenting in undeveloped territories to competing for a livelihood at home were few. They increased in numbers, however, more rapidly as the proportion of ex-convicts and convicts to citizens who had not made themselves amenable to the law diminished. The original military governorship gave place to the rule of a governor with a nominated council. Down to 1829 Tasmania was the only colony separate from New South Wales, whose capital was at Sydney; and the convict element in that island was for a long time particularly disturbing. Exploration, however, had been going on; the original colony had been expanding; new regions were taken up for sheep-farming or cattle-grazing; agitation against the importation of convicts was increasing; and the colonists themselves were beginning to demand self-government.

In 1829 Western Australia was started; and South Australia in 1834. The same year saw the beginnings of Victoria as a dependency of New South Wales. A necessary step towards replacing the crown colony system by one of self-government was taken when transportation to New South Wales was abolished in 1840.

The last oceanic colony added to the empire at this period was that of New Zealand, which was annexed by a proclamation of the Governor of New South Wales in 1839, and was occupied under the formal Treaty of Waitangi between the British and the native Maoris in 1840. So far, there was not a single one of the colonies in the Australasian group which had passed beyond the status of a crown colony, using that term in its most restricted sense.

The colony at the Cape was of an entirely different type from the Australasian group, which had hardly passed beyond the embryonic stage. The Dutch had been established there since the middle of the seventeenth century. It had been occupied by the British in 1795 on account of its strategical value in the contest with France. It had been restored to the Dutch at the Peace of Amiens, re-occupied soon after the renewal of the war, and permanently retained at its close, in return for tolerably solid compensations conceded to the government of Holland.

That portion of the colony which was of European descent at the time when it came under British rule was almost entirely of Dutch origin, with a certain admixture

IN THE SCOTTISH HIGHLANDS
Reproduced from an engraving after the familiar painting by Sir Edwin Landseer, showing King Edward as a boy enjoying the open life of the Highlands.

QUEEN VICTORIA WITH THE PRINCESS ROYAL AND THE YOUNG PRINCE OF WALES AT LOCH LAGGAN

In the above picture Sir Edwin Landseer has recorded a Scottish expedition of Queen Victoria during her early stays in the Scottish Highlands, her children, the late Empress of Germany and King Edward, being her companions on this occasion.

of French Huguenots. In the main the Dutch were scattered over large farms, which were worked partly by the labour of slaves imported from other parts of Africa, not Kaffirs or Bantu of the negro races which occupied the border territories of the colony. Within the colony there were still a considerable number of the more or less aboriginal races of that region, the yellow-skinned Hottentots and the Bushmen. There had already been collisions between the Dutch and the fighting Kaffir races, who were theoretically restricted to the regions beyond the Fish River.

This Dutch population, accustomed to self-government, and something more than contemptuous of the natives, found itself placed under the control of a foreign government as the outcome, not of a contest, but of a diplomatic arrangement in which it had itself had no voice.

The Whigs in England, on coming into power, gave effect to the entirely righteous demand, which had long been growing, for the total abolition of slavery within the British Empire. The Dutch farmers up-country were mainly dependent on slave labour, and when the large sum which the British people had cheerfully voted to compensate the slave-owners came to be distributed, the slave-owners of South Africa found the share allotted to them wholly inadequate. They had already been thoroughly disgusted by the sentimental feebleness which left the frontier men at the mercy of the Kaffirs; and in 1836 the stalwarts resolved to betake themselves to regions where the British Government would cease from troubling, and they themselves would be free to follow the scriptural precedents set by the Children of Israel when they took possession of the Promised Land.

The Boers on the Trek

The colony had acquired by this time a form of government somewhat in advance of those in Australia, since, in addition to the governor's nominated council, there was a legislative assembly which was in part elected. Moreover, the British element had been made a substantial one, in the population as well as in the government, by large numbers of settlers from the Mother Country who had come to stay. But the Great Trek, as the northward migration of the Dutch stalwarts was called, was the first step towards the creation of the separate self-governing Dutch states which, in course of time, were to be known as the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic.

South African Expansion

In Canada, the opening years of the Queen's reign saw changes which were of the utmost importance. The Canada Act of 1791 had divided the colony into two provinces, each with its own governor and legislature. In Lower Canada the population was very largely French; in Upper Canada, or Ontario, it was mainly British. In both the system of government practically meant that the administration was in the hands partly of officials appointed from England, and partly of a few colonial families who had acquired a sort of senatorial rank. In the lower colony the race rivalry was a grievance; in the upper colony that particular question had no place. The grievances reached such a point that an insurrection broke out, generally referred to as Papineau's Rebellion. It was suppressed without any great difficulty; but at the same time it had shown the necessity for a thorough examination of the whole position, and for some drastic reform of the existing system.

Accordingly, Lord Durham was sent out as commissioner to take control of the existing emergency, and to report on the subject generally. Lord Durham's action as commissioner, whether warranted by the circumstances or not, was undeniably arbitrary and high-handed, and caused him to be recalled; but his report on the whole situation was a document of immense importance. In fact, it laid down principles which have been the basis of a gradual change in the whole constitutional relations of the colonies to the Mother Country. As concerned particular conditions which applied specifically to Canada, Lord Durham found

that the existing system fostered a race antagonism between French and British. By the union of the two Canadas as a single colony under a single government, he held that the race antagonism would be reduced to a minimum, while the conception of a Canadian nationality would be fostered. Also, he proposed that the Canadian population should exercise a greatly increased control over the government.

Fostering Canada's Nationality

Lord Durham's recommendations were embodied in the Act of Reunion, which was carried by the Melbourne Ministry in England in 1840. The Act united the two Canadas under one governor, with an enlarged Legislative Council consisting of Crown nominees, but selected from a wider area than before, and with an elected Assembly with increased powers. What is called responsible government was not yet established. The Ministry was not as yet reconstructed, as in England, in accordance with party majorities in the Assembly; but the position was analogous to that which had arisen in England when William III. ascended the throne. The direct responsibility of the

KING EDWARD'S FIRST "OFFICIAL" APPEARANCE AS THE BOY PRINCE OF WALES

The above, reproduced from an old engraving, illustrates the opening of the new Coal Exchange, Thames Street, London, in 1849, when the Princess Royal and the young Prince of Wales were present during the opening ceremony, with Prince Albert, the Queen being indisposed.

administration to the Assembly was bound to follow as inevitably as it had followed in England. And the example of Canada was certain to be followed in the case of other colonies as they developed. The Canadian Act of Reunion, accomplished in the year preceding the birth of the Prince of Wales, must be regarded as having laid the foundations of the existing system of colonial government.

We turn now to our great Indian dependency. The period of conquest appeared to have come to a conclusion with the Maratha War, in 1819, which had finally broken up that great confederacy, and had absorbed under direct British dominion a great portion of its territories. The British were acknowledged as the paramount or suzerain power throughout the peninsula, from the hills to the sea, except that the Punjab and Sindh, lying beyond the Sutlej and the Indus, remained independent. In the rest of India there were still a few great states and several small ones under the government of native dynasties, over which the British exercised only a supervising control in domestic affairs, with an absolute control over their relations with other states. Something less than a half of the whole area of what we call India was under direct British government, but the British authority was everywhere recognised. Since 1819 there had been only one war of importance for twenty years—a contest forced upon us by Burma, which had resulted in the acquisition of Assam and Tenasserim. This expedition to Further India may be regarded merely as an episode which had little direct effect in India proper.

Throughout the 'twenties and 'thirties, until after the accession of Queen Victoria, the British in India had been engaged chiefly in organising the system of government throughout the great dependency. The administration, especially under Lord William Bentinck, as Governor-General from 1828 to 1835, had introduced many reforms of great importance.

Humanity, law, and order, and a popular belief that the Company's government was under divine—or dæmonic—protection were fostered by the success of these measures.

Thus the Company's government was exercised beneficently with a single eye to the material and moral welfare of the Indian community, largely in accordance with the conceptions of the best minds in England, and with a wider notion of the duties of government than as yet prevailed among politicians at home. But the beneficence was not appreciated at its full value by the natives, any more than compulsory sanitation is appreciated by certain classes in England at the present day. Discontent, suspicion, dread, still lay hidden behind the Oriental mask which European eyes can never with any certainty penetrate.

Peace before Storm in the East

And in the meantime, the strong hand of Ranjit Singh had been withdrawn by death from the Punjab, which was falling into a condition of anarchy, in which the controlling force was the organised Sikh army. And the peace which the authorities imagined to prevail in Afghanistan, now that Shah Shuja had been restored and the Moslem rising repressed, was on the verge of a most disastrous termination. Precisely one week before the Prince of Wales was born there was an insurrection in Kabul, and Sir Alexander Burnes was murdered.

CHAPTER V

THE BIRTH OF KING EDWARD VII.

An Account of the Ceremonies and Rejoicings attending an Event that signified the coming of a New Dynasty

NEVER was powder expended more liberally on a *feu de joie* than was the case in London on the memorable second Tuesday of November, 1841. For the first time in our history a Queen regnant had given birth to a Prince of Wales. The little Princess Royal had now a brother, and a new life had been interposed between the British throne and the pretensions of the unpopular Duke of Cumberland.

"How they do *powder* these Royal babies!" exclaimed the witty Douglas Jerrold. But gladness was general throughout the country, and thankfulness and joy were in the hearts not only of the happy parents, but in the breast of every subject, from the highest to the humblest. It was the universal hope that the child would be a boy; and perhaps some anxiety on this account had caused her Majesty, whilst not appearing in public, to act as far as was possible as if nothing serious were at hand. Almost up to the last moment her Majesty transacted personally the official duties appertaining to her high office.

On the Monday morning the Queen walked in the gardens of Buckingham Palace. She went out again in the afternoon. The Duchess of Kent, with two noblemen of the household and a lady-in-waiting, dined at the Royal table. The guests took their departure a little before eleven. Before going, however, the duchess sent for Sir James Clark and Dr. Locock. But the whole palace remained in perfect repose till a few minutes before eight o'clock in the morning, when Dr. Locock was summoned, and soon all the medical men were in attendance. Two hours later express messengers were despatched for the Queen's mother, the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Peel), and the great officers of State. Sir Robert arrived a few minutes before eight, to be assured that her Majesty was going on most favourably. The Duchess of Kent came at nine-thirty. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the Lord Chancellor arrived at ten, and were speedily followed by the Duke of Wellington and other members of the Privy Council.

Before eleven, Sir James Clark was able to announce that her Majesty had been safely delivered of a son. According to a generally accepted story, the Duke of Wellington was one of the last of the notable personages to arrive, and, asking of the nurse, "Well, Mrs. Lilly, is it a boy or a girl?" received in reply the proud announcement, "It is a *prince*, your Grace!" Passing out, the Iron Duke met Lord Hill, the commander of the forces. "All over," said the duke; "fine boy—very fine boy, almost as red as you are, Hill!"

The happy event, which took place in the Royal apartment at the north-west angle of the palace, excited in every bosom unspeakable emotions of joy and gratitude. In fact, the whole household was in a state of unexampled commotion. Orders were given and acted upon so impulsively that no fewer than three special messengers conveyed the happy news to the queen-dowager at Sudbury Hall.

Within half an hour the accouchement was announced in a special issue of the "Times." It was Lord Mayor's Day, and the only one in our history on which such an event has happened. The course of the procession was diverted on its return to enable Sir James Pirie, with the aldermen and sheriffs, to ride to the palace and sign the visitors' book by way of signalising the happiness of the whole of London at the auspicious event. During the morning the following official bulletin was issued:

Buckingham Palace,
Tuesday, November 9th, 1841.

The Queen was safely delivered of a Prince this morning at 48 minutes past 10 o'clock.

Her Majesty and the infant Prince are going on well.

JAMES CLARK, M.D.
CHARLES LOCOCK, M.D.
ROBERT FERGUSON, M.D.
RICHARD BLAGDEN, M.D.

THE INFANT PRINCE, ALBERT EDWARD
A portrait of the Royal baby, from a painting by Sir George Hayter, published by Royal command on March 19, 1842.

KING EDWARD AS A BOY PAYS HIS FIRST VISIT TO IRELAND

A contemporary engraving of the Royal party leaving Kingstown Harbour on August 10, 1849, after a visit to Ireland. Prince Albert and the Queen, together with the young Prince of Wales, are seen standing on the paddle-box, while the other members of the Royal Family and their entourage are on the deck below.

In the prevailing excitement so simple a matter as the wording of this bulletin was not agreed upon without some confusion. The records of Royal births were hastily consulted. It was found that when George IV. was born the wording of the second paragraph ran: "Her Majesty and the Prince are doing well." By direction of the Prime Minister this wording was copied exactly. But when the bulletin was shown to her Majesty by Prince Albert, she said, with a happy little laugh: "My dear, this will never do." She was assured that it was in strict accordance with precedent. "But," was the Royal rejoinder, "there can be no precedent where circumstances differ. You, Albert, are not king, but prince; let it be altered to 'Her Majesty and the *infant* Prince are doing well!'"

Another incident is recorded which is characteristic of the Queen's strength of mind and constant consideration for the feelings of her subjects. Shortly before Prince Albert left the palace to attend the meeting of the Privy Council, the Queen asked why the park guns had not been fired. On hearing the reason, her Majesty said the noise would not disturb her in the least, and commanded the usual salutes, in order that the public might not receive any erroneous impression as to her state of health. In the park and at the Tower, accordingly, the usual salutes of 101 guns, half-minute time, were fired; while at Windsor the 12-pounders of the corporation gave tongue to the general rejoicing.

London's Joy at the Event

The glories of the day in the capital were not a little augmented by the magnificent progress westward of the mayoral pageant, which returned to the City by water. The merry pealing of the church bells added to the glad tension of the hour. A long succession of distinguished callers made their way to the palace to inquire of the health of mother and son; and the popular solicitude for Queen and Heir-Apparent was demonstrated by the great concourse of people within the precincts of the Mall. Flags crowned with laurels floated from the summits of all the principal buildings, and "gladness was everywhere." Both on leaving the palace to attend the meeting of the Privy Council and on his return Prince Albert was loudly cheered, and it was evident that he was highly delighted by this demonstration of loyalty, as, hat in hand, he bowed his acknowledgments. At the Guildhall banquet the Royal toast was honoured with deafening cheers, and enthusiasm reached its highest pitch when the chief magistrate of the first city in the Empire called upon the assembled company to drink "Health and long life to the infant Prince, the Heir-Apparent to the British Throne."

Sir Robert Peel rose to the occasion in an eloquent speech, in which he declared that "whatever be the conflicts of party, inseparable from the working of free and popular government, we are all united as one man in the sentiment of attachment to the monarchy of this country, and in feelings of devotion to the person of our sovereign." He continued: "The feeling we witness this day is an example of that which pervades the whole people of this country, who will see with delight the prospect of increased security for the liberty and happiness of the people, and look forward with hope and joy to the accession, in the fulness of time, to the throne of his ancestors, of the Prince who has been born this day, and who, we confidently trust, formed by the tender care, and instructed by the example of his illustrious parents, shall, at some future and, as we pray, most distant day, prove himself worthy of the high destiny to which he is called—worthy of filling the throne of this United Kingdom, of protecting the Constitution, and advancing the liberties and happiness of a free and generous people." Perhaps never before or since has a speech in the Guildhall been received with so much enthusiasm. A typical example of the public joy was the demonstration that took place the same evening in the Adelphi Theatre. As soon as the curtain was raised for the performance of "The Maid of Honour" there arose a loud and unanimous cry for "God Save the Queen." Finally, the entire company came on the stage and sang the National Anthem, an extra verse, extemporised for the occasion by Mr. Plunkett, being sung by Mrs. Grattan:

The Nation's Rejoicings

O Lord, in bounty shed
Joys round the Infant's head,
Shield him from harm;
Hear now a nation's prayer,
Guard England's youthful heir,
Make him Thy special care—
God save the Queen!

Nothing, we are told, could exceed the enthusiastic acclamation with which the last verse was received. And what happened in London and at Windsor found a counterpart in every town and village throughout the kingdom. Church bells rang out joyous peals, bonfires were lighted, and the cry of "The Queen—God bless her!" resounded on every hand.

After the meeting of the Privy Council the news of the birth of a male heir to the throne was formally conveyed to the public in a "Gazette" extraordinary in the following words, a supplementary announcement being issued for Scotland:

Buckingham Palace, November 9th, 1841.

This morning, at 12 minutes before 11 o'clock, the Queen was happily delivered of a Prince, his Royal Highness Prince Albert, her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent, several lords of her Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, and the ladies of her Majesty's Bedchamber, being present.

This great and important news was immediately made known to the town by the firing of the Park and Tower guns, and the Privy Council being assembled as soon as possible thereupon at the Council Chamber, Whitehall, it was ordered that a form of thanksgiving for

the Queen's safe delivery of a Prince be prepared by his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, to be used in all churches and chapels throughout England and Wales, and the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, on Sunday, November 14th, or the Sunday after the respective ministers shall receive the same.

Her Majesty and the Infant Prince are, God be praised, both doing well.

The following are the words of Archbishop Howley's thanksgiving prayer :—

O Merciful Lord and Heavenly Father, by Whose gracious gift mankind is increased, we most humbly offer unto Thee our hearty thanks for Thy great goodness vouchsafed to Thy people, in delivering Thy servant, our Sovereign Lady the Queen, from the perils of childbirth, and giving her the blessing of a son. Continue, we beseech Thee, Thy fatherly care over her ; support and comfort her in the hours of weakness, and day by day renew her strength. Preserve the infant Prince from whatever is hurtful either to body or soul ; endue him, as he advances in years, with true wisdom ; and make him, in due time, a blessed instrument of Thy goodness to this Church and nation, and to the whole world. Regard with Thine especial favour our Queen and her Royal consort, that they may long live together in the enjoyment of all earthly happiness, and may finally be made partakers of everlasting glory. Implant in the hearts of Thy people a deep sense of Thy manifold mercies, and give us grace to show forth our thankfulness by dutiful affection to our sovereign, by brotherly love one toward another, and by constant obedience to Thy commandments ; so that, passing through this life in Thy faith and fear, we may in the life to come be received into Thy heavenly kingdom, through the merits and mediation of Thy Blessed Son Jesus Christ our Lord.—Amen.

Over 270 loyal addresses of congratulation were presented to the Queen and to Prince Albert by various corporations and guilds, provosts, magistrates, town councils, lords lieutenants, vicars, and others. Amongst minor incidents is one recorded by Greville. It had been the custom for the officer on guard at St. James's Palace to be promoted to a majority when a Royal child was born. The guard was relieved at 10.45 a.m. A difference of but three minutes divided the changing of the guard and the birth of the Prince. The question arose which officer was entitled to the promotion. It was decided by Lord Hill in favour of the officer of the old guard.

During a visit to Claremont the Queen had selected the wife of one of the confidential servants there as wet-nurse in prospective. This was Mrs. George Brough, and she was unable to reach the palace until four o'clock in the afternoon. At that time the infant Prince was asleep, but he awoke soon after, and made known his wants in tones so unmistakable that Prince Albert remarked, "If his appetite is as good as his lungs, the nurse will find her place no sinecure."

The apartment set apart as the nursery was situated just below that of the Princess Royal, and adjoined that of the Queen. Here, during the days immediately following, visitors of note were introduced by his proud father to the young Prince ; and it was the general opinion that the Royal infant was a finer child than many healthy children of two months old. So minutely were the Royal happenings chronicled that the public were soon made aware that "the nursery breakfast is at half-past seven, and the Prince is washed and dressed immediately afterwards." On Thursday the Lord Mayor and the sheriffs of London and Middlesex were received in state by Prince Albert. The infant Prince was brought into the room, and the Lady Mayoress was permitted to kiss him. We are told that he received all this homage with

THE SCENE OF KING EDWARD'S CHRISTENING AND HIS PLACE OF BURIAL

The interior view of St. George's Chapel illustrates the place where the baptismal ceremony of King Edward took place, on January 25, 1842, and it is within the precincts of the same Royal chapel that his remains are laid to rest. In the upper photograph the exterior of St. George's Chapel is shown, together with the Round Tower of Windsor Castle.

"open eyes and a placidity of manner that argued well for his good humour as our future monarch." On Tuesday, the Home Secretary attended at the palace with the parochial authorities, and the birth was duly registered. The Home Secretary had further to notify a gracious act of clemency by which all convicts of good behaviour were accorded their liberty.

The infant Prince, by right of birth Duke of Cornwall, Duke of Saxony, Duke of Rothesay, Earl of Carrick, Baron Renfrew, Lord of the Isles, and Great Steward of Scotland, was formally created by patent, on December 4 ; Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester, being duly invested with the dignity by "girding him with a sword, by putting a coronet on his head, a gold ring on his

finger, and a gold rod into his hand." It may be added here that he became Earl of Dublin in 1849, on the occasion of his visit with his parents to Ireland, and that he was also a prince of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, which title he resigned for himself and for his descendants in 1863. The bestowal on the little Prince of his father's hereditary title of Duke of Saxony, and the quartering of the arms of Saxony on his shield with those of England, were questioned by Sir Robert Peel, but these matters were in perfect accord with heraldic law, and the wishes of the Queen were acceded to. The following entry in the Queen's "Journal," under date of November 21, is full of interest—the day was the birthday of the Princess Royal: "Albert brought in dearest little Pussy (the Princess) in such a smart white merino dress trimmed with blue, which mamma had given her, and a pretty cap, and placed her on my bed, seating himself next to her, and she was very dear and good. And as my precious, invaluable Albert sat there, and our little Love between us, I felt quite moved with happiness and gratitude to God."

The Queen's Pride in her Son

Writing to King Leopold from Windsor, to which place the Court removed on December 6, the Queen, after a quizzical allusion to "our awfully large nursery establishment," went on to say: "I wonder very much whom our little boy will be like. You will understand *how* fervent are my prayers, and I am sure everybody's must be, to see him resemble his father in *every, every* respect, both in body and mind." That Christmas at Windsor was one of unalloyed happiness. "To think," wrote the Queen, "that we have two children now, and one who enjoys the sight already, is like a dream!" The Prince, writing to his father on Christmas Eve, gave expression to kindred feelings.

KING EDWARD IN 1857

From the original drawing by E. M. Ward, R.A. Signed and dated Windsor Castle, February 12, 1857.

Before the christening the Queen sent to Lord Melbourne an account of the progress of her young son, and intimated her intention as to the naming of the infant. "Edward," wrote Lord Melbourne, in his reply, "is a good English appellation, and has a certain degree of popularity attached to it from ancient recollections. Albert is also an Anglo-Saxon name—the same, Lord Melbourne believes, as Ethelred—but it has not been so common, nor so much in use, since the Conquest."

The Royal christening took place in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, where Edward III. was baptised, on Tuesday, January 25, 1842. The grandeur and beauty of the great spectacle have been conveyed to generations of English people by Sir George Hayter's fine commemorative painting far more vividly than by means of any pen. "It is impossible," wrote the Queen, "to describe how beautiful and imposing the effect of the whole scene was in the fine old chapel, with the banners, the music, and the lights shining on the altar." The hour fixed for the ceremony was 10 a.m., the baptismal rite being performed by Dr. Howley, the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Bishops of London, Winchester, Oxford, and Norwich. The sponsors were Frederic William IV., King of Prussia, the Duke of Cambridge, the Duchess of Cambridge (for the Duchess of Saxe-Gotha), the Duchess of Kent (for the Duchess of Saxe-Coburg), Princess Augusta of Cambridge (for Princess Sophia), and Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg. The robe of Honiton lace worn by the babe was valued at £700, and the whole cost of the ceremony was estimated at £200,000. The Prince received the names of Albert Edward, the former after his father, the latter after his mother's father, the Duke of Kent. The christening was performed with water from the River Jordan, and "the little gentleman," according to the "Times" reporter, "behaved with a truly princely decorum."

The service was fully choral. A special anthem had been composed by Mr. (afterwards Sir) George Elvey. But Prince Albert, when asked at what part of the ceremony it should be sung, said: "Not at all. No anthem. If the service ends with an anthem, we shall all go out criticising the music. We will have something we all know—something in which we can all join; something devotional. The 'Hallelujah Chorus.' We shall all join in that with our hearts." The "Hallelujah Chorus" ended the ceremony accordingly, and it is said that the infant Prince "joined in heartily." The luncheon was held in the White Breakfast-room of the castle, and there followed, in the evening, a grand concert in the Waterloo Gallery, to the no small satisfaction of the Court musicians. The presents included a magnificent shield from the King of Prussia. A piece of the christening cake was sold many years later, on the death of its owner—a lady who had been present on this historic occasion—for £9 10s.

"Mr. Punch" had concerned himself very closely with the early days of Prince Albert Edward. With a curious suggestion of prophecy, the comic journal had spoken of "a certain impending event which might occasion possible complications at the Mansion House." When the question of naming the Royal infant came to be discussed it published a semi-humorous, half-serious article in which the future King was referred to as one who "shall heal the wounds of wretchedness, shall gather bloodless laurels in the hospital and workhouse." The writer went on: "His ermine shall make fellowship with rags and linsey-woolsey; he shall be enthroned and worshipped in the hearts of the indigent."

The Queen, in her speech from the throne, delivered in person before the Lords and Commons, on February 3, alluded to her little son in these words: "I cannot meet you in Parliament assembled without making a public acknowledgment of my gratitude to Almighty God on account of the birth of the Prince, my son—an event which has completed the measure of my domestic happiness, and has been hailed with every demonstration of affectionate attachment to my person and Government by my faithful and loyal people."

The Happy Mother Gives Thanks

There was a military review in Windsor Home Park on the next day, and here, as he was held up by his nurse at the window of the Queen's boudoir, amidst tumultuous cheers, her "faithful and loyal people" had their first glimpse of their future King.

QUEEN ALEXANDRA

From a photograph by Messrs. W. & D. Downey, Ebury Street, W

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CHAPTER VI

THE BOYHOOD OF KING EDWARD

The earliest Sayings and Doings of the young Prince and his first Public Appearances before his future Subjects of the Three Kingdoms

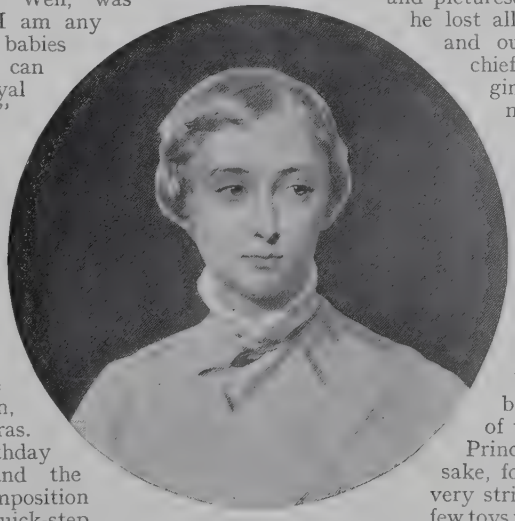
KING EDWARD was still a tiny child when interest quickened in the possibilities of his education, and not only were the minds of his parents and of their most trusted advisers early exercised on this important topic, but it was a subject of much public comment, even when the little Prince had yet to celebrate his second birthday. In 1843 an anonymous pamphlet, "Who Should Educate the Prince of Wales?" achieved considerable circulation, and may be regarded as evidence of the sincere interest which his future subjects were already taking in his welfare. Meanwhile, the little Prince himself passed through the years of childhood free from the air of the Court, happily oblivious of the burden the future had in store for him, guarded by parental care, and faithfully tended by Nurse Hall (the "dear old May" of the Queen's letters), Lady Lyttelton, Miss Hildyard, and several other instructors. "How is the infant Prince doing?" the Duke of Wellington was asked. "Well," was the reply, "exceedingly well, if I am any judge. I am told that all healthy babies kick hard and cry loudly, and I can personally testify that his Royal Highness is a very healthy baby."

This evidence was due, doubtless, to the Duke's experience when the young Prince, with his sister, was taken by his parents on a visit to the hero of Waterloo at Walmer Castle in 1842, a year notable, among other things, for the number of presents sent to him from various parts of the Empire, ranging from a wonderful mat made by a blind old lady who lived at Sidmouth to some Shetland ponies from the North, and a pair of ponies from Madras. The first anniversary of his birthday was celebrated at Windsor, and the occasion was marked by the composition by the Duchess of Kent of a quick-step march. At this time the Prince Consort wrote of him that, though troubled a little with his teeth, he stood "strong upon his legs," and "had a calm, clear, bright expression of face."

The system of education followed did not neglect the physical needs of a growing child, and one reads in the papers of the period careful chronicles of "airings" in the grounds of Buckingham Palace, in Windsor Forest, at Claremont, and at Brighton, the "Queen of Watering-Places" being first visited in 1843, in the April of which year Princess Alice was born. There was already talk about "a separate establishment" for his Royal Highness, and "Punch" promptly came out with a list of model officials—

Master of the Rocking Horse
Comptroller of the Juvenile Vagaries
Sugar Stick in Waiting
Captain of the Tin Guard
Black Rod in Ordinary
Master of the Trap Ordnance
Clerk of the Pea Shooter
Assistant Battledore
Lord Privy Shuttlecock
Quarter-Master-General of the Oranges.

It was in the same year that the Prince, while still in pinafores, was introduced to nine chiefs of the Ojibeway North American Indians who had called at Windsor Castle to see the tiny son of their great White Queen. Their strange and picturesque attire so fascinated him that he lost all his usual shyness. He ran in and out among the tall, wild-looking chiefs, pulling at their fringed leggings, and his merry pranks at last moved one of them to make a curious and yet touching speech. Gazing down at the blue-eyed child, the Ojibeway said: "You are the very big little White Father, whose eyes are like the sky that sees all things, and who is fat with goodness like a winter bear." And he then presented the delighted little Prince with an eagle's feather and the dried claw of a bear, these strange things being probably symbols relating to the totems of the Red Indian tribe. The young Prince prized them greatly for their own sake, for, owing to the Prince Consort's very strict views on education, there were few toys in the Royal nursery. In addition to a visit to Osborne in 1844, the Prince went to Brighton again, being driven along the front, and at intervals running about on the old Chain Pier, of whose associations the late Countess of Munster has written so charmingly in her "Memories." Presents now began to accumulate, those sent to him this year including a carved armchair (sitting in which at Buckingham Palace the boy "received" the then famous "General Tom Thumb") and a fishing-rod. In August the electric telegraph was



KING EDWARD AT FIFTEEN
This charming portrait of the young Prince in the year 1856 is from the painting by George Richmond, R.A.

A CHARMING GROUP OF THE ROYAL CHILDREN

Prince Alfred is seated on the back of the pony, and beside him is the Princess Royal, next to whom are Princess Louise and Princess Alice; attired in Highland costume, the Prince of Wales is standing in the foreground, while to the right of the picture are Princess Helena and Prince Arthur.

first used to announce the birth of Prince Alfred, at whose christening the young Albert Edward was present. The ceremony took place in the private chapel at Windsor Castle. "The scene," wrote the Queen, "was very solemn, and the organ has always a moving effect on me. To see those two children there, too (Albert Edward and the Princess Royal), seemed such a dream to me! May God bless them all!"

Quite early the young Prince developed a fondness for a soldier's life, and the first review he attended was held in Windsor Great Park in June in honour of Tsar Nicholas I. And he was the cynosure of all eyes, seated in the Queen's carriage, wearing a broad military sash over his shoulders, and clapping his little plump hands with delight as the troops marched by.

In 1845 the Royal Family went to Brighton and Osborne. In April the Prince made his first acquaintance with the marvels of the Zoological Gardens, and a few days later was taken by his father, now his constant companion, to view the steamship Great Britain at Blackwall. This vessel, built by Brunel, was the first ocean screw-steamer, and the great engineer vastly interested the boy by showing him, by means of a model, how the screw was driven. During the summer the Queen and the Prince Consort visited Germany, and it was in this year that the grounds of Osborne were laid out, and here the Prince and his elder sister awaited their parents' return from the Fatherland. "There they stood," writes the Queen, "looking like two roses, so well and so fat, much pleased to see us." The Prince was described in his fourth year as "a perfect picture of cherubic beauty," with fair, transparent skin, flaxen curls, graceful limbs, and large blue eyes, beaming with intelligence.

The King's fifth year was crowded with incident. He was present at the distribution of his mother's New Year's dole to the poor of Windsor. In March he attended a "grand equestrian day performance" at Astley's Circus in the Westminster Bridge Road. In May, the month of the birth of Princess Christian, three Highland dwarfs gave a performance at Buckingham Palace. They so delighted him that of his own accord he offered each of them a gold bead from a much-prized string which had been given to him. Later, he accompanied his parents on a somewhat extended yachting excursion to several places on the Devon and Cornish coasts, and to the Channel Islands. It was on this occasion that the Prince's lifelong friendship with the Earl of Mount-Edgcumbe was founded. The cruise began early in September. After passing Alderney Race, on the first day, we read in the Queen's "Journal," "it became quite smooth, and then Bertie put on his sailor's dress, which was beautifully made by the men on board [the Royal yacht], who make for our sailors. When he appeared, the officers and sailors, who were all assembled on deck to see him, cheered and seemed delighted with him." The Prince, it appears, was rated on the books of the Victoria and Albert as a midshipman. When the Royal yacht was at Penzance boats crowded round her in all directions, "and when Bertie showed himself the people shouted, 'Three cheers for the Duke of Cornwall!'" At Falmouth the old Mayor of Penrhyn went on board with the members of the corporation; and when Lord Palmerston introduced the little Prince as Duke of Cornwall, the mayor, with delightful West Country seriousness, expressed the hope that "he would grow up a blessing to his parents and to his country." On the vessel coming to anchor, the signal from the shore read: "The Navy is delighted. God bless our little admiral!" The popularity of the sailor's suit amongst English boys arose about this time.

Though proud of their little son, who was already displaying sweet, winsome ways and winning the affections of all who came into touch with him, the Royal parents were bent on preventing his being spoiled by over-kindness,

THE YOUNG PRINCE AT A FAMOUS CIRCUS WITH HIS PARENTS

Very early in life King Edward developed a love for the stage, which remained with him throughout life, and in this illustration he is shown, with his Royal parents, attending a performance at Astley's famous circus in London.

THE YOUNG PRINCE PLAYS WITH OJIBEWAY INDIAN CHIEFS AT WINDSOR CASTLE

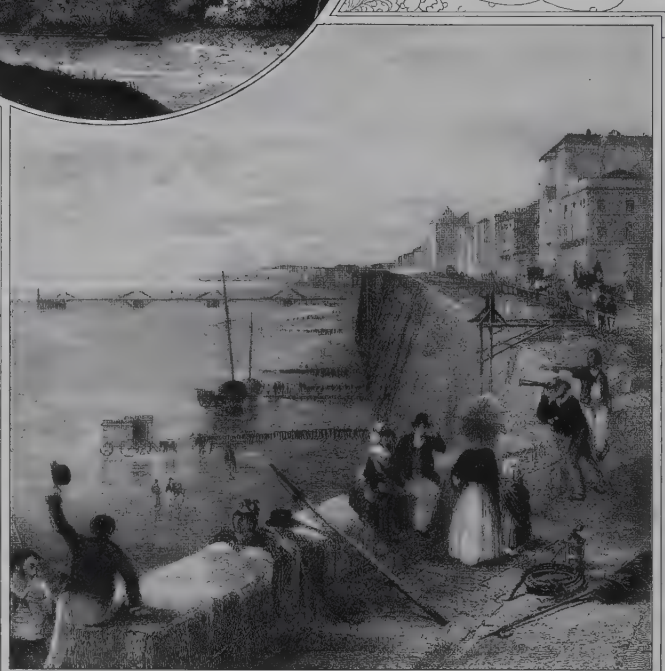
When the King was two years of age, being yet in pinafores, nine chiefs of the Ojibeway North American Indians called at Windsor Castle to see the little son of their great White Queen. Fascinated by the picturesque attire of these strange visitors, the young Prince lost all his usual shyness, running in and out among the tall, wild-looking chiefs and thoroughly enjoying himself in their company. Kneeling down before the blue-eyed child, as shown in the picture, and presenting him with an eagle's feather and the dried claw of a bear, the Ojibeway said: "You are the great big little White Father, whose eyes are like the sky that sees all things, and who is fat with goodness like a winter bear."

Specially drawn for this work by T. Walter Wilson, R.I.

INVERARAY AND ROTHESAY CASTLES

A view of Inveraray Castle, on Loch Fyne, which King Edward first visited as a boy in 1847, and the Castle of Rothesay, from which the Royal title of the Duke of Rothesay is derived.

and exercised over him what would be regarded to-day as a very stern code of discipline. When he was still a yellow-haired little boy with quiet, thoughtful blue eyes, he committed some slight act of disobedience, and the Queen at once picked him up, and put him across her knee, and slippered him before all the ladies and gentlemen of her Court. Perhaps it was this prompt and salutary punishment which led him to the philosophic conclusion that disobedience did not pay, and it says much for his perceptive faculties that the discovery was made so early. In one of the letters or exercises by the Prince that have been made public, he writes: "I do not know how it is that I am ever naughty, for I am much happier when I am good." One or two happenings that may be chronicled here lend a special interest to this confession. For example, he fell whilst climbing a five-barred gate, cutting his face so badly that for a time it was feared there would be permanent disfigurement. He seems to have become rather tired of sitting for his portrait, and when the Cornish sculptor, Nevill Burnard, received a commission to make a bust of the Heir-Apparent, he found him a very restless model. The little Prince was never still and was continually talking on all sorts of subjects. To keep him quiet Burnard gave him a cast to fill with clay. With this the child was, for a time, much delighted, moulding the clay and turning it out on a slab given to him for the purpose. Then, in a fit of mischief, he called the sculptor to look at his work, and when Burnard came, he dashed the wet clay in the face of the Cornishman, and danced with glee at the effect of the practical joke. The next moment, however, he realised that he had done wrong, and holding out his hand, he said repentantly, "Shake hands, Burnard, and forgive me. Mamma says I am often a little donkey." On another occasion, while he was at lessons, a bright buckle on his belt appeared to have more fascination for him than the wisdom his instructor wished to impart. Very quietly his master unbuckled and removed the belt. No display of temper attended this exercise of authority. The Prince was "good" for the remainder of the day. Of other pranks, one was suggested by his title as Duke of Rothesay. One morning a card was presented to the Prince Consort, with the inscription, "The Duke of Rothesay," and accompanied by a request for an audience. His Royal Highness seemed puzzled, and repeated the name several times, saying that he did not remember having heard of the nobleman. But he consented to give an audience, and ordered the Duke of Rothesay to be shown in. "Whereupon, to his surprise, in walked the Heir-Apparent, dressed in full Highland costume, and attended by her Majesty's piper." As a rule, however, "Bertie," as King Edward was then called, was too shy and too timid to indulge in much mischief, and for some years he was the humble and obedient slave



BRIGHTON WHEN FIRST VISITED BY THE KING

The Brighton of over sixty years ago, when the King first saw it, was a different place from the Brighton of the present day, so popular with his late Majesty. In this illustration the old Chain Pier, on which King Edward played as a boy, is a notable object.

THE FIRST REVIEW ATTENDED BY KING EDWARD WHEN A CHILD: AN HISTORIC SPECTACLE IN WINDSOR GREAT PARK

Visiting England in 1844, Tsar Nicholas I. of Russia was the guest of Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort at Windsor Castle, and in his honour a grand review was held in Windsor Great Park, this being the first military display at which the future King Edward, at that time three years old, was present. The above illustration, reproduced from a contemporary drawing, shows the illustrious visitor and his staff.

of the Princess Royal—"Vicky"—a young lady with a very masterful temper.

Rothesay itself was visited in the following summer (1847) in the course of a prolonged yachting cruise, in which the Queen and the Prince Consort were accompanied by their two elder children. But, prior to this, in the spring, another historic and picturesque locality had been visited, Stratford-on-Avon. The cruise began during the second week of August, and the route lying westward, the Prince Consort took the young people ashore to see the beauties of St. Mary's, Scilly. At Milford Haven, to quote the Queen's own words, "numbers of women came out in boats with their curious high-crowned men's hats, and Bertie was much cheered, for the people seemed greatly pleased to see the Prince of Wales." These few words, however, convey but a faint idea of the tremendous enthusiasm displayed on this memorable occasion.

Passing through the Menai Strait, the Royal party were much impressed by a sight of the venerable pile of Caer-yn-ar-Fon, where, in 1284, was born the first English Prince of Wales. Here, his Royal Highness, dressed in nautical costume, met with another enthusiastic welcome.

The journey was continued northward, and ere long the young Duke of Rothesay was welcomed in his own right. At Staffa, the children were taken in small boats to view the wonders of Fingal's Cave. At Inveraray the Royal party accepted the hospitality of the Duke of Argyll, and made the acquaintance of the young Marquis of Lorne—"just two years old, a dear, fat little fellow, with red hair, but very delicate features," the future husband of the Princess Louise. This, the first visit of the Prince of Wales to Scotland, was enjoyed by him very thoroughly. He witnessed the Highland games, and had many a happy jaunt on a Shetland pony.

On the return to Windsor in the autumn the Prince met with a somewhat alarming accident. He was riding in the Great Park with his sister when their ponies were startled by the little Java horse, the smallest in the world, so it was said, which had been presented to him by Captain Lukey in 1842. This tiny animal was only a trifle over two feet in height. The Princess Royal was thrown from her saddle, fortunately without any serious injury; but her brother was able to retain his seat. Wombwell's menagerie visited the Castle by Royal command, and the display, to which the boys of Eton College were invited, greatly impressed the young Prince, who by this time had become quite an efficient rider.

AN EPISODE IN THE HIGHLAND VISIT

The introduction of the son of the Macpherson to the little Prince of Wales and the Princess Royal during their first visit to the Highlands.

Quite early among their other lessons the Royal children were taught the rudiments of music and drawing, and in 1848 were present at a performance of Mendelssohn's "Œdipus." With Prince Albert they visited several picture galleries in London, the Prince also making his first acquaintance with the theatre, of which, in after years, he became so devoted a patron. In this year, also, began the long series of private performances in the Waterloo Room at Windsor Castle, and these performances,

RIDING IN THE PARK AT WINDSOR
The young Prince of Wales and the Princess Royal with the Prince Consort, from a sketch of the day.

together with a number of amateur theatricals in which the children were encouraged to take part, helped to cultivate in them a wholesome taste for the drama. It was an actor, George Bartley, by the way, who taught the future King the elements of elocution, an accomplishment in the acquisition of which much pains were taken, with the most satisfactory results. In addition to witnessing performances in which he saw Charles Kean, Benjamin Webster, Buckstone, and the Keeleys, the young Heir-Apparent took part with the Princess Royal in a series of tableaux vivants, based on the poet Thomson's "Seasons." Dressed to represent Winter, his Royal Highness wore a white beard, and a cloak with icicles ("or what looked like such"), and recited a passage adapted from the poem named. In March of this year Princess Louise was born.

Boyhood was now rapidly passing. The Rev. E. W. Benson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who saw the Prince in 1848, and described him as "a fair little lad, rather of slender make, with a good head and a remarkably quiet and thinking face, above his years in intelligence, I should think." Referring to the sailor portrait by Winterhalter, Benson observed that it was a good one, but "does not express the thought that there is on his little brow." The usually cynical Greville notes in his Diary that the Prince was "very shy and timid, with very good principles, and particularly an exact observer of the truth."

It was in 1848 that the Rev. Henry Mildred Birch was selected to succeed Lady Lyttelton and Miss Hildyard as the Prince's first tutor. Mr. Birch was a master at Eton, where he had been formerly captain of the school, to which he had returned after a distinguished career at Cambridge. The Prince Consort described him, in a letter to the Duchess of Coburg, as "a good-looking, amiable man." Taking up his duties in the following year, Mr. Birch remained tutor to the Prince till 1852. Lady Canning, writing of the parting from Mr. Birch, says: "It has been a terrible sorrow to the Prince of Wales, who has done no end of touching things since he heard that he was to lose him. He is such an affectionate, dear little boy; his little notes and presents which Mr. Birch used to find on his pillow were really too moving." The parting from Miss Hildyard was marked by a similar display of generous feeling.

In 1849 the Prince was taken on the Royal yacht to Ireland. After leaving Cowes, the first stop was made at the Cove of Cork, named Queenstown in honour of the event. Visits to Kingstown, Dublin, and Belfast followed. The reception of the Royal party in the Irish capital was so enthusiastic—one old lady called out: "Make one of the children Prince Patrick, and Ireland will die for you!"—that later in the same year the Queen created her eldest son Earl of Dublin. From Belfast the travellers went on to Glasgow and Balmoral, and attended the Braemar Gathering.

The first "official" appearance of the young Prince of Wales was made in October of this year at a public ceremony. The occasion was the opening of the London Coal Exchange by the Prince Consort, who, with his two elder children, journeyed in the State Barge from Whitehall Stairs to London Bridge. We are told that all London turned out to greet the gallant little Prince and his sister. His Royal Highness wore a white waistcoat and trousers, a black velvet coat with a single row of gilt buttons, a turn-down collar, a black necktie, and a white cap with a black band. The City Fathers did their best to make the visit a memorable one. Indeed, his father reminded the boy that he was indebted to the Lord Mayor for "one of the happiest days of his life." The little Prince was much impressed by the solemnity displayed by the Recorder in reading the address, in which the boy was described as "the pledge and promise of a long line of kings." "Poor Princey," wrote Lady Lyttelton, "did not seem at all to guess what he meant." "Who taught him to read like that?" was the boy's own comment.

High Spirits and a Narrow Escape

The life of the Prince, however, was not all hedged round by formality, and neither was it without its periods of unrestrained liberty and joyousness. His love for life in the open air, which characterised King Edward's later years, was fostered and encouraged by the Prince Consort, some of whose happiest days were spent with his family in the grounds of Windsor and Osborne. Sometimes on these holidays the Prince was, as was said of his tutor, bubbling over with irrepressible spirits, like a

GLASGOW'S LOYAL WELCOME TO THE ROYAL FAMILY IN 1849
Ever loyal to the throne, the citizens of the second city in the Empire accorded to Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort a welcome of extraordinary enthusiasm on the occasion of their visit in August, 1849. The Royal party, in the above illustration, is represented leaving the yacht Fairy, on which they arrived, the little Prince of Wales and the Princess Royal heading the procession.

WHEN THE FUTURE KING VISITED ABERDEEN WITH HIS PARENTS: THE GRANITE CITY'S WELCOME TO QUEEN VICTORIA IN 1848

Aberdeen's intimate relationship with the Royal Family dates back to the time when Queen Victoria acquired the Highland home of Balmoral in 1848, and the close ties then created exist to the present day. In this picture, drawn by P. Cleland, King Edward, as a boy, is seen holding the hand of his father, the Prince Consort.

colt let out of a dark stable into a green pasture; and when he was only nine years old he escaped, as by a miracle, from death, or at least loss of sight. Towards the end of 1850 the Prince Consort took a shooting-party over the preserves of Osborne House. The young Prince was allowed to be present, and Queen Victoria followed in her carriage. One of the guests brought down a bird, and "Bertie," seeing it drop, ran forward with the eager impetuosity of a boy to seize it. Just before he reached the spot, a hare leaped from its form, and Lord Canning covered it with his gun, and the young Prince, intent on the bird, flung himself between the barrel and the mark. Lord Canning pulled the trigger at the same moment. Fortunately, Colonel Grey had foreseen what would happen, and just before Lord Canning's finger touched the trigger he rushed across the ground and threw himself on the young Prince, receiving the charge of powder in his thick overcoat. Had he not done this, the shot would have struck his Royal Highness on the face, and had one pellet entered the eye and penetrated to the brain, the accident would have been fatal. Lord Canning thought that it was so the moment he pulled the trigger, and he fell to the ground in a dead faint.

At Osborne the Royal children lived in the happiest surroundings, and some charming glimpses are given by Baroness Bunsen of their life there. To each was given a vegetable garden, a flower garden, greenhouse, hot-house, forcing frames and tool-houses, and there was even a carpenters' shop. The building known as the Swiss Cottage was fitted up as a kitchen for the girls, and here Baron Liebig was privileged to eat little cakes made by the young cooks with their own hands, and cooked in their own ovens.

As soon as they were old enough to accompany their parents, the children shared in public ceremonies in various parts of the United Kingdom. When the Royal Family visited Scotland in 1850 the journey was made by train. Two events of importance marked the year. Prince Arthur was born in May; and Parliament decided that on the Prince of Wales attaining his majority Marlborough House should be granted to him. In 1851 his Royal Highness was present with his parents at the opening of the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park, and the beautiful shield presented to him by his godfather, the King of Prussia, was included among the exhibits in his name. In November was celebrated the tenth anniversary of his birthday. The happy days of childhood belonged now to the past. We leave them with memories of the two elder boys "as merry as grigs," and Lady Canning's recollection of hearing the brothers "singing away out of lesson-time as loud as ever they can." But later chapters will be concerned more particularly with the education of the young Prince.

THE KING'S FIRST TUTOR

The Rev. H. M. Birch, King Edward's tutor from 1848 till 1852.

CHAPTER VII

KING EDWARD'S COUNTRY IN HIS INFANCY

Being a Survey of Great Britain from the Birth of King Edward until the Repeal of the Corn Laws and of Ireland in her Time of Famine

IN the summer of 1841 there was a General Election. The Melbourne Ministry, which had held office precariously for some years, found itself with an adverse majority in the House of Commons, and was forced to resign. Peel had bided his time; and in September began an administration, the issue of which no human being could at that moment have foreseen.

Between the time when the Cabinet was constructed and the time when Parliament met for business, the Prince of Wales was born.

The Whigs had been in power for a decade. They had effected a mass of valuable legislation, but they had completely failed to deal with the financial necessities of the country. They had merely continued to go on the old lines of attempting to meet deficits by slight increases in the existing tariffs. In their last Budget they had proposed trying the alternative policy which anticipates a larger revenue from low than from high tariffs, but it was rejected. Their majorities had depended on the support of the Irish members led by Daniel O'Connell. Weak Ministries rarely acquire strength by meritorious legislation; and the merits of the Whig legislation, more real than apparent, and accompanied by very obvious immediate disadvantages even to those sections of the community who would most benefit by it in the long run, did not appeal to the popular imagination. Their deficits were a substantial fact, and were attributable, in part, at least, to that spirited foreign policy of Palmerston's which was probably the most popular feature of their rules.

The Conservatives, then, had come into power. The old Duke of Wellington, the man who still in many respects carried more weight than any other in the party, by sheer force of character, in spite of the fact that he was quite unfitted for the parliamentary form of government, joined the Cabinet without a portfolio; but the Prime Minister, the indubitable master of the Conservative battalions, was Sir Robert Peel.

There was no man in the country who so thoroughly understood the principles of parliamentary management and the rules of opportunism. Peel's character is one of great psychological interest. He entered public life as a Tory; he became the unquestioned leader of the Tory party in the House of Commons; he steadily and conscientiously resisted the most important reforms one after another; and one after another he led his party themselves to carry out, or to allow the Whigs to carry out, the very reforms which he had most strenuously resisted. With the Duke he had fought against Catholic Emancipation, and then passed it. With the Duke he had fought against parliamentary reform, and then accepted it as inevitable. The more vehement Tories considered that he had betrayed them; but they knew that in force and in grip there was none among them who could rival him. The Liberals were inclined to sneer at him as a politician who was ready to turn his coat for the sake of power. But, in fact, it would probably be impossible to name any statesman more resolutely conscientious than Peel. He and the younger Pitt form the two extreme examples of opposite types. There are men whose ideas become, as it were, stereotyped. What they believed at five-and-twenty they will believe at seventy; no new facts will alter their judgment or modify their theories. On the other hand, there are men whose ideas are always in movement, who can be convinced by new facts or by the realisation of facts to which they had not given due weight. Peel belonged to the latter class, and hence his career exemplifies the paradox that the great reforms are carried out by the Conservative Party.

It may be added that Peel also belonged to that comparatively

THE IRISH PATRIOT, DANIEL O'CONNELL

The great Irish leader at Westminster, O'Connell eloquently voiced the demands of his countrymen, demanding an Irish legislature for the control of Irish affairs and striving strenuously for the Repeal of the Union.

small class of statesmen who have achieved their ascendency by sheer personal effectiveness without any of the characteristics which appeal to the popular imagination, or the graces of manner which attract personal affection. His eloquence was of the kind which convinces the reason without exciting enthusiasm or stirring the emotions. He was followed, he was admired, he was obeyed; but those who loved him were few. Yet it is worth while to recall that the Iron Duke was moved to tears in speaking of his death.

Peel was called to power primarily in order to deal with the financial situation. The depression of trade, low wages, and the high price of food, rendered the condition of the working classes distressing, and in some degree dangerous. The remedy for the last had been found by the Anti-Corn Law League in the doctrine of free importation of corn. But neither party had thought of adopting the league's programme. Much of the agricultural land in England could be held under cultivation only by maintaining prices; and it was still possible to argue that, the country being actually capable of producing the amount of food required for home consumption, England ought to be kept free from any dependence on external supplies, with the possible exception of those from British colonies.

The problem, as politicians looked at it, was not how food should be made as cheap as possible, but how its price should be kept above the minimum required by the British agricultural interest, and also below the maximum, which palpably set the border line of starvation. The Liberals had committed themselves to the plan of a fixed duty on imported corn; the Conservatives held to the theory of a sliding scale, under which the tariff rose as the price of wheat sank, and was reduced as the price of wheat rose. Neither party dreamt of abolishing the tariff altogether, and the Conservatives were pledged at least to maintain the prices demanded by the agricultural interests.

RICHARD COBDEN

A firm believer in Free Trade and an eloquent advocate of its principles, he prominently identified himself with the crusade against the Corn Laws, and it was in large measure due to his efforts that they were finally repealed in 1846.

WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE

Entering Parliament immediately after the first Reform Bill, Gladstone was for a time a Protectionist, but was understood to have acquired new views by being brought into official contact with facts previously unrealised.

It is curious to observe that Mr. Gladstone, now nearing the close of his thirty-second year, was appointed to the office of Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and that he was, as a matter of course, a Protectionist. As far as concerned the Corn Laws, the question was explicitly one not of public revenue, but of protecting a particular British industry, whose maintenance was of vital importance to the community at large as well as to itself. But apart from the Corn Laws, an enormous number of imported articles were taxed, either to provide revenue or to protect home industries. It may be said, then, that Peel had three problems in finance before him. The first was to revise and improve upon the sliding scale, under which, as it then stood, prices were liable to extreme fluctuation, and were often admittedly excessive. The second was to make the taxes productive of a larger revenue; and the third, to find some additional source from which the exchequer might be filled.

Except on the general principle that to touch the Corn Law at all was to threaten its existence, there was nothing in Peel's immediate proposal in 1842 which threatened the interests for whose sake that law existed. The object was to keep the possibility of fluctuation in price within comparatively narrow limits. Subject to a material preference for colonial wheat, there was to be a duty of twenty shillings so long as corn was below fifty-one shillings; and this duty was to diminish gradually until, when corn reached seventy-five shillings, it should disappear altogether. An anti-corn law amendment and an ultra-Protectionist amendment were both defeated by overwhelming majorities. The official Liberal amendment was also uncompromisingly rejected.

In other respects, however, Peel's Budget was startling. On the principle that previous experiments of Huskisson's had proved that the revenue was more than compensated, for the reduction of high tariffs on imported articles, by the increase in the extent to which such articles were imported, Peel lowered the duties on nearly two-thirds of the twelve hundred articles scheduled as taxable. The remainder were left untouched—not for the sake of revenue, but for the sake of protection.

But the reduction of duties on so large a scale could only be regarded as an experiment, however confident its author might be as to the results. In order securely to tide over the period of the experiment, Peel proposed to revive a tax which Pitt had created purely for an emergency, and to impose a direct tax on incomes. Peel and everyone else regarded the Income Tax as an emergency measure to be withdrawn as soon as the emergency had passed. For many years to come, Chancellors of the Exchequer convinced themselves that the time was at hand when they would be able to rejoice the hearts of the electorate by announcing that the Income Tax would no longer be required. The time was always at hand, but it never arrived. The objections to a direct tax mainly based on information very reluctantly provided by the taxpayer himself, together with the impossibility of agreement as to the fairness of its incidence, of graduation, and of differentiation between sources of income, have not sufficed to prevent the tax from becoming a permanent and integral branch of the national revenue.

Peel and Peel's Cabinet were far too strong to have any serious difficulty in carrying the financial proposals. Nevertheless, the interests touched by the reduced duties were indignant at the withdrawal of protection. The Anti-Corn Law League was indignant because it saw Free Trade theories partially adopted, but not applied where their importance was most emphatic. The Chartists were annoyed because they considered that these measures had been taken for the benefit, not of the worker, but of the pampered middle classes, and that the only way to an improved state of affairs was by giving the workers a

controlling influence in the legislature. Lastly, the Income Tax was emphatically unpopular.

The truth is that in substance Peel had already accepted the fundamental principles of Free Trade in general, while retaining a belief that for particular reasons it was desirable to maintain the protection of particular trades. The doctrine of colonial preferences as a bond of union between the Mother Country and the Colonies; the doctrine that the Empire ought to be self-sufficing and independent of foreign supplies in time of war, which virtually made it necessary that it should be so in time of peace; the doctrine that everything which could tend to diminish agricultural employment within these islands should be combated at almost any cost to the general community; all these remained as definite reasons for forgoing the economic benefits of Free Trade. But it can hardly be questioned that in his own mind Peel had arrived already at the conviction that, economically, Free Trade was desirable. He reached his conclusion empirically. He was an excellent financier, but his finance was not based on the study of abstract principles; and the whole number of persons engaged in public life who had any conception of economics as a science was extremely small.

Peel's Opinions of Protection and Free Trade

Gladstone, who was promoted to Cabinet rank in 1843, was, like Peel, acquiring new views entirely consonant with those of his chief simply by being brought into official contact with facts previously unrealised. Nevertheless, from the acceptance of the economic dogma to its recognition as a supreme principle of policy was a very distinct if not a very long step; and it was one which neither Peel nor the most advanced of his colleagues was inclined to take hastily. The Budgets of 1843 and 1844 made no material advances, although by the second year all doubts had been removed as to the benefits derived by the revenue from the policy of 1842.

By the time that another year had passed, the depression of trade had been considerably lightened, agriculture was flourishing on the abundance of recent harvests, and the Budget of that year carried the experiment of 1842 to considerably greater lengths. For that end the Income Tax was renewed, many duties were further reduced, while more than four hundred articles were relieved of duty altogether.

BENJAMIN DISRAELI

An able parliamentarian, self-confident and ambitious, he strongly opposed the economic proposals of Sir Robert Peel; but while he was foremost as a champion of Protection, he left the nominal leadership of the Protectionists to Lord George Bentinck.

Now, there is plenty of room for conjecture as to what might have been Peel's next move, and how long it would have taken him to change his attitude on the fundamental question of the Corn Laws, if nothing abnormal had happened after this stage. But something abnormal did happen. The English harvest was poor, and in Ireland the potato crop was disastrously bad. Actual famine threatened unless food supplies could be imported at reasonable rates. The emergency forced Peel to realise the necessity of what he had hitherto persistently opposed, but had recently been learning to approve. He proposed to his Cabinet a suspension, by Order in Council, of the duties on imported grain, and the immediate re-assembling of Parliament in order to announce the intention of modifying the Corn Law. The Cabinet did not support him. He waited; and while he waited Lord John Russell, the leader of the Opposition, issued his own personal announcement of his conversion to Free Trade and the tenets of the Anti-Corn Law League. In December, Peel had carried most of his colleagues with him, but not all. In the circumstances, Peel did not feel warranted in introducing a measure in flat contradiction to the principles emphatically affirmed by himself and his colleagues at the General Election of 1841, and repeatedly in Parliament ever since. Peel resigned in order to leave the task of carrying the repeal of the Corn Law to the Liberals, with his own extraneous support. But Russell failed to construct a Ministry, and Peel resumed office explicitly on the Free Trade programme.

In January, Peel laid his financial proposals before the House of Commons. He was now assured of the support of the main body of the Opposition, as well as of that of a large number of his own party. But within that party there was a fierce antagonism on the part of the landed interests, though their most efficient champion was not a landowner, but a novelist—Benjamin Disraeli, who for some time past had been virulently attacking the "organised hypocrisy" of what had revealed itself as a Free Trade Government, though returned to office, as he argued, on the hypothesis that it was protectionist. By his own party Disraeli was regarded with extreme suspicion as an audacious adventurer; and none of them would have dreamed of admitting that he held a position of authority among them. Disraeli himself had every intention of becoming Prime Minister some day, and had said as much; his self-confidence and ambition were unbounded; but he was quite willing to wait for the show of power while he grasped the reality. While he assailed Peel with an unequalled bitterness of invective, he left the nominal leadership of the Protectionists to Lord George Bentinck, a typical country gentleman, an active patron of sport and of the Turf, and an industrious politician, but without any claims to be regarded as a statesman.

In the House of Lords, Lord Stanley, who had been in the Cabinet until Peel's resignation, now led the Protectionists, and was very shortly, as Lord Derby, to become the recognised chief of the Conservative Party. On the other hand, the Duke of Wellington, now in his seventy-seventh year, had remained staunch to Peel, in spite of the fact that he was personally a convinced Protectionist, avowedly on the ground that as long as Peel retained the confidence of the Crown it was his own duty as a loyal subject to support him; and in the Upper House the Duke's influence turned the scale.

Although it was the spectre of famine which had converted the Prime Minister to a conviction that cheap food was a necessity for the people, he did not propose there and then to abolish the Corn Laws. Always, in his view, vested interests demanded a fair consideration, however much opinions might differ as to the amount of consideration which is fair. The complete immediate disappearance of the tax on corn would manifestly hit the agricultural and landed interests very hard. He proposed, then, to take other measures for dealing with the immediate distress, and to retain a reduced sliding scale for three years, at the end of which time the duty on imported cereals was to become merely nominal. But the story of the passing of the Corn Bill is complicated by the simultaneous prominence of another question, which necessitates a backward glance to another phase of Peel's administration.

Peel's Proposals to Relieve Distress

At the moment of taking up office when the Whig Cabinet fell in 1841 the newly-formed Ministry had several difficulties to deal with besides that of finance. There was

a war actually in progress with China, commonly called the Opium War, which ended about a year later in the Treaty of Nankin and the cession of Hong Kong to Great Britain. Afghanistan was on the eve of an explosion so serious as for the time to shake the prestige of the British arms in India. There were frontier disputes in America between the United States and Canada, which as yet was only half pacified by the Act of Reunion; and these disputes were by no means settled by the Ashburton Treaty of 1842. These matters, however, will be treated further in the Indian and Colonial chapters. Here it will be sufficient to say that they were, on the whole, successfully dealt with. But the great crux, the ever-present problem, the problem which from that day to this has harassed British statesmen, was Ireland; and Ireland was destined to accomplish the downfall of Sir Robert Peel.

The Irish problem had three aspects: the religious, derived from the long ascendency of a Protestant minority which had acquired enormous vested interests for Protestantism amidst a population mainly Roman Catholic; the agrarian, which cannot be summarised in a sentence, but was a ceaseless cause of hostility between landlords, their agents, and the law-abiding tenants on the one side, and, on the other, the secret societies, which looked upon themselves as patriotic organisations for the resistance of an intolerable alien tyranny; and the political, the demand for an Irish legislature for the control of Irish affairs, for which the formula as expressed by Daniel O'Connell, the great Irish leader at Westminster, was Repeal of the Union.

SIR ROBERT PEEL INTRODUCING THE CORN BILL

Converted by the spectre of famine to the conviction that cheap food was at that time a necessity for the people, and profoundly impressed by the agitation led by Cobden and Bright, Sir Robert Peel determined to put an end to the existing Corn Laws, and a Bill abolishing them was carried through Parliament in 1846.

From a drawing in the "Illustrated London News" of that period.

Under a compact with the Whigs, who always professed a preference for remedial over-coercive measures as the instrument for restoring peace in Ireland, O'Connell had latterly held his demand for repeal in suspense. But between Peel and O'Connell there was a very strong personal antagonism, intensified by Peel's leanings to compulsory rather than conciliatory methods. O'Connell, therefore, was hostile to the new Government; moreover, his influence, habitually exercised in restraint of physical violence, was waning, while younger men, more passionate and more impulsive, or more swayed by impulse, were coming to the front—the group known as "Young Ireland."

The Whigs had at least recognised that there were wrongs to be remedied, and had wished to be sympathetic. Broadly speaking, Peel did not recognise the wrongs, and was not sympathetic, but hostile. The hostility was fully reciprocated. Agitation became increasingly active, and was accompanied by an increase of crime. In 1843 the Government introduced an Arms Act. O'Connell responded by summoning a monster meeting of protest at Clontarf. The Government prohibited the meeting. O'Connell, hating violence, by strenuous efforts persuaded his followers not to hold it, thereby seriously diminishing his own popularity. A grateful Government thereupon arrested him, with others, on a charge of conspiracy. The jury was deliberately packed, and the judge openly discarded any pretence of impartiality. The accused were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. On an appeal to the House of Lords, the judgment was set aside, and the prisoners were liberated, amidst wild popular enthusiasm. From this time, however, O'Connell's power was gone, and Young Ireland became the dominant factor.

It was characteristic of Peel that this last contest with O'Connell led him to realise that the condition of Irish affairs was not exactly what he had hitherto assumed it to be; and in 1843 a Royal Commission was appointed to investigate the land question. This—the Devon Commission—made its report in 1845, a few months before the blight fell upon the potato crop. It revealed that extreme poverty of the Irish peasantry which was the active cause of half the discontent and more than half the crime. The sympathetic relations which usually subsist between ordinary landlords and tenants had no existence in a country where most of the owners were absentees, and in an immense number of cases were represented not even by their own agents, but by mortgagees, who thought of nothing but extracting the last penny out of the property. The normal system of tenure maintained rents at the highest point which tenants could be induced to promise; a point much above the true value, since the peasant clung desperately to the soil, and, if ejected, could find no other means of supporting himself unless he managed to emigrate. There was no inducement to improve cultivation where the tenant immediately found that his rent was raised; even if the inducement had existed, the peasants had no capital to work with. Such was the state of affairs revealed in the spring of 1845. The outcome of the revelation was the introduction by Lord Stanley of certain tentative measures, which were promptly shelved and heard of no more.

Meanwhile, however, Peel, in 1845, brought forward measures intended to remedy the religious injustice of the prevailing educational system in Ireland. He proposed, in the first place, to treble the grant to the college of Maynooth, which had been established in 1808 for the education of candidates for the Irish priesthood; and at the same time to establish non-sectarian colleges at Belfast, Galway, and Cork. English and Irish Protestantism alike blazed out at the endowment of "Papistry"; while Catholics and Protestants combined to denounce the "Godless" colleges.

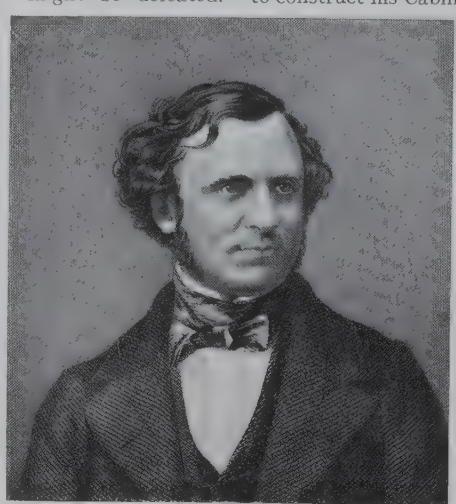
For the time being the effect of both proposals was rather to stimulate religious animosities and the antagonism of the English and Irish peoples, so far, at least, as it sprang from the difference of the prevailing religions.

On the top of this came the failure of the Irish potato crop, which swept an immense proportion of the peasantry across the destitution line. The extreme misery had its inevitable result in an outbreak of crime. Consequently, when Peel introduced his Free Trade scheme in the House of Commons, a Coercion Bill for Ireland was introduced in the House of Lords. In this conjunction Disraeli saw his opportunity. The Liberals would support the Government Corn Bill, but Liberals and Irish would both fight against the Coercion Bill, since the Liberals maintained that remedial measures must accompany coercion. If, then, the Coercion Bill could be forced forward, the Corn Bill might be delayed, and possibly even defeated. If the Coercion Bill were not given precedence on the ground of urgency, Ministers would be depriving themselves of the strongest argument for introducing a Coercion Bill at all. Thus, in either case, there was a reasonable possibility that one or other of the Government measures might be defeated.

Free Trade and the Coercion Bill

Disraeli's tactics were successful; Peel refused to give the Coercion Bill precedence; the Corn Bill was successfully carried through the House of Commons by substantial majorities, after exceedingly long and fierce debates. Before the third reading, the Coercion Bill had been passed in the House of Lords, and introduced in the House of Commons. Its first reading was passed by a large majority, and a fortnight later there was a majority of ninety-eight for the third reading of the Corn Bill.

The hopes of the Protectionists had rested on the House of Lords; but the House of Lords followed the lead of Wellington. The second reading of the Corn Bill was carried by a decisive majority. The fate of Protection was sealed; but if the Protectionists in the House of Commons could not make their cause victorious, they could at least destroy the Minister whom they regarded as a traitor. The Liberal Opposition in the House of Commons had won what it wanted, but not without considerable soreness over the fact that the Corn Bill had been carried by their aid indeed, but not as a measure of their own party. Peel, no doubt, had in the fullest and frankest manner declared that the credit for the great measure for which he had made himself responsible was not his, but Richard Cobden's; but there was no escaping the fact that not Richard Cobden, but Sir Robert Peel, was the Prime Minister who had abolished the Corn Tax. Liberals then no longer felt themselves under an obligation to support the Government in a measure of which they were disposed to disapprove so long as it stood by itself. They resolved to oppose the Coercion Bill. The Protectionists, who had clamoured for the Bill as urgent, proclaimed now that the Government themselves had destroyed the plea of urgency, and that if it was not urgent it was not necessary. Liberals, Irish, and Protectionists combined. At the same moment the Corn Bill passed through the House of Lords, and the Coercion Bill was thrown out by the House of Commons.



LORD DERBY

Severing his connection with Peel's administration when Sir Robert proposed to repeal the Corn Laws, he became the leader of the Protectionists in the House of Lords, and soon afterwards the recognised chief of the Conservative Party.

Four days later Peel resigned. Of all the changes of front in his career the last was perhaps the most striking. By it he shattered a party which four years before had appeared invincibly strong. He had made it impossible for himself ever again to lead the State. He had exposed himself to the charge of treachery and hypocrisy, pressed home by a master of political invective. But history claims for him that he had done this for one single and sufficient reason—that he had come to the definite conclusion that the welfare of the nation demanded the measure, though at the sacrifice of his own career. It is curious to note how in the interval which passed before his life ended, five years after his political overthrow, the partisan animosities passed away, and the whole country was plunged into most genuine mourning when it was known that he had breathed his last.

Peel had fallen, and Lord John Russell was prepared to undertake the by no means simple task of carrying on the government. Six months before, he had failed to construct a Cabinet, for the single reason that Lord Palmerston would not join it except as Foreign Secretary, whereas Lord Grey would not join it if Palmerston held that office. Grey considered that Palmerston's attitude to France was hostile, and was felt as hostile during the last years of the Melbourne Ministry. Palmerston, however, seems to have succeeded in reassuring Lord Grey, and Russell was able to construct his Cabinet without difficulty.

Again it was Ireland which presented the great immediate problem for the Government to deal with. Peel had actually taken steps to counteract the effects of the recent failure of the potato crop. Efforts had been made to provide sound potato seed and to improve drainage; and a quantity of Indian meal had been secretly purchased in preparation for an emergency. It was also, of course, hoped that, although the Corn Tax would not disappear for another three years, the modifications which took immediate effect would have at once a satisfactory influence on the price of grain. All calculations, however, were upset by a return of the blight in the summer of 1846, with a virulence even greater than that of the previous year. When the last week of July began the promise of the crop was more than satisfactory; before the first week of August had ended the whole crop had been smitten. It is almost impossible to realise the utter heartbreaking despair which fell upon the people of Ireland when they beheld the crop, their main food supply, suddenly, in the course of a week, turned into a waste of pestilential putrescence. The Government attempted to meet the calamity by extensive relief-works, which seem to have done more harm than good.

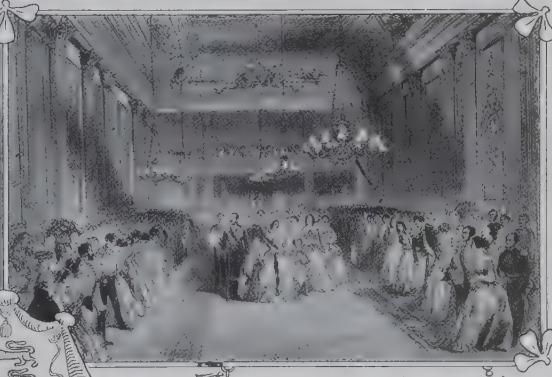
When Parliament again met in the beginning of 1847, other measures of relief were introduced; for modifying the Poor Law, for drainage, for reclamation of waste land, for suspending the food taxes; but no one attempted to deal with the underlying causes of the agrarian trouble.

The Death of Daniel O'Connell

In May, O'Connell died, and the strength of the Young Ireland movement was doubled. The deaths from famine and pestilence went on. In the footsteps of misery followed the crime that is begotten of despair. In the autumn there was a dissolution, for the Parliament had now lasted into its seventh year; but the elections produced no effective alteration in the balance of parties. The Ministry remained in office, and found itself compelled again to introduce a Coercion Bill. But with the opening of 1848 a startling series of events was inaugurated on the Continent, which demand attention before the narrative of events in these islands is continued.

KING EDWARD'S FIRST VISIT TO IRELAND

On board the Royal yacht in Kingstown Harbour

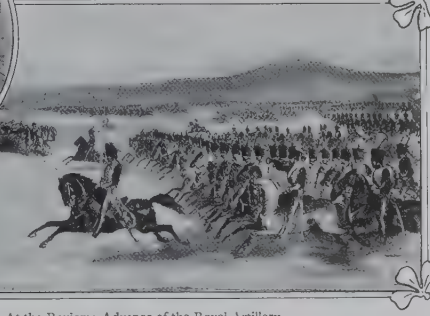


Reception in St. Patrick's Hall, Dublin Castle

The Royal party entering the city of Dublin

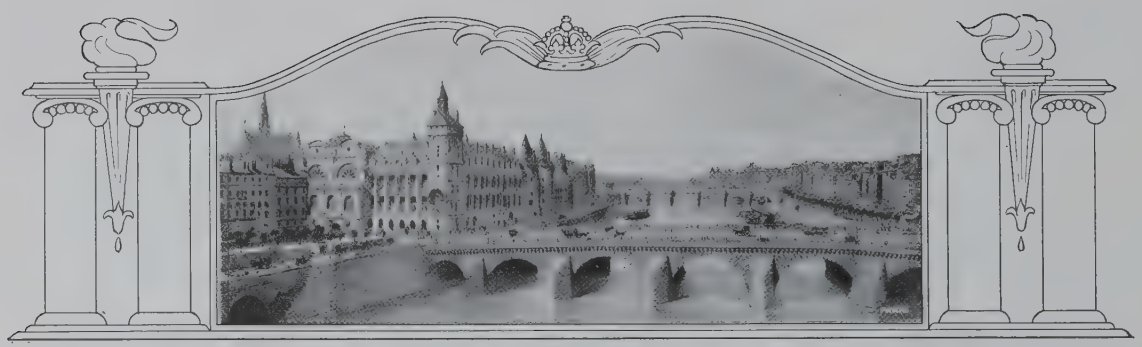
The young Prince and his father saluting the cheering crowds

The procession passing the Rotunda, Dublin



At the Review: Advance of the Royal Artillery

When Queen Victoria and Prince Albert visited Ireland in 1849 they were accompanied by the young Prince of Wales, who, on this occasion, made his first acquaintance with his future subjects in the Emerald Isle. The inset shows the Royal party at the grand review in Phœnix Park, Dublin, with the young Prince of Wales standing up in the carriage.



CHAPTER VIII

EUROPE IN THE YEAR OF REVOLUTION

A Chronicle of the Continental Upheavals of 1848 and the Reflection of the European Unrest in the United Kingdom

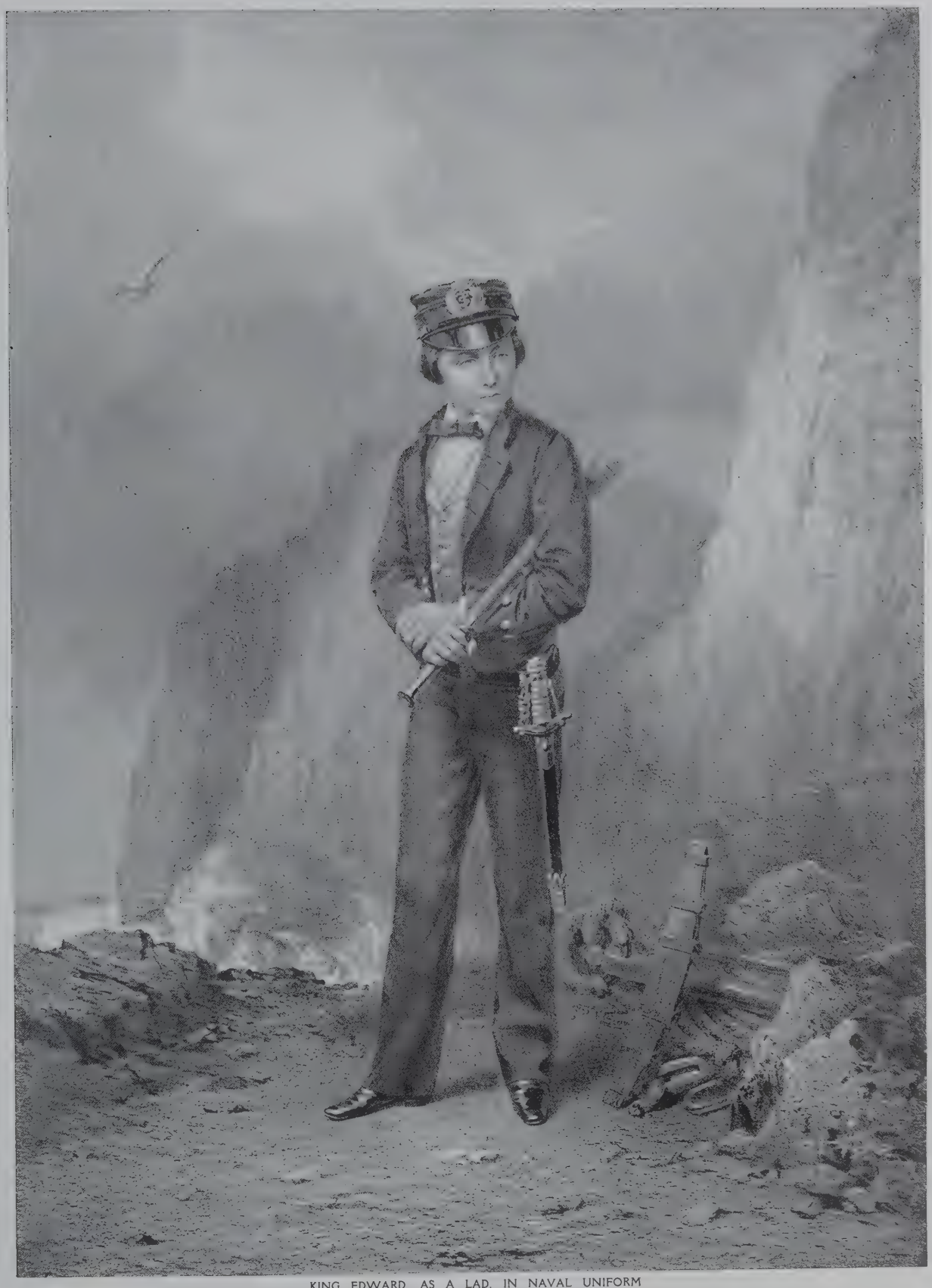
On the Continent, the period contained between the years 1841 and 1848 had been marked by external tranquillity. In France, the Monarchy of July, which had been accepted by the French people as a compromise between the absolutism of the Bourbons and the terror of the barricades, seemed firmly established. Prince Louis Napoleon, after a ridiculous attempt to restore the Empire of his uncle by creating a rising at Boulogne, had been incarcerated in the Fortress of Ham. By the triumph of French arms, a colony had been settled in Algiers, and an expedition against Morocco had concluded with the utter destruction of the Moorish troops at Isly (August 14, 1844). It seemed that Louis Philippe had deeply rooted the foundations of his dynasty. The mainspring of his policy was peace, to be maintained by means of an *entente cordiale* with Great Britain, the aggrandisement of his family, and the gradual elimination from the Constitution of those Liberal principles of which he had once been the advocate. In pursuance of the first of these motives, he acted towards Great Britain with dangerous compliance. The satisfaction peremptorily demanded by the British Government for the arrest of Mr. Pritchard, an English missionary, at Tahiti, in 1843, was at once granted, and while the French nation still smarted under this indignity, the King visited England in the following year, and was invested with the Order of the Garter.

His domestic ambitions likewise had not prospered, and the death of his eldest son, the Duke of Orleans, who was killed by a fall from his carriage on June 13, 1842, struck a severe blow at the new dynasty. The heirs to the throne were the Duke's two sons, the Count of Paris and the Duke of Chartres; but as the elder was only in his fourth year, the future seemed to foreshadow the unsettling circumstances of a long minority. To bolster up the tottering fortunes of his house, Louis Philippe turned to foreign intrigue. By a series of Machiavellian plots, he secured the union of his son, the Duke of Montpensier, with Maria Louisa, sister of Isabella, Queen of Spain. It was thought that Queen Isabella's health precluded the possibility of children, and that therefore, in due course, the Duke of Montpensier would become consort of the Spanish Sovereign. This view was so generally held that Louis Philippe, in order to allay the suspicions of England, had promised Queen Victoria, when on a visit to him at the Chateau d'Eu in Normandy, in 1845, that the marriage of his son with the Infanta should not be solemnised till Isabella had given birth to an heir to the throne. The marriage, which took place in haste and almost in secrecy on October 10, 1846, was carried through in opposition to European opinion, and in the process of the intrigue Louis Philippe not only deliberately deceived England, but, in Queen Victoria's words, "wantonly threw away the friendship of Great Britain."

GUIZOT, THE HISTORIAN
Guizot became chief adviser to Louis Philippe on the dismissal of Thiers, and his reactionary policy did much to bring about the revolution of 1848.

In France herself, the King had established an absolutism which surpassed even the dreams of his Bourbon predecessor whose throne he had usurped. Paris had been girdled by forts designed nominally to repel an enemy from without, but in reality to overawe the populace within. The Press had been fettered, and the liberty of the subject had been wantonly disregarded. In his foreign and domestic policy, Louis Philippe was supported by M. Guizot, a man the simplicity and integrity of whose private life was in sharp contrast with his actions as a politician and a statesman. For eight years M. Guizot steered the ship of State. The principles and wishes of the King, to which he gave expression, were far from popular. By the end of 1847 political discontent was prevalent throughout the country. Economic scarcity served to fan the flame of revolt. Committees were formed in Paris and the provinces to agitate for electoral reform. The policy of the Government towards the victory of Radicals in Switzerland was severely denounced; the doctrines of Mazzini in Italy were widely circulated, and the Utopian Socialism of Louis Blanc aroused the hopes and the ambitions of the working classes. The situation was industriously employed by M. Thiers, the former Minister of the King and the future President of the Third Republic, to secure his own return to power. Such was the situation in France at the close of 1847.

The years 1848 and 1849 have been catalogued respectively under the headings of revolution and reaction. These terms are applicable to the events on the Continent alone; in the United Kingdom the stability of the monarchical system, with its roots deeply implanted in the hearts of the people, was left undisturbed, and, save for the disorders in Ireland and the mild ebullitions of the Chartists, which collapsed with the orderly breaking up of the huge meeting on Kennington Common (April 10, 1848), the



KING EDWARD, AS A LAD, IN NAVAL UNIFORM
From a lithograph after a photograph taken in 1858 by Lake Price.

"KING OF THE FRENCH": LOUIS PHILIPPE AND HIS FIVE SONS

This picture, from the painting by Horace Vernet, shows Louis Philippe with his sons, the Duke of Orleans, the Duke of Nemours, the Duke of Joinville, the Duke of Aumâle, and the Duke of Montpensier, leaving the Palace of Versailles.

storm generated in the streets of Paris passed over Great Britain without hindering the development of political liberty on constitutional lines. The revolution in France, which gave the impetus to the revolutions in the rest of Europe, was neither anti-monarchical nor republican in its origin. It originated in the natural aspiration of the French people to obtain electoral reform as the road to social reform; that it should have gone beyond these limits, that forces should have been let loose which disturbed the whole basis of society, was neither the intention of the reformers nor the wish of the majority of the French people. In its inception the whole movement was of a purely party character—a variation of the old political struggle between the "ins" and the "outs." Chance changed it into a revolution.

The Opposition had determined on a colossal reform banquet in the Champs Elysée on February 22, 1848. The fête was forbidden. Sixty thousand soldiers were drafted into Paris, and the guns of the fortresses were turned upon the capital. The banquet was quietly abandoned, but symptoms of revolt began to manifest themselves among the Parisian populace on the twenty-second. A few barricades were thrown up, and some conflicts took place with the Municipal Guard. The rioting continued on the next day; the National Guard suddenly swerved over to the side of reform, and, abandoning their duty of preserving order, demanded in force the dismissal of Guizot. The King was overawed, Guizot was dismissed, and, on Count Molé refusing to form a new administration, Thiers attained the consummation of his hopes by being summoned to that task. At his instigation, a proclamation was immediately issued stating that reform was granted, that all motive for further opposition was removed, and that the soldiers had orders not to fire. But the proclamation came too late. A chance conflict between a band of Republicans, led by a Lyonese named Lagrange, and a battalion of infantry resulted in the death of several persons on both sides. The mob was enraged. The soldiers, having orders not to fire, fraternised with the people. The Palais Royal was stormed and sacked; even the Tuileries itself was threatened.

Louis Philippe, refusing to resort to force, weakly attempted to appease the tumult by abdicating in favour of his grandson, the Comte de Paris. General Lamoricière took the Act of Abdication and exhibited it to the people; but Lagrange tore the sheet from his hand, exclaiming: "It is not enough—the whole dynasty must go!" The Duchess of Orleans bravely went to the Chamber of Deputies with her two young sons, to have the Comte de Paris proclaimed king, but the mob broke in and prevented the proclamation being read. The suggestion that a Provisional Government should be formed was loudly acclaimed. It was plain that all was lost, and the Royal Family made their escape from Paris, Louis Philippe flying to England with his consort, disguised as "Mr. William Smith." The first act of the Provisional Government was to declare that monarchy was abolished "without possibility of return," and that the new Republic should be established if the people approved. Of the two alternative systems of government, one was ruled out altogether, while the other was left to the possible choice of the people. From the first the situation was impossible, and the Provisional Government acted simply as the tool of the workmen of Paris.

While the temper of the country was almost wholly Conservative, Paris was Republican and Socialist; Paris imposed upon the country at large the government she desired. Under the pressure of the Parisian mob, the

THE FLIGHT OF LOUIS PHILIPPE FROM PARIS IN 1848

On February 24, 1848, the capital of France was once more the scene of a people's rising against the monarchy. Alarmed at the course of affairs, the King abdicated in favour of his grandson, the Comte de Paris, escaping to St. Cloud with the Queen. Disguised as "Mr. William Smith," he subsequently fled to England, accompanied by his consort.

THE PARIS REVOLUTION OF 1848: THE MOB IN THE THRONE ROOM OF THE TUILERIES

After the flight of the King from France during the revolution of 1848, the enraged mob stormed and sacked the Palais Royal. The Tuileries itself was threatened, the above picture representing the scene of disorder and brutality which ensued in the Throne Room of that Royal palace.

Government opened large national workshops. Louis Blanc, as Minister of Progress, was entrusted with the task of turning the State into a manufacturing firm. As the wages were good, the work light, and the discipline practically non-existent, thousands of mechanics flocked to the capital. They soon numbered eighty thousand, to be maintained at the public expense, to the ruin of private tradesmen. The extremists, however, knew that an appeal to the country would mean an end to their rule, and their leaders, Louis Blanc, Albert and Ledru Rollin, endeavoured to postpone that appeal as long as possible. On April 23, however, it took place, and the Conservatives were returned with an overwhelming majority. The National Assembly met on May 4, and an Executive Commission was appointed to conduct the public business till the new Constitution should be established. On May 15 an attempt on the part of the Socialists to enforce a government in conformity with their views was suppressed by force.

After the supplementary elections, held early in June, the Government felt themselves strong enough to deal with the Socialists. On the twenty-third of the same month, part of the National Workshops was closed. This step was a signal for the rising of the workmen, now numbering a hundred thousand. For four days the battle raged in the streets. Some thousands were killed, among them the venerable Archbishop of Paris, who heroically attempted to restore peace. General Cavaignac, who had been created Dictator during the struggle, was now appointed chief of the Executive Commission, with the title of President of the Council, and the complete reaction against Socialism was illustrated, not only by the closing of the National Workshops and the suppression of the revolutionary clubs and newspapers, but by the loss of popularity which certain prominent members of the Provisional Government sustained.

THE ANGRY PARIS MOB BURNING THE ROYAL THRONE AT THE JULY COLUMN

Men like Thiers began to emerge; but more significant still was the sudden leap to favour of a man who had lived but a few years in France, and was almost unknown to the French people. That man was Prince Louis Napoleon.

On May 25, 1846, Louis Napoleon had escaped from the Fortress of Ham; since then he had been living the life of a gentleman of fashion in England. By all who knew him he was regarded as a man at once foolish and irresponsible, with no intellectual gifts or abilities out of

LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE
From a portrait, showing him at the time of his election to the Presidency of the French Republic.

the common. His talk of his "star" was looked upon as an almost childish imitation of his great uncle. Apparently, he had abandoned all political ambitions after the Boulogne escapade and his six years' imprisonment. The life of an ordinary man about town seemed to be the main object of his existence; he gambled, fell into debt, and indulged himself in mild dissipations. No one in England seems to have detected in the thriftless London dandy the great administrative and political gifts which he afterwards displayed. On the news of the revolution in Paris, he set off at once for France, but returned in compliance with the wishes of the Provisional Government. At the supplementary elections of June, he was returned for three constituencies, including Paris. With rare foresight, however, he declined the honour, remained in London, and thereby avoided all connection with the sanguinary riots of the Commune. But his friends were not inactive. Bonapartist papers were published, a deliberate propaganda was commenced, and the need of the country for a strong Government to restore order and security was employed to further the claims of the heir of the great Emperor.

On September 17 Louis Napoleon was again elected as representative for Paris, as well as for four other constituencies. Six days later, after thirty-four years of proscription and exile, he returned to France. He was then in his fortieth year. By all parties alike, by the Press both of London and Paris, he was looked upon as a man so weak and of such little decision that, in spite of the fact that over two hundred thousand votes had been polled in his favour, his position was not taken seriously. The various political parties in France thought to use him as their tool. Louis Blanc saw in him an advocate of those principles of Socialism for which he stood, and Lamartine regarded him as a staunch Republican; Thiers looked upon him as a useful instrument in the political game, and Legitimists and Orleanists alike purposed to employ him for their own advantage; but all united in expressing their contempt of his abilities. By the new Constitution of the Republic a President was to be elected every four years. The elections took place on December 10. Five candidates presented themselves—Louis Napoleon, Cavaignac, Lamartine, Ledru Rollin, and the Socialist Raspail. The result gave Napoleon five and a half million votes out of the seven and a half million votes registered. On December 20 he was installed in office, and took up his residence at the Elysée, having sworn before the National Assembly, "in the name of God," to remain faithful to the Republic and to defend the Constitution.

European Effects of the Paris Revolution

The shock of the revolution in Paris, which vibrated through Europe, was first felt in Germany. It expressed itself in a desire among the smaller States for German unity. At Mannheim and Karlsruhe, crowds assembled and clamoured for a German Parliament, the freedom of the Press, and the arming of the people. Constitutional government and constitutional liberty, the abolition of feudal burdens, religious equality, the allegiance of the Army to the Constitution, and the protection of labour were demanded in the Chamber of the States of Baden. Riots took place, and so alarming did the situation become that the authorities hastened to yield. In Baden, Darmstadt, Nassau, and the electorate of Hesse, in Oldenburg, Brunswick, and other of the smaller States, concessions were hastily made. The larger middle States, Bavaria, Saxony, and Hanover, held out against the people until the triumph of the revolutionaries in Austria and Prussia forced them to take action.

On March 17 serious riots occurred in Berlin. King Frederick William IV. attempted to suppress the movement by force; then consented to the freedom of the Press, the assembly of a Diet for April 2, and the incorporation of East and West Prussia and Posen in the Bund, which was to take the place of the old Confederation of States. Rioting, however, continued; William, Prince of Prussia, the King's brother, had to fly from Berlin, and over his palace the people wrote "National property." At

A SCENE IN THE FUTILE REVOLT OF VENICE AGAINST AUSTRIA
Hoping to re-establish her ancient form of government under the presidency of Manin, Venice rose in revolt against Austria in 1848, but after a fifteen months' siege of the city the Austrians compelled it to capitulate.
From the drawing by W. Giacomelli.

the instigation of his Ministers, the King placed himself at the head of the new German nationality; the Army assumed the German cockade, in addition to the Prussian, and though Frederick William refused the titles of Emperor and King of the Germans, he yielded entirely to the demands for internal reform, and, on March 18, accepted the Baden scheme in its entirety.

While the revolutionary outbursts in Germany dissolved, after severe rioting at Frankfurt on August 18, and the abortive meeting of the General Democratic Congress at Berlin on October 26, affairs in Austria had taken a more serious turn. In one day the whole of that empire seemed to collapse. On March 3 Kossuth carried in the Diet at Pesth an address to the Emperor, demanding a national government for Hungary free from all foreign influence. Prince Mètternich fled from Vienna, the Emperor Ferdinand was compelled to grant a Liberal Constitution for the whole empire, and Kossuth made a triumphal entry into the capital at the head of a numerous Hungarian deputation. The effect of this revolution was to set all Italy in flame.

A "PEACE CONFERENCE": THE MEETING OF VICTOR EMMANUEL AND RADETZKY

Victor Emmanuel II. and Count Radetzky were the two principals in the war between Sardinia and Austria, and in this picture they are represented meeting each other on March 24, 1849, at the farmstead of Vignale. An armistice was agreed to on conditions which were to serve as the basis of a peace, finally concluded in the following August.
From the painting by Aldi, in the Palace of the Signory, Siena.

Ferdinand, who ten years previously had caused himself to be crowned at Milan as King of Lombardy and Venice, had maintained an appearance of tranquillity, not only in his own dominions, but in the other Italian States. But the tranquillity was only on the surface; below there glowed the fervour of revolution, fanned by the genius of Mazzini and his "League of Young Italy," which had for its object the emancipation of the country from the yoke of the foreigner. A natural leader for the movement seemed to have been found in Pope Pius IX., who commenced his reign with the granting of several Liberal measures — greater liberty of the Press, the summoning of a Parliament, and the formation of a burgher-guard. He advocated, also, the idea of an Italian customs-union as the first step to political unity. But his position was impossible; if a Liberal Pope was itself an anomaly, the idea that the father of all Catholics should lead the Catholics of Italy against the Catholics of Austria was absurd. Shortly after the struggle began, he withdrew his support, declared, in an allocution on April 29, that the war was wholly abhorrent to him, and separated for ever the Papacy from the cause of United Italy.

CHARLES ALBERT

He followed his father as King of Sardinia, and declaring war against Austria in 1848, he abdicated the throne in the following year, being succeeded by his son, Victor Emmanuel II.

When the news of the revolution at Vienna became known at Milan, on March 17, the people rose, compelled the Austrian troops under Radetzky to withdraw, and opened their gates to Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, who, without ever having declared war upon Austria, seized this opportunity of freeing Italy from the Austrian yoke. Radetzky was compelled to retire into the triangle formed by the fortresses of Mantua, Peschiera, and Verona. Everywhere the Austrian garrisons surrendered. Venice was lost to the Hapsburgs, and the republic was restored under the leadership of the advocate Manin. King Ferdinand II. of Naples, having granted in succession two new Constitutions to his people, declared war against Austria, and sent General Pepé to the north with thirteen thousand men; but, from jealousy of Charles Albert, they were directed not to cross the Po.

Italy's Lost Fight for Freedom

A fresh rebellion on May 14 restored a portion of his former authority to the King of Naples; the people were suppressed by the Swiss guards, and the Constitution, granted on the first outbreak of the revolution on February 10, was re-established.

Charles Albert, though his forces far outnumbered those of Radetzky, had refrained from giving him battle, in the hope of receiving Italy as a gift of the people. While he delayed, the Austrian general was reinforced. Varying fortunes beset both armies, but towards the end of July, Charles Albert's army having been defeated in several engagements, the Austrians began to advance. The King of Sardinia solicited a truce, and the British Government, through Lord Abercrombie, the English Ambassador at Turin, attempted to negotiate. But Radetzky would consent to no arrangement; the Sardinian army fell back in disorder on Milan, and on August 5 the Lombard capital once more returned to the Austrian yoke.

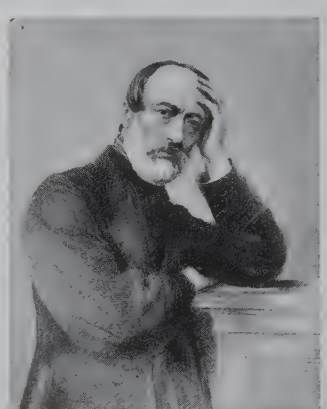
Four days later an armistice was signed, by the terms of which Charles Albert withdrew his troops from Venice, and left Radetzky to the laborious siege of that city. The cause of Italy seemed laid in the dust. Sicily, which had revolted from the Neapolitan kingdom in the first month of the year, was reduced by Prince Filangieri, who landed at Messina, and captured that town after a sanguinary struggle. By April of the following year the whole island had been compelled by force to return to its allegiance.

FRANCIS JOSEPH I.

Born in 1830, he became Emperor of Austria in 1848, succeeding his uncle Ferdinand I., who had been compelled to abdicate. This portrait was taken about the year 1860.

In Rome alone a transient spark of liberty survived. Although he had withdrawn his support from the movement, Pius IX. had been compelled to accept a Liberal policy by his people. The success of the Austrians in Lombardy, however, encouraged him to assert again his pontifical authority, and to restore the old system of government under the direction of his Prime Minister, Count Rossi. On November 15 the Count was assassinated, the people rose, and, aided by the papal troops, stormed the Quirinal, murdered the Pope's private secretary, Cardinal Palma, and compelled the dismissal of the Swiss guards. Disguised as a footman, the Pope fled from Rome to Gaeta. A Provisional Government was formed, and a republic was proclaimed. The example of Rome was followed by Florence. But the year of reaction had set in.

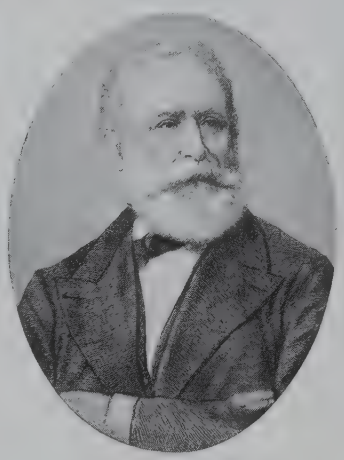
On March 12, 1849, the armistice having expired, the King of Sardinia resumed the war against Austria. His defeat was crushing and complete. After two battles at Mortara and Navara, Charles Albert resigned his crown in despair and fled to Oporto, where he died a few months later. His son and successor, Victor Emmanuel II., after obtaining a truce, made a definite peace with Austria by which everything was replaced on the ancient footing. Meanwhile, the French had taken up the cause of the Pope. Six thousand French troops were landed on the coast under General Oudinot, and the King of Naples also advanced against Rome. In spite of the heroic defence of Garibaldi and his volunteers, who defeated the French before the walls of Rome on April 30, and compelled the King of Naples to withdraw altogether from the contest, the capital was captured on July 3. Garibaldi and Mazzini succeeded in escaping, and General Oudinot put an end to the Roman Republic. Pius IX., however, rejecting the concessions demanded by the French Government, refused to return to his capital, and remained at Gaeta. Venice was reduced on August 22, 1849, the Austrians having lost twenty thousand men during the siege.



JOSEPH MAZZINI

Foremost in the battle for liberty and unity, this Italian patriot devoted his whole life to the furtherance of his ideals, and, taking as his watchword "God and the People," pursued his purpose with passionate zeal.

The progress of the revolution in Hungary followed in the steps of the same movements elsewhere. Kossuth, in pursuit of his policy of securing Hungarian autonomy, endeavoured to perpetuate the disturbances at Vienna, and thereby force the hand of the Emperor. His plan was so far effectual that Ferdinand permitted a National Ministry, independent of Vienna, to be set up at Pesth, of which Count Batthyani was the head, while Kossuth administered the finances. Kossuth's programme of reform was, however, insisted upon—the acceptance of the Baden Constitutions, which would destroy the power of the aristocracy, the incorporation of Transylvania with Hungary, the limitation of the service of Hungarian troops within the Austrian dominions, the establishment of a national bank, and the exclusion of Austrian paper money. On April 11 the Diet of Pesth gave all these demands the force of law. In Vienna the people had gained the upper hand; the upper classes had fled the capital, and, under the direction of Kossuth, a Committee of Safety, with the assistance of the university, ruled side by side with the Ministry and Diet. But the success of Austrian arms in Italy put heart into the Imperial cause. On August 12 the Emperor returned to Vienna; the labourers who worked at the national workshops which had been set up by the Government were suppressed, and on August 24 the Committee of Safety quietly dissolved.



KOSSUTH

Hungarian patriot and statesman, he struggled for national liberty, demanding a government for Hungary free from all foreign influence. The above portrait was taken during his residence in England.

Kossuth's cause was further hampered by the rising of the Servians and Croats, who took up arms against the Hungarians on behalf of the Emperor. Pretending that he was fighting against these enemies, as rebels, in the Emperor's name, Kossuth in September sent a deputation to Vienna to invite the Emperor to Pesth and request him to order back the Hungarian regiments for the defence of their country. Ferdinand, declining, of course, these proposals, sent Count Lemberg to take the place of the Archduke Stephen as Governor of Hungary. On September 28 the Count was murdered on the Bridge of Pesth by a party of Kossuth's scythemen. All hope of arrangement between Hungary and Austria was now impossible. As before, Kossuth relied upon coercing the Government by creating disorders at Vienna. On October 6 another revolt broke out in the capital. The mob stormed the National Assembly, destroyed the Government arsenal, and sacked and pillaged the city. Next day

GARIBALDI

The son of a poor sailor, Garibaldi became the central figure in the battle for Italian independence. He led the revolters against the Austrian rule, continuing the struggle till Italy became a nation, with Victor Emmanuel as her king.

SCENES IN THE IRISH "CABBAGE-GARDEN INSURRECTION" OF 1848

Leading to an outbreak of sedition and crime, the "Young Ireland" movement culminated in the "Cabbage-Garden Insurrection." Attacked by about a thousand armed peasants, with the agitator Smith O'Brien at their head, the police took refuge in a cottage; but when the representatives of the law fired on the insurgents, the latter were not long in seeking safety in flight. The leaders of the movement were afterwards arrested and punished. The scenes represented above are: 1, police searching for arms; 2, arrest of Smith O'Brien at the railway station at Thurles; 3, posting proclamations; 4, the affray at the cottage.

Ferdinand fled to Olmutz, where an army was stationed under Windischgratz. That general marched upon Vienna, and, with the assistance of an army of Croats, surrounded it, and, after a week's siege, took it by assault (October 31). Several of the insurgent leaders were shot, including Robert Blum, one of the foremost figures of the revolution in Germany. On December 2 a Court revolution took place, and the Emperor Ferdinand was compelled to abdicate in favour of his nephew, Francis Joseph. The first care of the new Emperor was the reduction of Hungary, now almost completely under the rule of Kossuth, who acted as president of the Committee of National Defence. The Austrian general, Haynau, almost annihilated an army under Dembinski, and Kossuth retired with the Hungarian crown and jewels into Transylvania. On August 12 the Hungarian leader, Gorgey, surrendered by capitulation, and Kossuth fled to Turkey, where, in spite of the demands of Russia and Austria, he was granted a sanctuary. From there he proceeded to England, where he excited much interest and popularity. The Hungarian forces now surrendered one after another.

Austria's New Emperor

Reaction had now settled upon Europe. The Bohemian revolution had been suppressed as early as June, 1848. In Prussia the change was complete. On November 10 the Constituent Assembly was compelled by force to retire from Berlin to Brandenburg, where, as their tumultuous debates decided nothing, they were dissolved by the King on December 5, and a Constitution was granted by his own grace and favour. On March 28, 1849, the German Parliament at Frankfurt elected the King of Prussia hereditary Emperor. Frederick William, however, declined the dignity, after a month's hesitation, though he was supported by twenty-nine of the German princes—a natural timidity discouraging him from the exercise of supreme power during such a disturbed period. So, for a time, perished the hopes of a united Germany. Several serious riots followed this step. On May 3, at Dresden, the King of Saxony and the Royal Family were compelled to fly. In six days, however, the rebellion was suppressed by the aid of Prussian troops. At Leipzig there was also an abortive insurrection, and in many of the smaller towns much loss of life was incurred in conflicts between the people and the military.

On May 14 Frederick William directed all Prussian subjects to quit the Frankfurt Parliament, and his example being followed by the King of Saxony, that assembly was reduced to scarcely more than a hundred persons. In June they removed to Stuttgart, as Frankfurt was no longer considered secure. Here they deposed the Imperial Vicar and appointed a new Regency consisting of five members. Their militant proposals excited the suspicions of the Wurtemberg Government; they were dispersed, and, though some of the insurgents under Mierolowski held out for a time in Baden and the Palatinate, they were finally suppressed and compelled to take refuge in Switzerland. War now broke out again between Prussia and Denmark over the Schleswig-Holstein question. After the victory of the Bund at Kolding, and of the Danes at Fredericia, on July 6, England and Russia interfered, and a fresh armistice for six months was agreed upon, on the basis of the separation of Schleswig and Holstein (July 10).

The Collapse of Chartism

In England the storm of the revolution had passed and left few signs of its passage. The Chartist movement in its militant form had collapsed on Kennington Common,

QUEEN VICTORIA'S TOUR THROUGH THE FLEET IN CORK HARBOUR, AUGUST 3, 1849
As already recorded, King Edward paid his first visit to Ireland in 1849, accompanying his Royal parents on that occasion, and with them receiving an enthusiastic welcome.

though its principles were to survive and ultimately to be adopted almost in their entirety before the close of the next fifty years. In Ireland, however, the economic scarcity gave a force and direction to the revolutionary spirit that was abroad. In July the Encumbered Estates Act was brought forward by Peel—a measure intended to facilitate the sale and transfer of property. By this Act the delays of the intricate transfers effected through the Court of Chancery were abolished, and moderate fees substituted for the heavy costs that accompanied them. A commission was appointed to see to the proper administration of the Act. But before this measure could be brought into satisfactory operation the internal condition of the country required settlement. The "Young Ireland" movement had resulted in an outbreak of sedition and agrarian crime. It had become necessary to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act. Men-of-war were despatched to the Irish harbours and large forces of troops were poured into the towns.

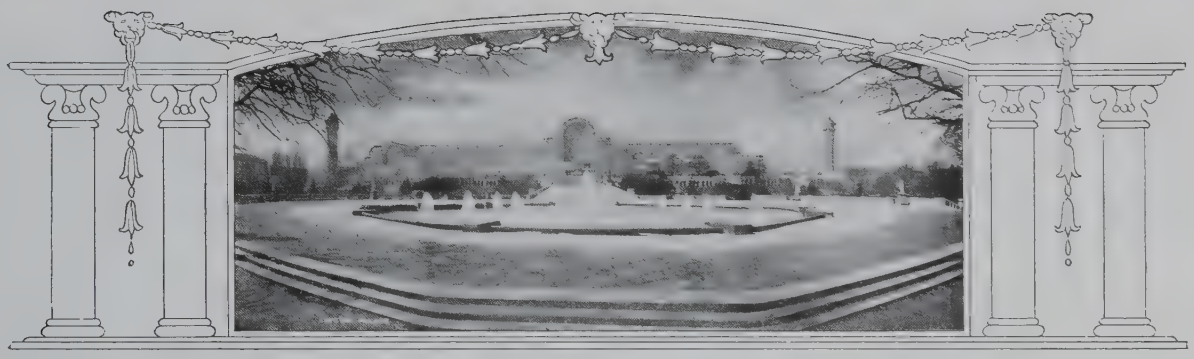
Insurrection in Ireland

The agitation culminated in what has come to be known as the "Cabbage-Garden Insurrection." The Government had been compelled to take steps against John Mitchell, one of the leaders of the Young Irish party and the editor of "The United Irishman." A special Act was passed making all written incitement of insurrection or resistance to the law a felony punishable by transportation. On this account Mitchell was sent to trial, and, being found guilty, was sentenced to fourteen years' transportation to the Bermudas. The effect of this action at first was to rouse the energies of Smith O'Brien, Meagher, and the other Confederate leaders, as the Young Irelanders called themselves. The subsequent suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act hastened the climax. Leaving Dublin, Smith O'Brien went down into the country, succeeded in raising a small following of peasants, and attacked a neighbouring police-barrack. The attempt failed, but the following day O'Brien, with about a thousand men armed with muskets, pikes, scythes, and other weapons, came into conflict with the police. The representatives of the law took refuge in a neighbouring cottage; the rebels attacked them from the cabbage-garden outside. A volley from the police dispersed the insurgents. A few days later Smith O'Brien was arrested at Thurles railway station; Meagher, MacMamus, O'Donoghue were taken prisoners shortly afterwards.

The four confederate leaders were duly sentenced to death, a sentence afterwards commuted to one of transportation to Australia. From here Meagher effected his escape and joined Mitchell, who had equally been successful, in America. Though the Irish question was not settled, the insurrectionist spirit was for the moment suppressed; the distress was relieved and the tranquillity of the country restored. In the following year Queen Victoria, accompanied by the Prince of Wales and the Princess Royal, visited Ireland. Their reception was so hearty and so spontaneous that it entirely disproved the assertion that the disaffection and the rebellious spirit of the previous year had been national. The Prince of Wales, in particular, was hailed with much shouting and general acclamation. Thousands thronged the shore when the Royal party concluded their visit. Her Majesty's last words, addressed to the Dublin Corporation, expressed not only her own personal feelings, but that sense of affection which has continued to exist to this day between the Sovereign and the Irish people. "I gladly avail myself," said her Majesty, "of this occasion to express my grateful acknowledgment for the ardent affection and loyalty with which my arrival has been hailed. I gladly share with you the hope that the heavy visitation with which Providence has recently visited large numbers of people in this country is passing away. I have felt deeply for their sufferings, and it will be a source of heartfelt satisfaction to me if I am permitted to witness the future and lasting prosperity of this portion of the United Kingdom."

Ireland's Welcome to her Future King

With this triumphal progress through Ireland of the Sovereign and her children came to an end the one outbreak that had occurred in the United Kingdom as the result of the revolutionary fires set burning in Paris in February, 1848.



CHAPTER IX

TO THE EVE OF THE CRIMEAN WAR

Queen Victoria and her Ministers, Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston, the Rise of Disraeli and Gladstone, the Passing of Wellington, and the March of Events on the Continent

THE Liberal Ministry of Lord John Russell, which conducted the affairs of the country through the Year of Revolution (1848), and for the four succeeding years, was overshadowed by the personality of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Lord Palmerston once described himself as the "judicious bottle-holder" in the mêlée of Europe. The phrase and the simile employed were characteristic of the man. The prize-ring metaphor was understood and appreciated by the people at large, and it was to this comprehension of popular sentiment that Lord Palmerston owed his position. Unable to direct public opinion, he was able to give expression to its varying moods with the faithfulness of a sensitive plate. Relieved from the troubles of Ireland, Lord John Russell's Ministry accomplished little during its remaining period of office, and its history is dependent almost solely upon the ebullitions of Lord Palmerston. The repeal of the Navigation Laws was among the few measures of importance which it accomplished. Those laws, which dated from the time of the Protectorate, laid it down that goods sent to or from the United Kingdom and any of its possessions, or from one British colony to another, must be carried in British ships, or in ships of the country where they were produced or whence they were exported. In effect, the laws paid a bounty to British shipowners at the expense of British consumers. As such they existed contrary to the principles of Free Trade. In June, 1894, they were repealed, and thereby a great impetus was given to the expansion of colonial commerce.

Lord Palmerston's position in the eyes of the people was enhanced by his conduct of the Don Pacifico question. Don Pacifico was a Jew of Portuguese extraction, but a native of Gibraltar, living in Athens. In April, 1847, the Athenian mob were prevented by a police order from carrying out one of their Easter observances—the burning in effigy of Judas Iscariot. The report was circulated that the Jews were responsible for this order; the mob grew excited, and vented their feelings by breaking into and pillaging Don Pacifico's house. Instead of seeking redress in the law courts, Don Pacifico made a direct claim against the Greek Government for £32,000 damages. Of this sum, £26,000 represented the loss he alleged he had sustained by the destruction of certain papers; the balance, the compensation he claimed for damage to his personal property. About the same time Mr. Finlay, the historian of Greece, who resided in Athens, put in a claim of £1,500 for certain of his land which had been appropriated by the Government. In addition, there were other complaints against the Greek Government, including the arrest of a midshipman of one of her Majesty's ships. The Greek Government showed no eagerness to redress these grievances when approached by our Foreign Office. Lord Palmerston translated the delay that occurred into an attempt on the part of the French Minister in Greece to undermine the influence of Great Britain. He acted with characteristic decision; the separate claims were set together as one sum, and the demand for its immediate payment was supported by the appearance of the British Fleet at the Piræus.

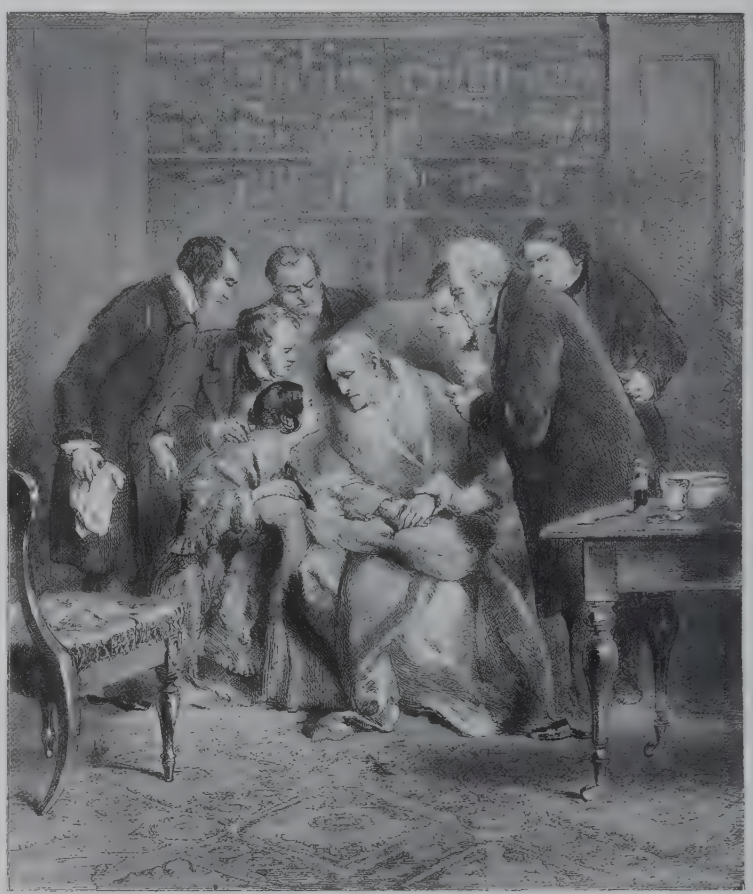
All Government vessels were seized, and all private merchant ships found within the waters were captured. At this juncture the services of France as arbitrator were accepted, but the settlement of the affair was complicated by the negotiations being

THE ROOM AT WALMER CASTLE IN WHICH THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON DIED

The long and illustrious life of the Duke of Wellington came to an end in 1852, the hero of Waterloo passing peacefully away on September 14, in his armchair at Walmer Castle. This illustration shows the room in which the Iron Duke breathed his last, its furnishings, as will be seen, being of the simplest character.

carried on simultaneously in Athens and London. While a friendly settlement was arrived at in London, our Minister at Athens proceeded with his coercive methods, and secured from the Greek Government a complete recognition of its liability. Indignant at the slight offered to her, France threatened to withdraw her Ambassador from London; for a time the alarm of war spread over Europe, but in the end more peaceful counsels prevailed, an arbitrator was agreed upon, and Don Pacifico's claim was officially inquired into. Ultimately he obtained about one-thirtieth of the sum he had originally demanded, it being found that his bill of costs was drawn up on a scale which allowed £30 for a pair of sheets and £10 for a pillow-case.

Lord Palmerston's conduct of this somewhat ridiculous affair was made the subject of criticism in Parliament. The Foreign Secretary replied to his critics in a spirited speech, concluding with the famous peroration, "Civis Romanus sum," which carried the Ministry through the ordeal with flying colours. The debate in the House of Commons closed on the morning of June 29. Sir Robert Peel returned home to rest for a few hours. Later in the day he attended a meeting of the commission entrusted with the task of promoting the Great International Exhibition. In the evening, as he was riding through the Park, he was thrown from his horse, and was so seriously injured that three days later he died. The year had seen the death of two other famous men; in April, William Wordsworth had passed away, and had been succeeded in the Laureateship by Alfred Tennyson; on August 25, Louis Philippe, the ex-King of the French, also brought his chequered career to a close.



THE LAST MOMENTS OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON

Surrounded by a few friends, among whom were Lord and Lady Charles Wellesley, the end came to the famous soldier after a few hours' suffering.

Having passed triumphantly through the trials of the Don Pacifico question, the Ministry found themselves involved in a more bitter controversy, the passions of which still find a faint echo in our own time. In the Papal Court of Rome, the progress that had been made by the Oxford movement was translated as a desire on the part of the English nation to be re-incorporated in the fold of the Roman Catholic Church. This delusion induced the Pope, in the autumn of 1850, to issue a Papal Bull, directing the establishment in England of a hierarchy of bishops, "deriving their titles from their own sees, which we constitute by the present letter in the various apostolic districts." Considerable excitement was aroused by the publication of this document. Protestants were incensed, not only at the pretensions of the Pope to create titles in England, but at his assumption that the time was ripe for the spiritual annexation of the country. Even Catholics questioned the wisdom of his action.

A "No-Popery" Agitation

On November 4, Lord John Russell wrote a letter to the Bishop of Durham, in which he condemned the assumption of the Pope as a pretension of supremacy of Rome over England. It would be necessary, he went on to declare, to adopt some measures to secure the liberty of Protestantism which had been enjoyed so long in England. The publication of the Prime Minister's epistle was the signal for wild scenes of disorder in every part of the country. The No-Popery agitation raged with a bitterness which has since happily never been surpassed. Disraeli opposed the agitation on the grounds that, as the Catholic episcopacy was recognised in Ireland, it was absurd to object to it in England; Gladstone, Cobden, and Bright deprecated it as contrary to the principle of religious toleration. But the storm spread. Catholics were mobbed and their priests insulted. In February of the following year, Lord John Russell's views were embodied in the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill. This measure was designed to prevent the assumption by Roman Catholics of titles taken from any territory or place within the United Kingdom. Overwhelming majorities in the House supported the Bill, though men like Cobden, Gladstone, and Disraeli opposed it strongly in all its stages. But to apply the Bill in its original and most stringent form to Ireland was found impossible; to distinguish between Ireland and the rest of the United Kingdom would have been an admission of fatuousness; the most objectionable clauses were therefore deleted.

Parliament and Religion

The passing of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill was delayed, chiefly by a chance vote in the House. Disraeli had introduced a motion which, though disguised as a plea for the relief of agricultural distress in the country, was really an attempt to re-introduce those principles of Protection which had been abandoned in 1846. A snap division ended in the defeat of the Government by a majority of forty-eight. Lord John Russell resigned, and Lord Stanley was sent for by the Queen to form a Government. The state of the political parties at the time rendered his attempt a

failure. The Peelites, among whom was Gladstone, would not join with the Conservatives because of their Protectionist policy; nor would they unite with the Whigs under Lord John Russell because of their opposition to the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill. Russell, therefore, was summoned again to take up the reins of office. After a long series of angry debates, the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill was passed in both Houses, and received the Royal assent. Queen Victoria was strongly averse to the measure as an infringement of the principles of religious toleration. Her wisdom and good sense were justified. The Act, after remaining on the Statute Book for twenty years, during which time it was never put in operation, was quietly repealed.

The Wisdom of Queen Victoria

While the storm of religious controversy was still raging in the country, the Great International Exhibition was opened in Hyde Park. The inception and the carrying out of that great scheme were due to the indefatigable industry of Prince Albert. He was the one man in England capable of inaugurating such an undertaking. His general culture, his deep interest in the arts, and his untiring energy and patience, combined to make him the ideal promoter of so vast a scheme.

At every stage of the proceedings he found himself faced by opposition. In the Commons, a certain section of the members declared that the collection of so many foreigners in London would lead to the destruction of property and the undermining of the State.

The King of Prussia was so alarmed at the possibilities of the Great Exhibition being made a meeting-place for all the Red Republicans of Europe that he at first refused to allow his son to attend the opening ceremony. At every step Prince Albert had to battle. From the dangers of revolution, the opposition passed to the question of the site. When Hyde Park was decided upon, the Prince was attacked bitterly by nearly all the Press. Ridicule was heaped upon his head, and it almost seemed at one time that the whole scheme must be abandoned. But the Prince surmounted all obstacles. A guarantee fund was provided, and at a meeting of provincial mayors held at the Mansion House he summed up the aim and object of the undertaking.

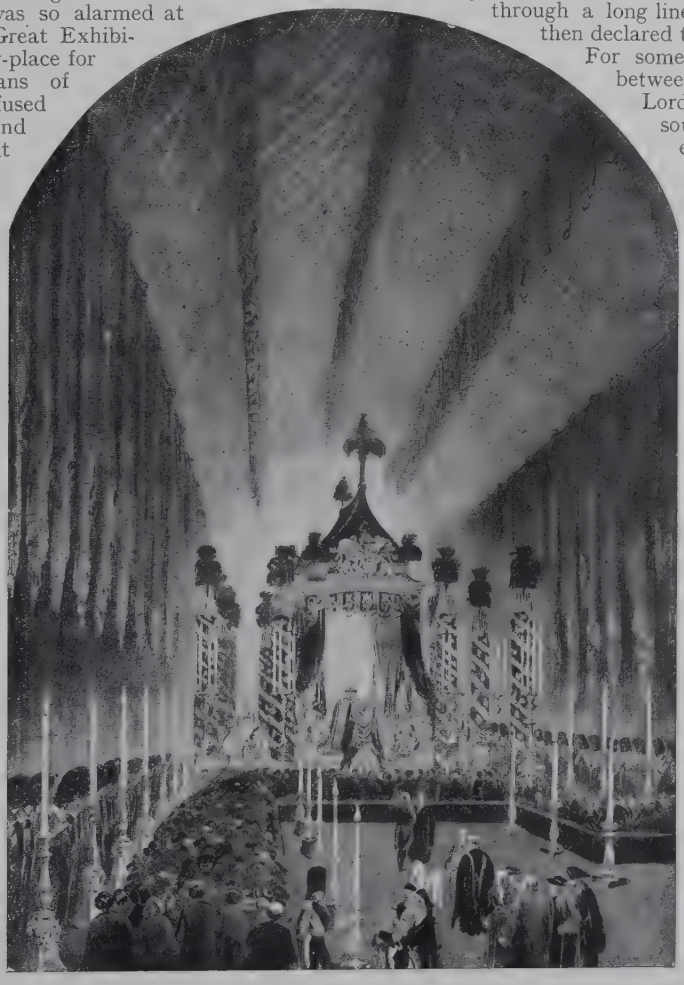
The Great Exhibition was to give the world "a true test, a living picture, of the point of industrial development at which the whole of mankind had arrived, and a new starting-point, from which all nations would be able to direct their further exertions." One of the great difficulties was to decide upon the kind of building which was to hold the specimens of the arts and industries of all nations. There seemed no alternative but to build a huge brick erection, which would have been a blot upon the landscape. This difficulty was surmounted by Mr. Joseph, afterwards Sir Joseph, Paxton, then in the service of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth. At the last moment he submitted the plan of a building made of iron and glass, still familiar to the present generation as the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, where it was re-erected after its first use. It was built in the course of the next six months.

At the last moment objections to the Exhibition were put forward by the religious bodies. Cardinal Manning declared that it would endanger faith and morals, and concentrate in one space all the corrupting moral elements of Europe. The Exhibition, however, survived these clerical attacks.

The Great Exhibition

On May 1, 1851, the Duke of Wellington's birthday and the first anniversary of the birth of Prince Arthur William Patrick, Duke of Connaught, the Exhibition was opened in state by the Queen. At twelve o'clock on that day, nine carriages conveyed her Majesty, Prince Albert, the Prince of Wales, and the Princess Royal up Constitution Hill and along Rotten Row to the northern entrance of the Exhibition. On the way seven hundred thousand people cheered the Sovereign and her family. In her Royal robes the Queen, seated on a throne, received the Commissioners. Having addressed them, she started on a tour of the building. Leading the Prince of Wales by the hand, she visited every section in turn, through a long line of cheering people. She then declared the Exhibition open.

For some time past the relations between Queen Victoria and Lord Palmerston had been a source of considerable uneasiness to the Prime Minister. Her Majesty had just cause of complaint. On the excuse that there were some matters over which it was impossible to delay, the Foreign Secretary had sent dispatches to different European Courts without first submitting them to the consideration of the Sovereign. Queen Victoria had protested again and again. In August, 1850, Lord Palmerston's conduct had compelled her to send a formal memorandum to Lord John Russell setting forth exactly what she expected from her Foreign Secretary. She required: "(1) That he will distinctly state what he proposes in a given case, in order that the Queen may know as distinctly to what she has given her Royal sanction; (2) having once given her sanction to a measure, that it be not arbitrarily altered or modified by the Minister; such an act she must consider as failing in sincerity towards



LYING IN STATE: THE REMAINS OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON IN THE HALL OF CHELSEA HOSPITAL

the Crown, and justly to be visited by the exercise of her Constitutional right of dismissing that Minister." Her Majesty concluded this memorandum by declaring that she expected to be kept informed of what passed between Lord Palmerston and the Foreign Ministers before important decisions were taken, based upon that intercourse; to receive the foreign dispatches in good time, and to have the drafts for her approval sent to her in sufficient time to make herself acquainted with their contents before they had to be sent off.

Though Lord Palmerston accepted correction at the hands of his Sovereign with good grace, it was not long before he returned to his former practices, and therefore the friction between the Queen and her Minister continued. During the re-formation of the Cabinet in the early months of 1851, her Majesty desired Lord John Russell to select someone else as Foreign Secretary. Russell frankly admitted that it was impossible. "He (Lord John), he said, was, in fact, the weakness, and Lord Palmerston the strength of the Government through his popularity with the Radicals." But though he retained the conduct of foreign affairs for nine months more, his position in the Ministry became daily more untenable. In December, his conduct rendered his dismissal inevitable, even though, as Lord John Russell admitted, it would lead to the break-up of the Government. That dismissal arose from causes connected with Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état* in Paris, on December 2. In 1848 the Constitution of the Second Republic had been promulgated, and the heir of the Emperor Napoleon had been elected, on universal suffrage, by an overwhelming majority of votes, President for four years. His tenure of office had rendered patent the glaring defects in the Constitution, which made the executive dependent upon the legislative, provoked conflicts between the head of the Republic and the Chamber, and yet indicated no way out of the difficulties it created.

Louis Napoleon's Coup d'état

Louis Napoleon had sworn to defend the democratic Republic as formed in 1848. The basis of that Constitution had been universal suffrage. In May, 1850, the Chamber, which was hostile to the President, destroyed universal suffrage for fear lest Napoleon should be returned again by the people. Justification for the *coup d'état*, while it cannot be sought in the means employed, can be found in the events that rendered it inevitable. In Louis Napoleon's own words, he violated legality in order to preserve right, "J'ai sortir de la légalité pour rentrer dans le droit."

The *coup d'état* was executed in the early morning of December 2. To M. de Maupas, prefect of the police, had been entrusted the chief duties of that great political event. It was his business to arrest all the members of the Opposition in the Assembly, the heads of the secret societies, and the noted commanders of barricades. With a secrecy and dispatch almost miraculous, these arrests were carried out. Between five minutes to six and a quarter past the arrests had been made and the prisoners conveyed to the Prison of Mazas. At half-past six large bodies of soldiers devoted to the cause of the Prince had taken up strong positions in the capital. All opposition was unavailing. When the President, on the following morning, rode out to the Place de la Concorde, he was received everywhere with vociferous shouts of "Vive l'Empéreur!" At the same time a decree was issued pronouncing the dissolution of the National Assembly, the re-establishment of universal suffrage, the announcement of the forthcoming election, and a proclamation of a state of siege.

Napoleon III. on the French Throne

The day of December 2 passed quietly in Paris, but towards night the Reds rose. Barricades were erected in the district of St. Antoine. Some desultory conflicts took place the following day, but the serious fighting was reserved for the fourth. At noon on that day, General Magnan issued the order that the barricades should be carried with

THE BURIAL OF THE HERO OF WATERLOO: THE STATELY FUNERAL PROCESSION ON ITS WAY TO ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL

The body of the world-famous general who had broken the power of the great Napoleon and brought peace to harassed and troubled Europe, after lying in state at Chelsea Hospital, as pictured on the preceding page, was laid to rest, with great pomp and amid many signs of mourning, in St. Paul's Cathedral. The stately car, with its gorgeous trappings, on which the remains of the Duke were carried to their last resting place, is shown in the above picture

artillery. The streets were swept with shot; one after another the insurgent bands gave way. By midnight the fighting was almost over. On the fifth, Magnan displayed, in a sort of parade to the people, the entire army of Paris, detailing all arms to scour the streets in flying columns and destroy all obstacles to free circulation. The official figures stated that 600 were killed and wounded in the course of the *coup d'état*, but this does not take into account the numbers who died in the provinces, where the agitation was longer prolonged and more sanguinary. The number of persons imprisoned, deported, exiled, and punished amounted in all to over 15,000. Eighteen days after the *coup d'état*, the elections showed that close upon 7,500,000 people approved of Prince Louis Napoleon's act.

KING EDWARD IN HIS YOUTHFUL DAYS
From a photograph of the same period as the portrait on page 47.

It is more than probable that the surprise which the *coup d'état* created in Europe was not felt by Lord Palmerston. It is impossible to fathom the Foreign Secretary's degree of intimacy with Louis Napoleon's projects, but it is beyond question that his personal relations with the future Emperor of the French—relations which one well-informed contemporary writer at least (A. D. Vandam, in "An Englishman in Paris") suggests extended to material support at the time of his candidature for the Presidency—were of such a kind as to enable him to forecast with accuracy the event of December 2. That event, at any rate, had Lord Palmerston's heartiest approval and support. On December 3, the news reached London. The same day Count Walewski, a natural son of the first Napoleon and the French Ambassador at the Court of St. James's, formally made it known to Lord Palmerston. As Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston should have observed a non-committal attitude towards Count Walewski until such a time as he could speak with the consent and approval of his Sovereign and her Ministers. With his characteristic impatience (or his characteristic pretence of imprudence) he told the French Ambassador that he entirely approved of all that Prince Louis Napoleon had done. On the same day he wrote to Lord Normanby, the English Ambassador in Paris, disavowing surprise that the President had struck the blow when he did, "for it is now well-known here that the Duchess of Orleans was preparing to be called to Paris this week with her younger son to commence a new period of the Orleans dynasty."

The same day Queen Victoria wrote to Lord John Russell, urging him to instruct Lord Normanby to remain entirely passive, and to abstain from even the appearance of interference in the internal affairs of France. These instructions, having the approval of the Prime Minister, were duly forwarded to Lord Normanby, who immediately acted upon them. At once he informed the French Government that Great Britain neither approved nor disapproved of an event which concerned France alone. To his surprise, and not unnatural indignation, he was informed that Count Walewski had notified the French Government that the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had already expressed himself as entirely approving the President's act. Lord Normanby's position was very difficult. His instructions were in direct opposition to the policy advocated by Lord Palmerston in Downing Street. Moreover, while instructed to preserve an attitude of strict impartiality, he had received letters from Lord Palmerston, couched in almost violent language, censuring him for his supposed hostility to the President. His position was so difficult and unpleasant that Lady Normanby wrote to Colonel Phipps on the 9th, setting forth the exact state of affairs. This letter Colonel Phipps showed to Queen Victoria. On December 13 the Queen wrote to her Prime Minister, asking him to explain "how it came about that the French Government pretended to have received the entire approval of the late *coup d'état* as conveyed by Lord Palmerston to Count Walewski. Does Lord John," asked the Queen, "know anything about the alleged approval, which, if true, would again expose the honesty and dignity of the Queen's Government in the eyes of the world?"

The Queen's Hand in State Affairs

On the 15th Lord Normanby wrote to Lord Palmerston protesting that if the Foreign Secretary held one language in Downing Street, and prescribed another course for the British Ambassador, the latter must be awkwardly circumstanced. Without consulting even the Cabinet of the Sovereign, Lord Palmerston replied that he had said nothing inconsistent with his instructions to Lord Normanby, that the President's action was for the French nation to judge of, but that in his view that action made for the maintenance of social order in France. The Prime Minister now realised that Lord Palmerston's continuance in the Ministry was impossible. On December 19 he demanded his resignation. Earl Granville was appointed to the vacant post, and the opinion of the political world was summed up in Disraeli's phrase, "There *was* a Palmerston."

Resignation of Lord Palmerston

The triumph of Louis Napoleon, which was regarded by everybody as the prelude to the re-establishment of the Empire, created grave uneasiness in the country. That Europe would immediately be plunged in a deluge of blood was the general opinion. Public attention was drawn to the state of our defences, and the distrust of Louis Napoleon deepened daily. When the House of Lords deprecated the agitation against the Government which had been established in France, Tennyson voiced the feeling of the people at large in some trenchant verses in the "Examiner."

> If you be fearful, then must we be bold.
> Our Britain cannot salve a tyrant o'er.
> Better the waste Atlantic roll'd
> On her and us and ours for evermore.

In February the Queen opened Parliament, and one of the Government's first measures dealt with an attempt to reorganise our military forces. But before that measure was brought forward, the Prime Minister justified his

dismissal of the late Foreign Secretary. Lord Palmerston's reply seemed to lend colour to Disraeli's statement that his political career was at an end. Events, however, were to prove that the prophecy was false. The introduction of a new Reform Bill, which reduced the borough franchise to five pounds, and proposed an alteration in the oath to enable Jews to take their seat in the House of Commons, and a debate on the Manchester and Salford Education Scheme Bill—the forerunner of the movement towards national education—preceded the introduction of Lord John Russell's military measure. It was a Bill for raising a local militia. Military experts, including the Duke of Wellington, were opposed to the scheme, and favoured the substitution of the word "regular" for "local." On February 19, when it appeared that the Government had some chance of carrying their measure, Lord Palmerston rose in his place and proposed a resolution which altered entirely the principle of the Bill.

The Government Defeated

His speech carried the day. The Peelites and the Protectionists followed him into the lobby, and the Government were defeated by a majority of eleven. Lord John Russell at once tendered his resignation, and Lord Derby, who, as Lord Stanley, had succeeded his father the previous year, was called upon to take office. In the new Government, Disraeli was entrusted with the duties of Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons. The position of the Ministry was difficult in the extreme. In the House of Commons they were in the minority, and the Opposition was welded more firmly together by Lord Derby's avowed intention of testing again the cause of Protection and Free Trade. Disraeli did not go as far as his leader, and deprecated any attempt to reintroduce Protection. While the Free Trade League was being reorganised, and meetings were being held with a view to forcing the Government to make some specific statement with regard to their fiscal policy, Disraeli submitted a Budget which soothed the Peelites and the Whigs rather than won the support of his colleagues. Framed at the last moment by a man to whom figures were uncongenial, the Budget showed at least the genius and ability of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The passing of the Militia Bill and the granting of a Constitution to New Zealand concluded the labours of the Government for a time. In July, Parliament was dissolved and the elections took place.

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III

Nephew of the great Napoleon, he was elected President of the French Republic in 1848, and overthrowing the democratic Constitution four years later, he became Emperor.

Before Parliament reassembled, in November, an event occurred which cast a shadow of gloom over the country. On September 14, 1852, the Duke of Wellington passed quietly away in his sleep at Walmer Castle, in his eighty-fourth year. From the Sovereign to the poorest of her subjects his death was mourned as almost a national disaster. The Iron Duke was buried with all the splendour and pomp of gorgeous ceremonial, but the greatest tribute to his worth was to be seen in the vast silent, respectful crowd that lined the streets as the hero of Waterloo was borne to his last resting-place in St. Paul's. At Madrid, and Berlin, and Vienna, funeral honours were also paid to the great soldier.

The death of the Duke came at the time when all Europe was in a state of anxious expectation as to the intentions of Louis Napoleon, and it seemed to emphasise the possible return of those tumultuous days from which the Duke had rescued Europe when the first Napoleon sat upon the throne of France. Queen Victoria, with the whole-hearted interest which she always displayed in anything affecting the security of her kingdom, repeatedly urged upon Lord Derby the necessity of formulating some systematic plan of military and naval defence. She demanded to be supplied with a complete account from the various departments of what means we had actually at our disposal for purposes of defence, what forces could be ready for action at the shortest possible notice, and what remained to be done to put the country in a state of security. In addition, she insisted on an account of the cost of such preparations, and urged her Prime Minister to make the outlay so large that it would be sufficient, not only to protect us from foreign attack, but to ensure us against war.

Events in France seemed to justify these precautionary measures. On November 7 the Senate had pronounced that the Imperial dignity had been re-established in the persons of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte and his heirs male. On the 21st and 22nd nearly eight million Frenchmen ratified this decision, and on the night of December 1 the dignitaries of the new Empire went to St. Cloud to present to the Prince the Imperial Crown. On the following morning the new Emperor rode into Paris at the head of a brilliant staff, amidst the acclamations of the people, and the man who had once been the laughing-stock of Europe took up his residence at the Tuileries, the palace of successive French dynasties. To consolidate the new Empire, Napoleon III. sought for a matrimonial alliance with the Royal House of Great Britain. Count Walewski was sent to England to ask for the hand of Princess Adelaide of Hohenlohe, niece of Queen Victoria. The Queen diplomatically replied that in such a matter the decision must rest with the parents of the Princess and the Princess herself. As the father of the Princess declined the alliance on the grounds of a difference of religion, Napoleon III. a month later announced his intention of taking for his wife "a woman whom I love and respect, in preference to an unknown woman, an alliance with whom would have brought advantages mixed with sacrifices." On January 30, 1853, the Emperor was united at Notre Dame to Mademoiselle de Montijo, Countess of Teba.

While these events were taking place in France, disaster had overtaken the Derby administration. Saved from destruction by the intervention of Lord Palmerston, on a Free Trade resolution brought forward by Mr. Villiers, the Ministry was finally wrecked on the Budget. Disraeli's proposals pleased no one. Every section of the Opposition joined in the attack upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and, in the brilliant debates that ensued, Disraeli came first into open conflict with his great political rival, W. E. Gladstone. Disraeli's defence of his proposals was delivered with that mixture of flowery exposition and scathing invective of which he was the master. As he sat down Gladstone rose to his feet, and the duel that was to last between the two men for thirty years began. After inveighing against the intemperate language of the Leader of the House of Commons, Gladstone went on to analyse and destroy the details of the Budget one by one. On a division, the Government were defeated by nineteen votes. The Ministry resigned, and Lord Aberdeen was entrusted with the task of forming a coalition Cabinet. In the new Cabinet Mr. Gladstone was Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord John Russell, Foreign Secretary, and Lord Palmerston, Home Secretary. In April, Mr. Gladstone at the age of forty-three, brought forward his Budget in one of those speeches which made him famous as an exponent of intricate financial measures.

The War Cloud in the East

The social measures passed by the Government in 1853 were few. The Eastern question had created dissensions in the Cabinet, and for a brief space the issue remained in suspense. Then the sky darkened, and the desolating Crimean War came to disturb the national peace.

CHAPTER X

THE EARLIER EDUCATION OF THE KING

The Disciplinary Measures of the Prince Consort; the Early Instructors of the Young Prince; his Training for Kingship and his Native Genius

ENGLISH children at the present time lead almost as easy and happy lives as the children of Japan. Their nurseries are made as bright and as pleasant as possible; they are often given more toys than they know what to do with; and even when they are very naughty the use of the rod is spared. It is true that some grandmothers are inclined to think that their daughters and sons do not know anything about bringing up children; but, on the whole, the modern method of leading young minds lovingly down the right path, and making that path sweet and gay and charming, seems to be the right one. Even if, as some of the older people allege, child-worship is in some instances now pushed to the point of folly, this excess is hardly as harmful as the excesses of the old system. For it is certain that very considerable harm was done in many directions by the Spartan-like severity of family education in the early Victorian era. Some of the best men of the period had their spirits broken or darkened in youth, and the general sombreness and joylessness of English life in that age produced, in a natural reaction, a wild outbreak of reckless thought and reckless action, of which Swinburne's earlier poems were the glorification, and George Meredith's and Matthew Arnold's earlier novels and essays a criticism, and, in some respects, an apology. The hero of Meredith's "Ordeal of Richard Feverel" was a representative of the best minds of his generation, and the repressive system of education which warped his nature instead of preparing him for the trials of real life was the chief source of that strange narrowness, rigidity, and gloominess of the English genius of the mid-Victorian period.

Many of the great men of that age have complained of the way in which they were brought up, and though King Edward never murmured, he had more cause for complaint than any of his contemporaries. For his boyhood was very dull and sombre. Prince Metternich, a great diplomatist and a keen student of human nature, said of him in his youth, "He pleased everybody, but he was himself embarrassed and very mournful." The poor boy was, in fact, a sad victim of over-education, and it is a remarkable testimony to the natural strength and resiliency of his mind and character that he was not ruined by the pedantic methods adopted to make him the most learned and conscientious of men. Everything was done that could be done to transform King Edward into a learned prig; the extraordinary practical wisdom, the extraordinary knowledge of human nature, the extraordinary insight into domestic affairs and foreign politics, which made him a master-mind of his age, were qualities that he won himself, in spite of his early training. He was a fine example of what a man can do by self-education under the greatest difficulties. He had not only an immense deal to learn; he had still more to forget; and, happily, when he came to train his own son, he gave him the full benefit of his own experience, and allowed King George to lead a merry boyish life in the best of all schools for the ruler of a free people—the school of the world.

A DRAWING BY THE KING IN 1855

The fact was that the Prince Consort and several of the statesmen and writers of the early Victorian era were depressingly utilitarian in their views on the education of the young Prince. It is really distressing to read a famous pamphlet on that subject, "Who should educate the Prince of Wales?" which appeared in 1843, within two years of the birth of the heir to the throne, and produced a deep influence on Queen Victoria and her husband. To say that the pamphlet was uninspired is to put it mildly: the writer was an incarnation of the dull and misdirected seriousness of his age, and when he chanced on a commonplace truth, he laboured it somehow into a trivial absurdity. Nevertheless, he undoubtedly produced a profound effect. This was due to the fact that he at least gave expression to a very widespread feeling of anxiety. Memories of the social and political mischief wrought by former Princes of Wales of the House of Brunswick were still imprinted on the mind of the English people. Already, in 1842, Baron

Stockmar, the confidential adviser to the Queen and Prince Consort, had drawn up at their request a memorandum on the education of the Royal children, in the course of which he said:

The Weak Sons of George III.

"George III. either did not understand his duties as a parent, or he neglected them. The errors of his sons were of the most glaring kind, and we can find their explanation only in the supposition that their tutors were either incapable of engrafting on their minds during their youth the principles of truth or morality, or that they most culpably neglected their duties, or were not supported in them by the Royal parents. There can be no doubt that the conduct of these Princes contributed more than any other circumstance to weaken the respect and influence of Royalty in this country, and to impair the strong sentiments of loyalty among the English people, for which they have been for centuries distinguished. That George IV. by his iniquities did not accomplish his own exclusion from the throne was owing to the strength of the English constitution and the great political tolerance and reflection of this practical people."

This memorandum naturally disturbed the Queen and her husband, and they turned to Lord Melbourne for advice. His letter did not allay their fears; and as it does much to explain the severity with which King Edward was brought up, it must be cited in full:

"Lord Melbourne presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and has just recollected that in the letter which he wrote yesterday, he omitted to advert to a part of your Majesty's last, to which your Majesty may expect some answer. He means the part relating to the character and situation of a Prince of Wales in this country. George IV. was so conscious of having mixed himself unrestrainedly in politics, and of having taken a very general part in opposition to his father's government and wishes, that he was naturally anxious to exonerate himself from blame, and to blame it upon the necessity of his position rather than upon his own restless and intermeddling disposition. But Lord Melbourne agrees with your Majesty that his excuse was neither valid nor justifiable, and Lord Melbourne earnestly hopes that your Majesty and the Prince may be successful in training and instructing the young Prince of Wales, and to make him understand correctly his real position and its duties, and to enable him to withstand the temptations and seductions with which he will find himself beset when he approaches the age of twenty-one. It is true that Sir John made the observation which Lord Melbourne mentioned to your Majesty, and which you now remember correctly. He made it to Sir John Graham when he went to talk to him about the offence which William IV. had taken at the Duchess of Kent's marine excursion, and at the receiving of Royal salutes. Your Majesty was not very long in the situation of an acknowledged, admitted, and certain Heir Apparent, but still long enough to be aware of the use which those around you were inclined to make of that situation, and of the petitions and applications which it naturally produced from others, and therefore to have an idea of the difficulties of it. Lord Melbourne heartily wishes your Majesty every success in the interesting and important task in which you are engaged, of forming the character and disposition of the young Prince."

BARON STOCKMAR

A German statesman and physician, he was one of those who arranged the marriage of Queen Victoria with Prince Albert, and when, some years later, the education of the Royal children was under consideration, he, as confidential adviser to the Queen and Prince Consort, suggested the lines along which their instruction might proceed.

Everything thus concurred to make the beginning of the path in life of the most genial and charming of British Sovereigns rough and hard and difficult. In the matter of his education his parents seem to have carried conscientiousness to that extreme point at which it is almost impossible to distinguish it from harshness. The Prince Consort, as has been seen in an earlier chapter, was a stern disciplinarian; the Queen, too, was almost morbidly afraid lest her children should be spoiled by too much luxury in their early days, and the kind-hearted old King of the French, Louis Philippe, had to beg her as a great favour to permit him to present to her "august and charming Prince" the gift of a toy gun. Children of middle-class families at the present day have many more playthings than King Edward and his brothers and sisters were allowed to have in their childhood. Toys are a very important element in the veritable education of the young mind. They do more than probably anything else to elicit the powers of the imagination, and, if wisely chosen, they enable children not only to amuse, but really to instruct themselves. Their play is, as several men of science have recently proved, like the play of young animals, a serious preparation for the great game of life. Long before men of science proved this, most parents knew it by instinct; the Prince Consort, however, was a man who did not trust his instincts.

He was a child of the modern German movement of enlightenment—kindly, conscientious, and intensely practical, and inclined to contemn everything for which a clear and rational explanation was not at once forthcoming. He arrived in England at a fortunate moment for our country, and he did more than any statesman of the day to clear the air of mere sentiment and mere prejudice; but where he had no large fund of acquired knowledge to go on, as in the gentle art of bringing up his own children, he was apt at times to display the great defect of the sternly practical mind—narrowness. What did not seem to be immediately useful, he was rather too readily inclined to condemn. He reproved his eldest son, for instance, for devoting too much time to reading the fine historical novels of Sir Walter Scott. Had he known that these novels were the origin and source of all that was best in the new schools of historical writing in France and Germany, he would no doubt have set the young Prince to study them as a heavy task. Here, perhaps, we touch the principal failing of his fine mind—a failing which he shared with some of the noblest Englishmen of his age. So deeply intent was he on doing his duty with all his might, that he was sometimes inclined to think that anything that could be done easily and pleasantly could not really be a duty. So in the matter of knowledge, he reckoned the worth of instruction by the labour necessary to procure it. There are two chief types of mind: one resembles the laborious ant, and the other the flitting, flower-loving bee; both of them are really equally

Prince Albert's Influence

industrious in gathering knowledge, but one seems to make an arduous task of it, while the other appears to regard it as a pleasure. Such seemed to be the difference between the Prince Consort and King Edward.

This, too, explains how it was that the Prince Consort had his children taught, by way of relaxation from their severer studies, to scrub and wash and cook in a little Swiss cottage in the grounds of Osborne House. In the case of the Princesses this discipline in housekeeping was continued for a long time. The Queen rightly held that a domestic training was the chief part of the education of girls of any rank, and for many years she always had served at her table a dish that had been made by one of her daughters. The young Princes were taught to build and to farm. For two or three hours every day they worked side by side with common labourers under a foreman, who examined and criticised their work, and entered it on a time-sheet, which was sent every week to their father, who then paid King Edward and the Duke of Connaught at the ordinary rate of wages for the tasks which they had performed. This was undoubtedly a wise way of teaching them to sympathise with the lot of the working classes, and though it may have been carried somewhat too far, it was possibly the means of giving the King that interest in farming which afterwards made him a famous stock-breeder and a kind and thoughtful country landlord. Each of the boys and girls had a garden, in which they were obliged to do all but the very roughest work ; but in those days Prince Leopold and Princess Beatrice were too small to do anything, except drag about a little cart, and fetch tools for their elder brothers and sisters from the tool-shed.

LADY LYTTELTON, THE KING'S FOSTER-MOTHER

Up to the age of seven years, King Edward was taught, with the other Royal children, by a governess, Lady Lyttelton, daughter of the second Earl Spencer and wife of the third Lord Lyttelton. During these years she was a loving foster-mother to the young Prince of Wales, and the affection which she showered upon him was warmly reciprocated.

From a pastel by Swinton in the possession of Viscount Cobham.

Up to the age of seven years, King Edward was taught, with the other Royal children, by a governess, Lady Lyttelton, daughter of the second Earl Spencer and wife of the third Lord Lyttelton. From the infancy of her noble pupil, special attention was paid in teaching him to speak foreign languages, and for this purpose he was given French and German attendants as well as English. All the Royal Family have been carefully trained to use foreign tongues as easily and as fluently as they do their native language, and this is the only fact at the base of the persistent rumour that German has always been the language of the Royal nursery. On the other hand, it is undoubtedly true that in later life King Edward spoke English with a curious lisp that had in it something of a German gutturalness. This is partly explained by a touching predilection which his mother showed for the native tongue of her consort during her long retirement after his death. It was a strange, pathetic whim of a sorrowing woman who wanted everything around her to remind her of her lost happiness. The last words spoken to her by her dying husband had been in German, and from this memory, and perhaps from memories of her days of love-making, the German language then became to her the peculiar language of affection, and King Edward no doubt used it sometimes when speaking to her, knowing that it would please her by reminding her of his father.

The King's Link with Germany

The Prince Consort, however, was extremely anxious that all his children should be brought up in a thoroughly English fashion. All during his life he regarded this as the most important point in their education. Some of the younger sons of George III. had been brought up mainly abroad, and this had made them extraordinarily unpopular with the English nation, which is always jealous of any sign of foreign influence at the Court. Faults that were overlooked in the elder brothers of the Duke of Cumberland were not forgiven in him, but were fiercely commented on, and attributed to his foreign training. All this had been indicated by Baron Stockmar in 1842, with the result that the Queen and her consort had from the first resolved to entrust the entire direction of the education of the Royal children to English women and English men. Lady Lyttelton was for seven years a loving foster - mother to King Edward, and her pupil repaid her with deep affection. Living all day long with the young Prince, and listening morning and evening by his bed as he said his childish prayers, she was probably able to divine his character more quickly than his busy mother and busy father were able to do in the pressure of State business. Naturally, she grew very much attached to "Princey," as she called him, and she began to think of retiring from the position of Royal governess, when the Prince Consort, who did not like women to have much part in the education of boys, handed over his eldest son to the care of a tutor, the Rev. H. M. Birch, a member of a well-known family of Eton, and a master there. This occurred in 1848, after a long discussion on the education of the future King of England. Many persons of importance in the State were anxious for the Prince to be sent to some public school. There, it was generally felt, he would obtain that knowledge of men which is more necessary to a ruler than a knowledge of books. Much was to be said for this view, and if only the Prince Consort had seen the full force of it, his son's path in life might have been made easier. The only real danger was lest the young Prince should form early associations with companions who might afterwards use their influence over him in some unworthy manner ; but as he would have to run this peril whenever he entered the world, the more experience he got in boyhood the wiser he would be in manhood. Other members of the Royal Family have since been sent to a public school with the happiest of results. As a matter of fact, the public school system of England is one of the most remarkable creations of the English genius. No other country, except ancient Sparta,

Training the Royal Children

has invented so fine a means for training the character of a governing class. It does not open and furnish the mind so fully as the French and German systems, but, after all, learning is less necessary in a governing class than clearness and direction of will power, and the English public school system still remains a magnificent instrument for eliciting and developing qualities of character.

Unfortunately, the Prince Consort knew practically nothing about the English public schools, except that they then utterly neglected the study of modern languages. This defect he regarded as fatal, and though he went so far as to try and remedy it by founding special prizes for French and German at Eton, he resolved to have his son brought up in the same manner as he himself had been. No doubt he felt conscious that his own education, which had been carried out at home, and carried out very severely, under a tutor, had been remarkably successful. But what was suitable for the younger son of a German Duke with no prospects of importance was hardly fitted for the destined ruler of a great Empire. The Prince Consort had possessed from childhood a very studious habit of mind, and an abnormal love of studying in museums, but though this enabled him to acquire, by the time he married the Queen, an uncommon fund of learning which he was afterwards able to use in advancing the intellectual progress of his adopted country, it was not, as his early unpopularity proved, a sufficient substitute by itself for the knowledge of men and the ability to manage them. King Edward himself showed far more practical sense of what was required in the training of Royal Princes when he sent his sons to be trained as naval cadets on the Britannia, and then as midshipmen on board H.M.S. Bacchante.

Defect of the English Schools

AN EARLY PORTRAIT IN MILITARY UNIFORM

King Edward, when a boy of keen intelligence and high spirits, was cooped up, overworked, deprived of the stimulus of rivalry with his equals in age, and scantily provided with playfellows. No doubt, even in these circumstances, he learnt much that was beneficial to him in after life; no doubt his father was actuated by noble motives; but, nevertheless, his training was calculated by its severity and by its gloom to warp his nature and extinguish the very qualities which afterwards made him the most charming and the most human of rulers. As has been said, he never resented the rigour with which he was brought up, and it is only through a complaint made by his tutor that it is possible to discern how great that rigour was. The tutor was only allowed one fortnight's holiday in each year; when he went to his friends to enjoy it, he is said to have been like a colt let out of a dark stable into a green field, bubbling over with irrepressible spirits; and he excused himself by observing that he felt as if he were a discharged prisoner. If such were the feelings of the tutor, what must have been the feelings of the pupil?

Though his liveliness of spirits was checked by the training that he underwent, it was not permanently destroyed. "I hear the Prince of Wales and Prince Alfred, who live under me," wrote Lady Canning, "singing away out of lesson-time as loud as ever they can." This was at Balmoral, where the Princes were sometimes allowed more freedom. In this home in the Scottish Highlands, encircled by splendid hills, in the middle of a great deer forest, through which ran a fine salmon river, King Edward first learnt to enjoy himself, and it was there that the love of sport was born in him. Though the Prince Consort was never, like his son, an excellent shot, he was a thorough sportsman, and very patient and painstaking in the pursuit of game; and, happily, he encouraged in all his children a love for life in the open air. King Edward was only a child of seven when he was first taken out on a deer-stalking expedition, and taught the various methods of successfully approaching the wariest of quarry.

The real secret of King Edward's power as a man was the instant and deep sympatheticness of his nature. Probably no king has had so many veritable friends. His charm of manner was based on his affectionateness. And as the man, so the boy was. He imported into his early attachments a passionateness which in some cases seems to have alarmed his parents. Perhaps this was why they were at first inclined never to allow anyone to remain for many years in constant companionship with him. In the summer of 1852 his tutor, Mr. Birch, was replaced by Mr. F. W. Gibbs, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, who remained with him till his seventeenth year. The Prince's grief at parting from his old tutor is revealed in a letter of Lady Canning, in which she says: "Mr. Birch left yesterday. It has been a terrible sorrow to the Prince of Wales, who has done no end of touching things since he heard that he was to lose him three weeks ago. He is such an affectionate, dear little boy; his little notes and presents, which Mr. Birch used to find on his pillow, were really too moving." It was about this time that the Prince Consort spoke of his eldest son as "growing apace, and developing new virtues daily, and new naughtinesses; the virtues we try to retain, and the naughtinesses to throw overboard." It is probable that the young Prince, having a new tutor, who had as yet no power over his affection, was beginning to show a very natural restiveness under the severe training that he was forced to adopt.

He certainly liked to escape from the strict discipline of his home life, and one of his golden memories, as he often said in after life, was the visit which he paid with his parents in August, 1855, to the country palace of the Emperor Napoleon III., at St. Cloud. One of the most pleasing traits in the character of the French Emperor was his love for children, and he and the Empress Eugenie made a great favourite of the young Prince. At the magnificent ball given at Versailles in honour of the British Royal party, the Emperor obtained permission for the little Prince to sit down to supper with him and the Empress. Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort were then due to return to England, and the Prince of Wales drew the Empress Eugenie aside and begged her to get leave for his sister and himself to stay on in France after his parents had departed. The Empress was naturally embarrassed at his request, and she tried to put him off by telling him that she was sure that the Queen and the Prince Consort would not be able to do without their two children. "Not do without us?" was the unexpected reply. "Don't fancy that, for there are six more of us at home, and they don't want *us*."

The King at the French Court

Of course, the Prince had to go back to his studies in England, but so deep was the impression made on his mind by the gaiety, kindliness, and freedom of the French Court, that France always remained to him a land of delight. The little Prince, dressed in the picturesque Highland costume, touched the imagination of the French people; and they in turn, by their easy, open-hearted ways, won his heart. On both sides it was a case of love at first sight.

CHAPTER XI

KING EDWARD'S COLLEGE DAYS

A Record of his Student Days at Edinburgh, Oxford and Cambridge, and of the Intellectual Associations of these three Great Seats of Learning

"TRAVEL in the younger sort," said Bacon, "is a part of education." The Prince Consort was firmly convinced of the wisdom of this remark, and his eldest son, on returning from his visit to the Imperial Court of France, soon entered on the most agreeable and enlightening period of his training. It began by a walking tour through the delightful scenery of the West of England. He was accompanied by his tutor and Colonel Cavendish, and in order that he might roam in ease and freedom, he went under an assumed name. The secret was soon revealed, as secrets of this kind usually are; but in those days the art of photography was neither as perfect nor as popular as it now is; hence very few of the public were really acquainted with the features of the young and growing Prince, and some amusing mistakes occurred. It is said, for instance, that when it was known that the Prince would touch at a certain town, the landlord of the principal inn had his best rooms redecorated and refurnished in the hope of being honoured by a Royal visit. On the day of expectation, a gentleman and a boy came to the hostelry, and asked for a room for the night. The heart of the landlord filled with joy, for on studying the face of the lad he recognised the features of the young Prince of Wales. He at once showed his guests into his best rooms, and put himself to immense trouble to surround them, not merely with comfort, but with luxury. Of course, the news at once spread through the town, and when, late in the evening, two gentlemen and a boy came to the inn, it was thronged with visitors.

"I am very sorry," said the landlord, when the new arrivals asked for lodging; "but we have only room for two of your party. Still, we might make up a bed on the sofa for the young gentleman."

This was done. Next morning the landlord learnt that the young gentleman who had slept on the sofa was the Prince of Wales, while the lad who had occupied the best rooms was only a youthful nobody travelling with his undistinguished father.

King Edward in his younger days was an excellent walker, and even among the mountains he could tramp twenty miles a day with enjoyment. As a climber, he was rather too adventurous. In 1857 he was clambering up the Cumberland Hills, and he slipped and fell sixty feet down a precipice. Fortunately, he came to the bottom bruised and shaken, but not seriously hurt. Afterwards he went on foot through Switzerland, and then through the South of Ireland, where he left behind him a trail of amusing stories, one of which may serve as an example of the rest. He rode to Killarney in a jaunting-car driven by a lad, Mike Connel, who, knowing that his fare was a person of importance, assumed himself a rather lordly air.

"Gate!" he shouted, on coming to the beautiful seat of the Earl of Kenmare.

"Be the powers!" exclaimed the old woman in charge of the gate. "Wan 'ud think it wor the Quane av England ye wor drivin' up in her coach an' foor, instid av that auld spavined mare av yours, Mike Connel!"

"Hush, tha veal, aroo!" cautioned Mike, in the Irish language.

"Hould ma tongue, is it? You oumathawn!"

The Prince alighted from the car, and said:

"You can surely admit us, my good woman?"

"Sorra a bit, me good lad. Widout Misther Galway's pass ye don't come in here."

"Who is Mr. Galway?"

"Begorra, ye're an ancient gossoon. Ye don't know the agent!"

The Prince was somewhat embarrassed at this sally, but as he retired, Mike informed the old woman in a whisper of the rank of the visitor she was refusing to admit, giving his Royal Highness the title of "Wales, the Quane's son."

"Misther Wales! Quane Victoria's son!" exclaimed the old gate-woman. "Sure, an' I knew yer mother. I wishes yer honner welcome. Walk in, yer honner. I've a dhrop av rale potteen, an' some new goat's milk to put with it. Walk in, won't yer?"

"Misther Wales" walked in, and shortly afterwards left the old lady muttering to herself, as she fingered a royal tip:

"Faix, an' he's not a bad sort av a gossoon, that same Wales, an' he thinks av a poor auld woman. Glory be to God!"

In the middle of the nineteenth century, "the grand tour" through the principal countries of Europe was, as in the eighteenth century, a

KING EDWARD IN EARLY MANHOOD
From a photograph of the young Prince taken during the period of his University career.

necessary and important part of a first-rate education; and in July, 1857, the Prince Consort prepared his son for it by sending him to study for six months at Königswinter on the Rhine. Two governors, three tutors, and four young noblemen went with the young Prince. But the voyage was a matter of duty rather than an affair of pleasure. Far more instructive, as well as enjoyable, was the six months' tour which the Prince afterwards made *incognito* as Lord Renfrew. It did more than the study of books to open his mind and give him an insight into the varieties of human nature, and it left a very deep mark upon him. At the most impressionable period of his life he was able to be an eye-witness of some of the most exciting scenes in Europe, and a companion of some of the most interesting men.

The Prince at a Roman Carnival

Crossing over to Holland, he travelled through Frankfort, Munich, Innsbruck, Trent, and Verona, and arrived at Rome on February 2, 1859. In his honour the Roman Carnival that year was made the most splendid festival in the memory of man, and he threw himself into it in the highest of spirits, and gaily joined in the picturesque masquerade. Taking a room in the Corso, he filled it with bags of bonbons and confetti and posies of flowers, and these he showered down among the laughing street-girls and noblewomen who scrambled for his favours, and carried them off as trophies. An historic incident in his visit to Rome was his interview with Pope Pius IX. He was the first English Prince who had been received at the Vatican for some centuries, and there was considerable consternation in certain circles in England over his little adventure. Queen Victoria herself was afraid that it might give rise to misapprehensions, and she insisted on the Prince's governor being present at the conversation between the old Pope and the young Prince. The talk, however, was composed of those polite nothings of which Pius IX. was a master; but, none the less, the meeting was an agreeable and memorable event.

MR. PUNCH'S IDEA OF THE "ROYAL ROAD TO LEARNING"

A cartoon from "Punch," making genial fun of the ceremony with which the Prince of Wales was received on the occasion of his entering Oxford University in 1859.

Unfortunately, the Prince's visit to Italy was suddenly shortened by popular risings in Florence and Modena, and the threatened outbreak of war between Piedmont, France and Austria. As Rome was the storm-centre about which all these dark clouds were massing, the Prince Consort gave orders to his son to leave the famous city. The future King was, as already indicated, of an adventurous disposition, and, like most Englishmen, he deeply sympathised with the Italians in their long and difficult struggle for freedom. But a warship, the Scourge, was dispatched to Cività Vecchia to convey him to Gibraltar; so he had to spend the greater part of his first real holiday far away from the interesting events which were taking place in Italy, where he had been able to converse with the men who were engaged in making history on a large scale.

He travelled leisurely through the South of Spain, and touched at Tangier, and strolled through Cadiz, Xeres, Seville, Malaga, and Granada, where, of course, he stayed for some time in the renowned Moorish palace, the Alhambra. Then, after a walk through the romantic scenery of Andalusia, he went on to Lisbon, where he was joyfully entertained by the most ancient ally of England, the King of Portugal. There can be little doubt that this was the flowering time in the life of one of the wisest of Britain's kings. It was then that his real character clearly showed itself. When he returned home at midsummer he was no longer an over-educated boy with scarcely any individuality of his own, but a quiet and yet observant young man, who had found out that he had no bent towards book-learning, and who heartily agreed with Pope's dictum that "the proper study of mankind is man."

But the course of studies planned for him by his father was only half completed. In April, 1858, he was confirmed at Windsor with great solemnity in the presence of Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, and Lord Derby; and some months afterwards his entourage was, for the last time in his career, changed. Colonel Bruce, the brother of Lord Elgin and Lady Augusta Stanley, was made his governor; and Major Teesdale, a fine young soldier who had distinguished himself at Kars, and Major Lindsay (afterwards Lord Wantage), who had won the double Victoria Cross in the Crimea, together with Lord Valletort, were appointed to be his companions; while Mr. Herbert Fisher, of Christ Church, Oxford, became his tutor. Of these, Major Teesdale seems to have been most liked by the Prince, and for many years afterwards he used to accompany him in his travels.

Then arose the problem as to which University the Prince should be sent. The Prince Consort had spent a vast amount of thought and a vast amount of labour in improving the English University system. In the middle of the nineteenth century both Oxford and Cambridge had fallen very low in regard to the quality of their teaching, and in regard to the number of their students. There were only three hundred scholars at Oxford, and the fellowships and scholarships there were won less frequently by merit than by jobbery and influence, and neither modern history nor science was taught. On the other hand, the quality of instruction given at Oxford was not, on the whole, so bad as at Cambridge. In 1854 and 1856, however, owing in large measure to the Prince Consort, both of our great Universities were reformed by main force by Acts of Parliament; and in 1859, when the University career of the future King of England was decided on, each of the famous centres of learning was naturally eager for the honour of having him as an undergraduate. It was generally felt that the University to which he went would, in a way, triumph over its rival, and gain a certain mark of superiority.

Student Days at Edinburgh

This fact made the choice of the Prince Consort a problem of some difficulty, but he solved it by sending his son first to Edinburgh University, and then making arrangements for him to go up afterwards both to Oxford and Cambridge.

King Edward's studies at Edinburgh were generally of a practical character. Dr. Schmitz gave him lectures on Roman history; Mr. Fisher instructed him in law; other professors taught him Italian, German, and French, and

KING EDWARD IN HIS STUDENT DAYS, WEARING THE GOWN OF AN UNDERGRADUATE

three times a week he drilled with the 16th Hussars. All this, however, was only by the way; the chief reason why the Prince had been sent to Edinburgh was that he should enter the laboratory of the famous Scottish man of science, Lord Playfair. Under his direction our future King studied chemistry in its relation to the chief manufactures of the country, and after each special course he was taken over mills and factories so that he might gain an insight into both the scientific and practical sides of the great British industries. This was undoubtedly a subject which aroused a very keen interest in the young Prince, and all through his life he continued to show a lively concern in the application of science to industry, and to urge upon his countrymen the lessons which he had learnt under Lord Playfair. What is perhaps still more significant is the fact that Lord Playfair remained one of his most esteemed friends, to whom he always turned for help and counsel in matters of science, King Edward being a man who was ever extremely grateful to anyone who taught him what he felt to be really useful to him.

One of the incidents that occurred while the young Prince of Wales was living in Edinburgh as Lord Playfair's pupil is well worth relating. They were standing near a cauldron containing lead which was boiling at white heat.

"Has your Royal Highness any faith in science?" said Lord Playfair.

"Certainly," replied the Prince.

The great scientist then carefully washed the Prince's hand with ammonia to get rid of any grease that might be on it.

"Will you now place your hand in this boiling metal, and ladle out a portion of it?" he said to his pupil.

"Do you tell me to do this?" asked the Prince.

"I do," replied his master.

A Test of the Prince's Courage

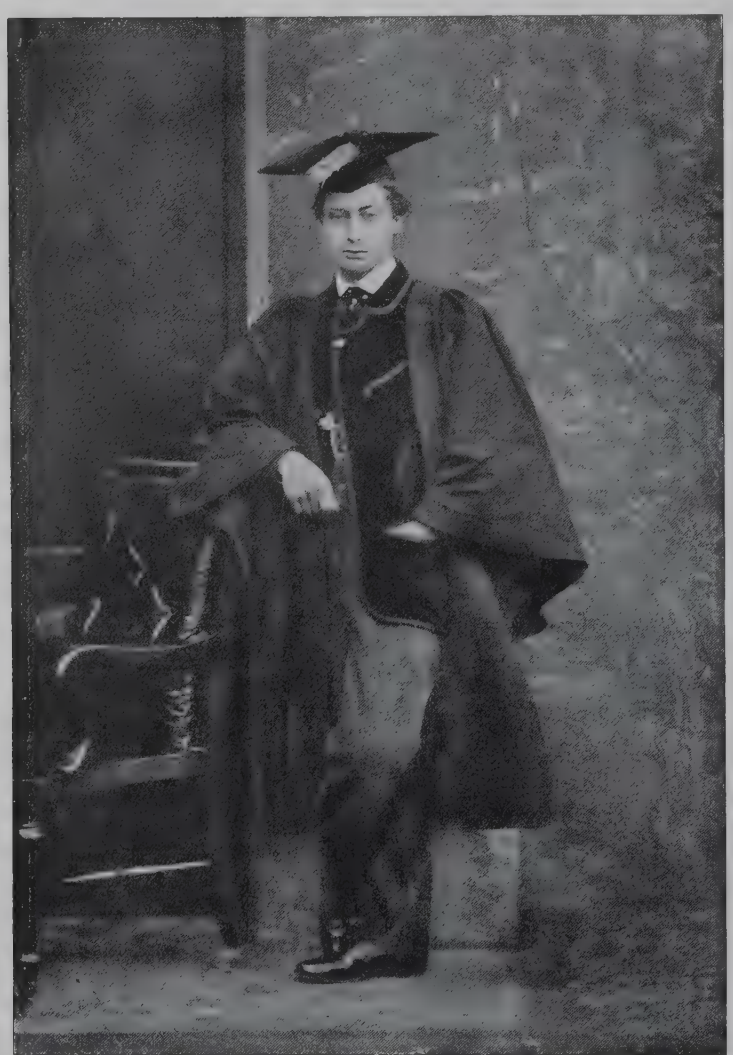
The Prince instantly put his hand into the cauldron, and ladled out some of the boiling lead without sustaining any injury. It is a well-known scientific fact that the human hand, if perfectly cleansed, may be placed uninjured in lead boiling at white heat, the moisture of the skin protecting it in these conditions from any injury. Should the lead be at a perceptibly lower temperature, the effect would, of course, be very different. It required, however, courage of no common order for a novice to try such an experiment, even at the bidding of a man so distinguished in science as was Playfair.

It was about this time that the public began seriously to think that their future King was in danger of being over-educated; and when he left Scotland for Oxford, "Punch" gave expression to the popular feeling in the matter in some lines entitled:

A PRINCE AT HIGH PRESSURE.

To the south from the north, from the shores of the Forth,
Where at hands Presbyterian pure science is quaffed,
The Prince, in a trice, is whipped to the Isis,
Where Oxford keeps springs mediæval on draught.

Dipped in grey Oxford mixture (lest *that* prove a fixture)
The poor lad's to be plunged in less orthodox Cam,
Where dynamics and statics, and pure mathematics
Will be piled on his brain's awful cargo of cram.



KING EDWARD AS AN UNDERGRADUATE AT OXFORD

By this time, however, it was patent there was no danger of King Edward becoming either a great philosopher or a great pedant. His father was beginning to recognise that his mind was of a wholly practical bent, and that he was learning more in his own way than his tutors could teach him in theirs. By the frank reports given by Lord Playfair and other teachers of the young Prince of Wales at an educational conference held by the rather anxious Prince Consort, it was made clear that the future ruler of England would be a man of considerable talent and intellectual grasp. He had, perhaps, made slow progress in some of the courses of study planned for him by his father, but this was because they were not in consonance with the native inclination of his quick and somewhat impatient mind. Yet even here a sense of duty and affectionate regard for his high-minded father had kept him to his appointed tasks, and he matriculated with ease at Oxford. He at least showed as much acquaintance with Greek and Latin as a public school boy, and in the special branches of knowledge that he pursued with zest he surpassed many of the dons themselves. He spoke perfect German, excellent French, and very good Italian, and he had more than a smattering of Spanish and other tongues. For knowledge like this, which could be gained

THE YOUNG PRINCE AND HIS TUTORS: AN INTERESTING GROUP OF THE OXFORD PERIOD

In this interesting group, taken during King Edward's student days at Oxford, the Prince of Wales, as he then was, is seen with three gentlemen who were privileged to live on terms of intimacy with him. Colonel Bruce, his governor, is seated at the left of the picture; Mr. F. W. Gibbs, his tutor, is in the centre, while the other figure is that of the Rev. Charles Tarver, the King's Director of Studies and Chaplain.

by travel and personal intercourse, he always showed a veritable talent. It agreed with his bent towards the practical study of mankind, which made him a man with a genius entirely different from that of his father. He went up to Oxford at the opening of the Michaelmas term in 1859, and his name was entered in the College Book of Christ Church, of which the former Prince of Wales—who became George IV.—had also been an undergraduate. Having received his certificate of matriculation, he went with his suite to a delightful house—Frewen Hall—which had been engaged for him; and there he spent a quiet evening with his friends, unlike George IV., who passed his first night at Oxford in getting intoxicated at a huge banquet in the great hall of the "House," as Christ Church is called by its men.

George IV. and King Edward the Seventh have both been awarded the title of the "first gentleman of Europe," but the only thing that they really had in common was an exquisite taste in dress. King Edward not only looked a gentleman, but he was one; he had the fine charm, the fine reserve, and the fine feelings that make the veritable gentleman. Above all, he had a lively sense of the responsibilities of his high position. Naturally, he at once became the leader of fashion to all the younger Oxford men, and the first fashion that he set was certainly a good one. He was from the beginning remarkably regular in keeping his chapels. The early hour at which morning services are held at Oxford is a source of great annoyance to the ordinary undergraduates, and there are very few of them who are constant and punctual in their attendance. "Cutting chapel" is indeed common practice among young Oxford men, who always feel very sleepy when it is time to get out of bed. In this, as in other cases, the early rising habits that King Edward always observed were a sore trial to those who were associated with him. His sluggard fellow-students had to follow his example, and while he was at Christ Church, the regularity at which they kept their chapels excited first the wonder and then the rather unwilling emulation of the men of the other colleges.

Religion at Oxford

The religious atmosphere at Oxford at that period was somewhat troubled. The University was divided into two schools of thought—Tractarianism, which was represented by Dr. Pusey and Dr. Liddon; and Liberalism, of which Jowett of Balliol and Dr. Stanley, the famous Dean of Westminster, were then the leading spirits. Both Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort were strongly averse from the High Church ways of thinking, and they were extremely anxious lest the Heir to the Throne should come under the influence of the High Churchmen. The religious training of the Prince had been conducted on very simple lines. When he was a child, the Queen wrote a memorandum on the subject, in which she said: "I am quite clear that he should be taught to have great reverence for God and for

religion, but that he should have the feeling of devotion and love which our Heavenly Father encourages His earthly children to have for Him, and not one of fear and trembling; and that the thoughts of death and an after-life should not be represented in an alarming and forbidding view, and that he should be made to know *as yet* no difference of creeds, and not think that he can only pray on his knees, or that those who do not kneel are less fervent or devout in their prayers."

King Edward's Favourite Preacher

The Prince Consort was himself a man who combined deep religious feelings with enlightened views on religious doctrines. Brought up in Germany at a time when the critical examination of the documents of Christianity was being pursued with somewhat destructive results, he was inclined to regard the pure and comprehensive morality of religion as the solid foundation on which all the supernatural portions of its structure rest. In short, he was a man of the same school as Jowett and Stanley; and after bringing up his son in his own way of belief, he entrusted his religious instruction at Oxford to Dr. Stanley, who was

FREWEN HALL, OXFORD, THE RESIDENCE OF KING EDWARD WHILE A STUDENT AT THE UNIVERSITY

then Professor of Ecclesiastical History at the University. The great Dean was always King Edward's favourite preacher. One of the most treasured books in his library was a volume of Stanley's sermons, which, when he was still a little boy, he received as a present from his mother and father, who wrote an inscription in it commending it to his special attention. In fine, King Edward was from his boyhood brought up as an Anglican of the Broad Church school, and there is no reason for believing that he ever changed his views; though he undoubtedly became more tolerant than his father, and was always anxious to recognise the good that every earnest, religious man did in the world.

What the Prince sought at Oxford was knowledge likely to be directly useful to him. For this reason many branches of ancient learning did not attract him. Modern science and modern history, however, greatly interested him, and he was an assiduous attendant at the chemistry lectures given by Sir Benjamin Brodie, and the English History lectures given by Professor Goldwin Smith. Even then he had in a marked degree the saving quality of humour, and he liked a jest. One day Professor Goldwin Smith lectured on Elizabethan statesmen and travellers, and especially on Sir Walter Raleigh. At the end the young Prince said to him very deferentially, "How was it, sir, that you omitted Raleigh's most important gift to his countrymen?" "What was that, sir?" asked the lecturer. "The introduction of tobacco," was the reply, very characteristic of King Edward, who, at that early age, had acquired a taste which never left him to the end of his life—the taste for a good cigar!

But what naturally pleased the young Prince most at Oxford was the social side of University life. It was the first time that he was able to mix freely in the society of men of his own age. On the other hand, there seems to have been a considerable number of persons who expected more than was probable from the fortuitous privilege of having rubbed shoulders with the Heir-Apparent in the lecture-room or chapel. A story goes that a witty don, observing signs of this tendency and desiring gently to rebuke it, took for his text one day at St. Mary's Church the significant passage, "There is a lad here who has five barley loaves and two small fishes, but what are they among so many?" "Tuft-hunting" was then a word of which the meaning was very clear. In those days the outward marks of class distinctions had not been done away with at Oxford. Noblemen were distinguished from common scholars by the gold tassels on their caps, and at Christ Church Hall there was a table at the southern end of the daïs at which the more lordly undergraduates dined, separated from the other men.

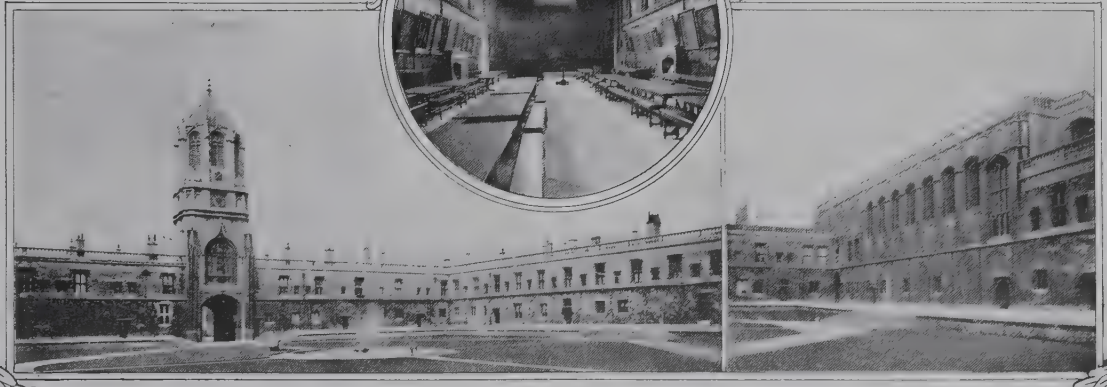
The ordinary Oxford undergraduate, however, has always been an irreverent animal, and, as a rule, instead of regarding the young Prince with wonder and respect, he tried to lead him into little difficulties. The Prince was fond of attending the debates at the Union, and though the men present would rise for a minute while he was entering, some of them would afterwards try to draw the Prince into the political discussions which followed. But though they used an exaggerated violence of language in expressing the most dreadful revolutionary sentiments, they never

SCENES OF KING EDWARD'S COLLEGE DAYS

Trinity College, Cambridge—Old Court

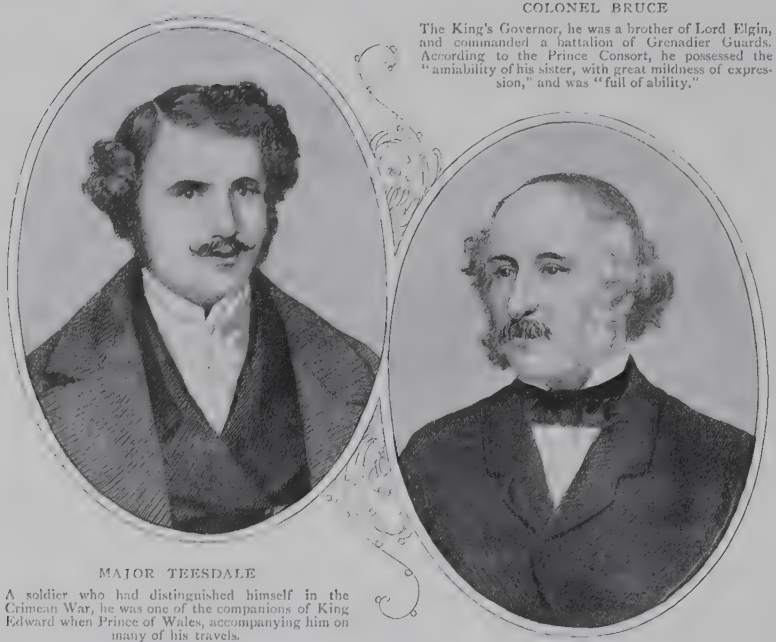
The New Court at Trinity College

Madingley Hall, Cambridge: The residence of the young Prince



Tower Quadrangle, Christ Church, as it was during King Edward's stay at Oxford. Exterior of Christ Church Dining Hall at the same period

Insets show the Great Gate at Trinity College and the interior of Christ Church Dining Hall



COLONEL BRUCE

The King's Governor, he was a brother of Lord Elgin, and commanded a battalion of Grenadier Guards. According to the Prince Consort, he possessed the "amiability of his sister, with great mildness of expression," and was "full of ability."

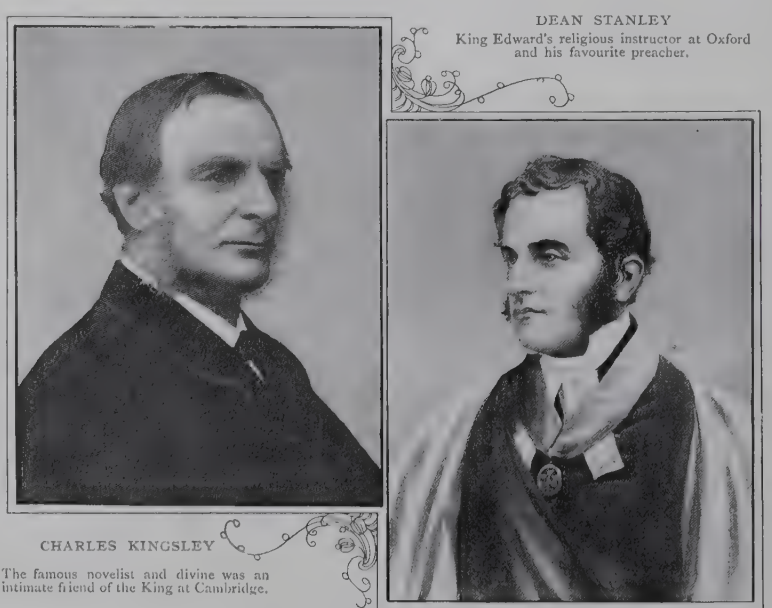
MAJOR TEESDALE

A soldier who had distinguished himself in the Crimean War, he was one of the companions of King Edward when Prince of Wales, accompanying him on many of his travels.

succeeded in their attempts at horrifying their royal companion. He listened to the wild jesters with the utmost good humour, and when they expected him to look pained he merely smiled. Sometimes they started topics in order to get him to show by his vote what was his way of thinking in politics. At the Union, however, the Prince observed the rule to which he kept when he took his seat in the House of Lords: he never voted one way or the other. The only time he ever broke this rule was when he voted for the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill.

Of course, all Oxford men were in their hearts very proud of the fact that the Heir to the Throne had come to their University before proceeding to the rival institution on the banks of the Cam; and though they sometimes tried to play little jokes on him, they were never really discourteous, and the Prince was able to move among them without being stared at or mobbed. Being, however, lads bubbling over with high spirits, they had to find some vent for their feelings of gratitude for the honour done to Oxford, and in characteristic fashion they got up the most terrific "Town and Gown" ever known. The occasion which they seized for this wild and curious display of loyalty was the Prince's birthday. The Prince himself celebrated it in a generous and thoughtful way by giving three hundred blankets to the poor women of the town, and taking three thousand of the children to a feast at the Town Hall. But in the evening there was a great bonfire and display of fireworks in Merton Fields, and it was then that the battle began between the scholars of Oxford and the townspeople. By all accounts the struggle described in "Verdant Green" was tame when compared with it. But why the bargees, 'prentices, and young tradesmen of Oxford, on the one hand, and the College men, on the other, came to the conclusion that it was a great and glorious thing to pound and bruise each other because the Prince of Wales had come to Oxford before he went to Cambridge is one of those mysteries of the young human intellect that no student of nature can fathom. Only one fact is clear, that Oxford celebrated the birthday of her most distinguished undergraduate by a royal "Town and Gown," and that apparently both sides hugely enjoyed it.

Perhaps the "Town and Gown" was in those days a substitute for the strenuous delights of football. This great national game was then unknown at the University, being a village pastime contemned by English gentlemen. Cricket, however, was one of the pursuits of the Bullingdon Club, of which the Prince was a member. But though Bullingdon played cricket, it can hardly be said to have played serious cricket, and King Edward never became remarkable as a bowler, fielder, or batsman. The club was a quiet, social, and decently convivial affair, and its members held merry dinners on a barge in the river, and distinguished themselves by their gay attire. Their evening dress was a splendid thing; the suit was blue with a velvet collar and gilt buttons, and the general effect was completed by a bright blue tie. In the daytime, however, a ribbon of blue and white round their straw hats, and a stripe of the same colours down their trousers, were their only marks of distinction, and it is in a flannel suit of this kind that the Prince is portrayed with Mr. Henry Chaplin, Mr. Thomas Brassey, and the other members of the club. All of them were good riders, and King Edward often said afterwards that the days he spent with them hunting with the South Oxfordshire hounds were some of the happiest in his life. For he was in his early manhood a daring and skilful horseman, and when the field bunched together in an awkward rush



DEAN STANLEY

King Edward's religious instructor at Oxford and his favourite preacher.

CHARLES KINGSLEY

The famous novelist and divine was an intimate friend of the King at Cambridge.

round an ugly corner, or hesitated at a difficult jump, he was inclined to take risks that would have made his mother and father fearful for his life.

Less exciting, perhaps, but still enjoyable, was the part played by the young Prince as a member of the University Volunteer Corps. King Edward was always fond of soldiering, and it was one of his great disappointments that he was not allowed to devote himself to a military career as his brother was. "I must be a soldier, Edwards," he remarked to the sergeant-major who was his first drill-master; "there's no life like a soldier's." As he could not be a regular, he resolved to become at least a well-trained volunteer. At Oxford he was very punctual in his attendance at company and battalion drills, and he always put in an appearance on field days. Moreover, he displayed an active interest in the progress of the Volunteer movement, and persuaded all his companions to join it. There was a general apprehension at that time that Napoleon III. would follow in the footsteps of his great ancestor, and attempt the invasion of England, and the Volunteer movement had been started with a view to this contingency.

AT CRICKET WITH THE BULLINGDON CLUB AT OXFORD

During his stay at Oxford, King Edward was a member of the Bullingdon Club, joining with much heartiness in its games and pastimes. In the above picture, the members are shown attired for the game, the Prince of Wales, as he then was, occupying the central position in the front row, and having on his right Mr. Henry Chaplin.

When the Prince of Wales, after his voyage to Canada, resumed the course of his studies by going up to Cambridge, he still continued to do all in his power to advance the Volunteer movement. Besides joining the Cambridge University Corps, he spent the Long Vacation in 1861 on military duty at the Curragh; and on August 21 of that year his mother and father went over to Ireland to see him. In regard to this visit, there is a passage in Queen Victoria's diary which throws a little light on the subject of King Edward's later education. It runs as follows:

> "At a little before three we went to Bertie's hut. It is very comfortable—a nice little bedroom, sitting-room, drawing-room, and good-sized dining-room, where we lunched with our whole party. Colonel Percy commands the Guards, and Bertie is placed specially under him. I spoke to him, and thanked him for treating Bertie as he did, just like any other officer, for I know that he keeps him up to his work in a way, as General Bruce told me, that no one else has done; and yet Bertie likes him very much."

To judge from this, there was no one at Cambridge who was now able to keep the Prince up to work in which he took very little interest. No doubt King Edward felt that it was time that his formal education was over. Had he been permitted, like the Duke of Connaught, to adopt a military career, it is evident that he would have thrown himself whole-heartedly into his work, but his University studies seemed to him, after his exciting adventures in America, a very uninteresting anti-climax. He was entered as an undergraduate of Trinity College on January 18, 1861; but the Cambridge men saw much less of him than the Oxford men had done, as he lived at Madingley Hall, an old Elizabethan mansion three miles away from the town. The only man whose teaching really attracted him was Charles

AT THE OPENING MEETING OF THE NATIONAL RIFLE COMPETITION AT WIMBLEDON

This interesting ceremony, which took place on July 2, 1860, was attended by Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort, and in the above illustration her Majesty is seen firing the first shot. The future King Edward was also present, and is shown standing immediately behind his Royal father.

Kingsley, who was then Professor of Modern History at Cambridge. The Prince rode over three times a week to Kingsley's house, and, as in the case of Lord Playfair and Dr. Stanley, he showed his gratitude for the benefits he received from the lessons of the famous novelist by afterwards making him one of his intimate friends. With Dr. Whewell, the famous Master of Trinity, of whom it was said that science was his forte and omniscience his foible, the Prince used to dine once every week, but he does not seem to have felt any great attraction for this whimsical and learned man. One little incident in their relations is perhaps worth recording. Whewell was as absent-minded as he was learned, and he utterly forgot to enter in the College Book the name of the Royal undergraduate. It was not until 1883, when King Edward went up to enter his son, the Duke of Clarence, that his own name was inscribed in its proper place. There, however, it now stands in the King's own handwriting, next to that of the famous man of science, Lord Rayleigh. Lord Rayleigh was in his time a Senior Wrangler and on this fact one of the Cambridge stories about King Edward is based. Some time ago a lady who was looking over Trinity College said that she did not think that the then Prince of Wales was a man of any great intellectual ability. The librarian showed her the College Book, saying gravely, "You may be right in what you say, madam, but allow me to point out that the Prince comes next to the Senior Wrangler." The lady looked at the two names, and was deeply impressed.

A Story of the Cambridge Days

Perhaps there is some ground for the rather subtle irony of the tale. King Edward was not the most studious scholar in Cambridge in 1861. What he liked best about Cambridge was the facility with which he could get out of it and go on shooting expeditions in the eastern counties. And, as a matter of fact, he used then to wander about Norfolk and Suffolk, not merely on the look-out for rabbits and pheasants, but in search of a country estate. Perhaps the explanation was that the Prince had fallen in love, and he was much less intent on completing his education—if, indeed, it wanted completing—than on choosing a spot which was likely to please the lovely daughter of the King of Denmark. He was utterly tired of being educated, and one morning, it is said, he resolved to have a holiday in London by himself. He escaped from his tutor, Mr. Mathison, and, as he thought, eluded the vigilance of his governor, Colonel Bruce. By another stroke of luck he caught an express train to London, but when he stepped out on the platform, inwardly congratulating himself on the success of his scheme, he was met by the station-master and two of the Royal servants from Buckingham Palace. The telegraph had been at work.

There followed, of course, a meeting between the Prince of Wales and his parents. But the Prince was clear as to what he wanted and what he did not want. Travel, he felt, was the thing that was now needed to broaden and furnish his mind, and he explained his views in so reasonable a manner that the Prince Consort consented to his terminating his University studies at Christmas, and then setting out on a six months' tour through the Holy Land. The latter plan was, as is well known, postponed in December, 1861, by reason of the unfortunate and unexpected death of the Prince Consort. So the education of King Edward came to an end a few days after his twentieth birthday. "I pray God to assist our efforts to make him turn out well," the Queen wrote in her diary on November 9, 1861. The Divine assistance for which she prayed was, as all the world can now see, given, but it was given in a way which was not clearly patent at the time.

KING EDWARD IN THE UNIFORM OF A COLONEL
After the photograph by Mayall.

King Edward was not by nature a studious man, but, none the less, he had a deep love of wisdom. He best liked to get his information in the ancient Greek way, by living intercourse with the fine minds of the age; and, owing to the extraordinary facilities which he enjoyed by reason of his high position, he obtained in this manner a really large fund of living knowledge. To this large fund of knowledge he joined keen powers of mind of a practical bent. He had neither the qualities nor the defects of that type of intellect of which his father's was a fine instance. Great as the influence was which the Prince Consort exercised on his eldest son, it was not so much the influence of mind on mind, as of character on character. It was not by his teaching that he really taught him, but by his example.

There was undoubtedly some trouble over the education of King Edward. This may have arisen from the fact that he was a man of genius with the strength and the originality of genius. His father, on the other hand, was a man of talent, and inclined to follow the best models and the best advice rather than strike out a line of his own. All through his life he seems to have looked for guidance to Baron Stockmar, and, fatherlike, he naturally expected his son to look in turn to him for guidance. No doubt, had his father lived, King Edward would to some extent have been guided by him, for he loved him and admired him. But he did not need a Baron Stockmar. From the first, he felt himself able to stand alone. His charm and ease and affability of manner were the outward graces of a mind imperturbably sure of itself at its hidden centre. He took little pleasure in speculation. He drove at practice. Some men are able to think in terms of ideas, and this makes them either fine philosophers or vain dreamers. Other men are only able to think in terms of facts, and this is, on the whole, the safe way and the English way.

The King's Open Mind

It was certainly the way in which King Edward accumulated quietly his large fund of practical wisdom. He kept his mind open and active throughout his life, and it was because he never approached any problem with fixed preconceptions that he managed in later years to guide his great Empire through the dark and troubled period following on the death of Queen Victoria safely into an era of peace and sunshine.

CHAPTER XII

THE FIRST GREAT WAR OF KING EDWARD'S TIME

Being the Story of the Long Struggle with Russia in the Crimea, and of British Heroism and Suffering on the Battlefield, together with the Conditions on which Peace was Declared

PEACE for Great Britain had reigned, so far as Europe was concerned, since the close of the Waterloo campaign; and it is only one more illustration of the irony of history that it should have been broken, followed by a devastating war, as the result of international quarrels over the custody and protection of the shrines dedicated to or identified with the life of the Prince of Peace. For fifty years the monkish representatives of the Greek and Latin Churches at Jerusalem and Bethlehem had fought with each other with more or less virulence for the exclusive possession of, or priority in, the grottos and holy places, these struggles reaching a height in 1853.

Louis Napoleon, recently elected Emperor of the French, supported the pretensions of the Roman Catholics, based on some claim dating as far back as Francis I., that the Sovereign of France was the Hereditary Protector of the Catholics in the East, while Tsar Nicholas of Russia supported the claims of the Greek Church nominally on the ground that he was head, politically and ecclesiastically, of the Orthodox faith. Prince Mentschikoff was, in the beginning of 1853, sent by the Tsar to Constantinople to urge this claim. He met, however, his match in Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, who had at intervals been diplomatic representative of Great Britain at the Ottoman Porte from the time of the Russian campaign of Napoleon the Great, and had become, in one sense, more Turkish than the Turks. Lord Stratford believed, and virtually asserted, that it was his sole privilege to advise the Sultan, a weak and vicious man, surrounded by weak and vicious Ministers. He soon settled the local disputes at Jerusalem and Bethlehem; but then came the real struggle between himself and Prince Mentschikoff, when the ulterior object of the Russian Tsar was made evident. Mentschikoff demanded, under the terms of the Kainardji Treaty, signed between Russia and Turkey in 1774, and the Treaty of Adrianople, signed between the same Powers in 1829, the Russian protectorate of all Orthodox Christians in the Turkish Empire.

LORD RAGLAN

Commander-in-chief of the British forces in the Crimea, he had to face a task of exceeding difficulty, and was severely criticised for the conduct of the war. He died from cholera on June 28, 1855, and was succeeded by General Simpson.

The Sultan, supported by the British Ambassador, declined to accede to Prince Mentschikoff's demand, and the latter left Constantinople breathing war. This refusal was warmly approved of by the British Government, and at the end of May, 1853, Lord Clarendon instructed Lord Stratford that it was "indispensable to take measures for the protection of the Sultan, and to aid his Highness in repelling an unprovoked attack upon his territory and in defence of the independence of Turkey, which England was bound to maintain." The French Emperor agreed to act in concert with Britain, and the combined fleets of Great Britain and France were sent to Besika Bay on June 2. The Tsar responded by ordering the passage of the Pruth by a large army which he had aligned along the frontier between Russia and the Danubian Principalities. The movement was accomplished on July 2, and created the greatest excitement throughout Europe. Count Nesselrode, the Russian Chancellor, described it as not an act of war, but as a material guarantee for the concession of the Russian demands.

The resources of diplomacy were, however, not yet exhausted, and a Conference of the Western Powers—Britain, France, Austria, and Germany—assembled in the early autumn at Vienna, and agreed to a Note for acceptance by Russia and the Porte to the effect that the Sultan should remain faithful to the letter and spirit of the Treaties of Kainardji and Adrianople "relative to the protection of the Christian religion." The Tsar agreed to accept this Note; but the Sultan, under the advice of Lord Stratford, proposed, as an amendment which would be more in conformity with his sovereign rights, the words, "relative to the protection by the Sublime Porte of the Christian religion." This amendment the Tsar refused to accept, and war then became inevitable.

On October 18 the Porte, with the advice of the Great Council of the Turkish Empire, issued a declaration that the continuance of peace was dependent upon the evacuation of the Principalities, and the Russian general was summoned to withdraw his troops from the invaded provinces within fifteen days. The British and French fleets were, on the 22nd, summoned from Besika Bay to Constantinople "for the security of British and French interests, and, if necessary, for the protection of the Sultan." Next day, the demands of the Porte not having been complied with, Russia and Turkey passed into a state of war.

No forward movement took place until November 30, when a Russian fleet of six sail of the line, under the command of Admiral Nakimoff, appeared off Sinope, a Turkish port on the Black Sea, where a Turkish squadron of seven frigates, a sloop, some transports, and a steamer were at anchor. The Turks opened fire, which the big Russian vessels returned with their heavier metal, and in a few minutes sank every Turkish vessel, except the steamer, killing 4,000 men. Only 400 of the crews of the sunken vessels survived, and all these were wounded.

PRINCE MENTSCHIKOFF

A brother of the diplomat prominent in the negotiations preceding the war, he was in charge of the Russian forces at the battles of the Alma and Inkerman, and also took part in the defence of Sebastopol.

On the suggestion of Louis Napoleon, the British and French fleets left the Bosphorus, and entered the Black Sea on January 4, 1854, with the object of compelling, if necessary, all Russian ships of war to return to Sebastopol. The Russian Ambassador, Baron Brunow, left London on February 7, and on the same day Sir Hamilton Seymour was recalled from St. Petersburg. A week later Lord Clarendon used in the House of Lords the historic phrase, "We are drifting, not into war, but towards war." In the meantime, active preparations had been going on in the camps and arsenals of England for a campaign in the Near East, and troops, including a brigade of Guards, were dispatched to Malta, after being inspected by the Prince Consort. On February 28 the last battalion of the Guards, the Scots Fusiliers, defiled past the Queen and Royal Family at Buckingham Palace. "It was a touching and beautiful sight," wrote her Majesty, "and my best wishes and prayers will be with them all."

On February 27, 1854, Lord Clarendon wrote to Count Nesselrode demanding the evacuation of the Principalities by April 30, and an answer was asked for in six days. The French Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Drouyn de Lhuys, made a similar demand on behalf of the French Emperor. The Tsar Nicholas ordered that no reply should be given to these despatches, and a formal declaration of war was issued by France on March 27, and by Britain the following day. In anticipation of this event a treaty between England and France for preserving the integrity of the Ottoman Empire was signed on March 12, the Sultan undertaking to make no separate peace or armistice; but a month later (April 10) a second Treaty of Alliance was agreed to, by which Britain and France renounced all aims at separate advantages, and declared their readiness to receive into their Alliance any of the other European Powers, there being some hope, which was never destined to be realised, that Austria and Prussia would come into line with the Western Powers. Parliament was opened on March 31, and on April 3, on the presentation of addresses at what Sir Theodore Martin described as a very solemn sitting of the House of Lords, in answer to her Majesty's message announcing the declaration of war with Russia, adopted by both Houses, the Prince of Wales took his place for the first time in public beside the Queen and the Prince Consort. It was at first believed that the theatre of war would be in Bulgaria, seeing that the Russian troops had been concentrating in the Principalities in sufficient strength to force the passage of the Danube, and lay siege to the great fortresses of Silistria and Shumla, as a preliminary to the march on Constantinople. The British and French war fleets, under the command of Vice-Admiral Sir James Dundas, were accordingly ordered early in the year to Varna Bay, on the Black Sea, where also the transports containing the troops of the Allies were dispatched. When landed the Allied forces were camped between Varna and Shumla; but, unfortunately, cholera, the seeds of which had been brought by the French in their ships from Marseilles, broke out with great virulence, and 10,000 of the three French divisions and between 500 and 600 men of the British regiments died of, or were disabled by, the plague. The disease then attacked the fleets; and, although they put to sea in the hope that the ocean breezes would sweep the ships clear of the deadly

THE DEFENDER OF SEBASTOPOL

General Todleben, a distinguished Russian soldier and military engineer, held Sebastopol against the British, displaying great resource and energy in his defensive tactics.

THE QUEEN REVIEWING THE SCOTS GUARDS ON THEIR DEPARTURE FOR THE CRIMEA IN 1854

The aggression of Russia, involved by her claim of 1853 to be protector of the Orthodox Greek Christians in the Turkish dominions, was naturally resented by Turkey. Both Britain and France took the side of the latter, and on March 27, 1854, declared war on Russia, whence followed all the miseries and suffering of the Crimean War. Queen Victoria, who, with members of the Royal Family, may be seen on a balcony of Buckingham Palace, described the historical spectacle here pictured as a touching and beautiful sight.

infection, many of the crews were almost reduced to helplessness.

The British army at this time amounted to 27,000 men. It was commanded by Lord Raglan, who, as Lord Fitzroy Somerset, had been aide-de-camp to Wellington in the Peninsular War and at Waterloo, where he lost an arm. He was a man of great dignity and amiability, of invincible courage; but as a general he lacked strength of character. He had seen no war service for forty years, and it was said of him that he suffered from "Peninsular prejudices." His army consisted of five infantry divisions, each of 5,000 men. The First, commanded by the Duke of Cambridge, was made up of the Brigade of Guards, under General Bentinck, and the Highland Brigade, under Sir Colin Campbell, who had a brilliant record in the Peninsular and India. The Second Division was commanded by Sir de Lacy Evans, who had taken part in the Peninsula, American, and Waterloo campaigns, and had also commanded the British Legion in two campaigns during the Carlist war in Spain. The Third Division was under Sir Richard England; and the Fourth under Sir George Cathcart, who had been aide to his father, the British Commissioner with the Russian armies in the Napoleonic wars of 1813-14, and also on Wellington's staff at Quatre Bras and Waterloo, and as Governor of the Cape had successfully conducted several wars against the Kaffirs and Basutos in South Africa. The Light Division was under Sir George Brown, who had been an officer in the Light Division in the Peninsular, and had now General Codrington as one of his brigadiers. There was a division of cavalry under the Earl of Lucan, Lord Cardigan commanding the Light Brigade, and General Scarlett the Heavy Brigade; and eight batteries of field artillery, and two troops of horse artillery.

THE BATTLE THAT BEGAN THE CRIMEAN WAR: THE ALMA, SEPTEMBER 20, 1854

Landing at Kalamita Bay, near the mouth of the River Alma, in September, the Allied forces, consisting of 25,000 British, 25,000 French, and 8,000 Turks, began the march on Sebastopol, the great arsenal and harbour of Russia, and found a Russian army under Mentschikoff between them and their goal. The struggle was not long delayed. On the 20th was fought the battle of the Alma; victory rested with the Allies, but it was dearly purchased, the British in two hours' fighting losing 2,000 men.

From the painting by Isidore Pils in the Versailles Museum.

The French army consisted of about 30,000 infantry and artillery—as yet they had no cavalry—commanded by Marshal St. Arnaud, who had served with distinction in Algiers. He was a gallant soldier, but vainglorious to a degree, and had, in fact, made a demand on the Porte that Omar Pasha should be superseded, and the Turkish army placed under his orders. He had also expressed a desire that the supreme command of the Allied forces should be given him.

THE FRENCH TROOPS CAPTURING THE MALAKOFF AND SEALING THE FATE OF SEBASTOPOL

For a long time Sebastopol held out against attack, but at last, on September 8, 1855, about a year after the opening of the war, the stronghold was doomed through the capture of the Malakoff by the French. With desperate bravery the Russians tried six times to recapture the redoubt, but for seven hours MacMahon held them at bay, ultimately compelling them to retire.

From the painting by Yvon.

In the meantime the Russians had crossed the Danube, and laid siege on May 19 to Silistria, the heroic defence of which was conducted by three British officers—Captain Butler, and Lieutenants Naysmith and Ballard; while Omar Pasha led the Turkish army across the Danube, and defeated the Russians decisively at Giurgevo. Then came, on June 3, the dramatic move of the Austrian Emperor, who, with the support of the King of Prussia—a plan strongly advocated by Prince Albert—summoned the Tsar to evacuate the Principalities, and backed this demand up by massing 50,000 troops on the Austro-

Wallachian frontier, thus threatening the flank and rear of the Russian forces.

The Tsar found himself checkmated; the siege of Silistria was raised; the Russians began their northern retreat, recrossed the Pruth on August 2, and the Principalities were occupied by the Austrian army. The whole aspect of the campaign of Russia against Turkey had thus changed, but the temper of the people of Great Britain and France would not permit of the acceptance of what was called a drawn game. In order to pursue the war with vigour, the duties of the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, till then united in one secretaryship, were divided, the Duke of Newcastle assuming in June the former office, while Sir George Grey became Colonial Secretary. At the end of that month the new Secretary for War instructed the Commander-in-chief of the British forces "to concert measures for the siege of Sebastopol . . . As there is no prospect of a safe and honourable peace until that fortress is reduced, and the (Russian) fleet taken or destroyed, it is on all accounts most important that nothing but insuperable impediments . . . should be allowed to prevent the early decision to undertake these operations." This despatch reflected the practically unanimous opinion of the country. As the "Times" wrote, "the broad policy of the war consists in striking at the very heart of the Russian power in the East, and that heart is at Sebastopol." Preparations on a great scale were now made at Varna for the invasion of the Crimea.

Striking at the Heart of Russian Power

THE NAVAL BRIGADE AT SEBASTOPOL

In this spirited picture by R. Caton Woodville, reproduced by permission of Messrs. Graves and Co., Lord Raglan is seen watching the storming of the Redan.

An immense flotilla of transports had been sent round to Varna Bay to convey the British troops, and on September 7 the whole armament got under weigh in fine weather. The distance from Varna to Kalamita Bay, near Eupatoria, on the western coast of the Crimean Peninsula, is 300 miles, and the British fleet arrived at the rendezvous on September 9; but the whole of the French and Turkish vessels did not reach the bay till the 14th, when the disembarkation, which was quite unopposed, commenced. A ground swell interfered with the operation, and it was not till the 18th that the whole of the invading forces were landed and in a condition to advance.

On the morning of September 19, under the most favourable weather conditions, the combined armies began their march to Sebastopol. The British force consisted of 23,000 infantry, 1,000 cavalry, and 60 guns. Next day they encountered the Russian army of 50,000, under Prince Mentschikoff, a brother of the diplomat, strongly entrenched on the slopes and plateau of the hills bordering the River Alma. The Allied armies advanced at noon to the attack. They were received with heavy artillery fire, and their advance was impeded for a time by the enemy setting fire to the village of Bourliouk in their centre, and by the Light Division becoming entangled in the vineyards after crossing the river. The troops, however, re-formed, and the slopes and plateau were gallantly charged. The final incident in the battle was the capture of the chief position of the enemy, containing a Russian battery, by the Highland Brigade, to which Lord Raglan sent up a couple of guns, which opened fire upon the retiring Russians and completed the utter rout. Mentschikoff, demoralised, rode from the field as fast as his horse could carry him, like the Johnnie Cope of the Jacobite song.

The total casualties of the British army were 2,002, of which 25 officers were killed, and 106 wounded; 19 sergeants killed, and 102 wounded; 318 rank and file killed, and 1,438 wounded. Lord Raglan, according to Kinglake, believed that the whole loss of the French in killed was 60, and wounded, 500. The Russians stated their own losses at 5,709.

Lord Raglan proposed to push the enemy in his retreat, with the untouched troops of the two armies; but Marshal St. Arnaud declined to join in this step, on the ground that his men were too tired, and had left their knapsacks behind. Had the advance been pushed even on the next morning to Sebastopol, that place of arms, which was totally unprepared for a siege, could have been carried directly by assault. At least, that was the view of General Todleben, who was afterwards to win so much glory by his organisation of the fortifications and earthworks of the city and its historic defence. It was not until September 23 that the Allies advanced, and the British occupied Balaclava.

Lord Raglan, supported by Admiral Sir E. Lyons, then submitted his proposal to attack the principal fort of Sebastopol, afterwards known as the Star Redoubt; but he was again overruled by St. Arnaud. Three days later the marshal died on board a French warship, and was succeeded by General Canrobert, who, like his predecessor, had seen much service in Algiers. On the new French commander Lord Raglan endeavoured to force the expediency of an immediate assault, but Canrobert, acting, it was believed, on secret instructions from the French Emperor, contained in his dormant commission, refused to consent to the movement, although it is fair to say that

The Death of Marshal St. Arnaud

in this he was supported by Sir John Burgoyne, the chief of the British engineering staff. The siege trains, which, with the Heavy Cavalry Brigade, had now been brought from Varna, were landed, and preparations made for a regular investment of Sebastopol. This occasioned a delay of three weeks, during which precious time Todleben and Admiral Kornlikoff were able, by superhuman efforts, to bring up reinforcements and provisions, and throw up the defensive works which took the Allied armies so many months to overcome.

BRITISH HEROISM AT BALACLAVA: THE CHARGE OF THE HEAVY BRIGADE

The supplies for the British army were drawn from the port of Balaclava, and as its capture would have been of immense value to the Russians, Mentschikoff attempted to bring this about on October 25, 1854. The movement, however, was repulsed, mainly by the magnificent charge of the Heavy Cavalry Brigade against a column of 3,000 Russian cavalry, which broke under the attack and galloped away in hopeless disorder. From the picture by R. Morin.

The cannonade of the Russian position was opened on October 17 from the siege batteries on the south and from the combined English and French fleets. The naval attack was a failure, due to the interference of General Canrobert and the French Admiral Hamelin, who insisted on changing the time for beginning the bombardment, and engaging the forts at too great a distance.

Eight days after the unsuccessful bombardment a Russian field army, marching with horse, foot, and artillery, was discovered moving round with the evident purpose of attacking Balaclava, the storehouse, arsenal, and port whence the British forces drew all their supplies. The scanty garrison for its defence was under the command of Sir Colin Campbell. A spur of the Causeway Heights and the heights which separate the north from the south valley formed the outer defences of Balaclava. The guns on these positions were manned by Turks, but they were outnumbered by the Russian assailants, who, after hard fighting, captured the redoubts and held them. Four squadrons of Russian cavalry suddenly made a rush for the entrance to the harbour, and the stores of Balaclava would have been at their mercy but for the skill of Sir Colin Campbell, who drew up the 93rd Highlanders in a line two deep, and interposed a barrier between the enemy and their prey. Addressing the Highlanders, Sir Colin said: "Remember, there is no retreat from here, men; you must die where you stand." "Ay, ay, Sir Colin, we'll do that," they answered, with a cheer. The Russian attack on the thin red line was repelled with dauntless bravery.

About the same time the Heavy Cavalry Brigade, under General Scarlett, consisting of six squadrons of the 5th Dragoon Guards, Scots Greys, and Inniskilling Dragoons, in all 300 sabres, made their famous charge against 3,000 Russian cavalry, which broke and galloped up the hill from which they had come down, in hopeless disorder. Next came the charge of the Light Brigade, formed by the 13th Light Dragoons, 17th Lancers, 11th Hussars, 4th Light Dragoons, and 8th Hussars, under Lord Cardigan, who had been ordered to capture the Causeway Heights. There is almost hopeless conflict of testimony as to the precise orders given by Lord Lucan, who was in chief command of

THE "GALLANT SIX HUNDRED" RIDING "INTO THE VALLEY OF DEATH"

This picture represents one of the most famous incidents in modern warfare. Through the misinterpretation of an order, the Light Brigade hurled itself through a terrific storm of shot and shell upon a Russian battery, while "cannon to the right of them, cannon to the left of them, cannon in front of them volley'd and thunder'd," and then, because there was nothing else to be done, relinquished it, leaving more than two-thirds of their number in the "Valley of Death."

ROYAL SYMPATHISERS WITH WOUNDED SOLDIERS: A VISIT TO BROMPTON HOSPITAL, CHATHAM

Through all his life the heart of King Edward beat in sympathy with the suffering and the distressed, and it is not too much to assume that his consideration for the griefs and troubles of others was due in a large measure to the training of his august parents, who in this picture are seen visiting wounded soldiers from the Crimea. The youthful Prince of Wales accompanied Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort on this occasion.

From the painting by Jerry Barrett.

the cavalry, to Lord Cardigan, but the result was that the gallant Six Hundred, with guns to the right of them, guns to the left of them, guns in front of them, rode fearlessly down the Long Valley, drove the Russian artillerymen from their guns, and even charged bodies of the Russian cavalry, who retreated before them. The combat could end but in one way, and all that was left of the Light Brigade, only 200, rode back singly, or in twos and threes, some wounded, some supporting a wounded comrade. These were saved by the commander of the French cavalry, General Morris, who ordered General d'Allonville, with the Chasseurs d'Afrique, to drive the enemy from the Fedioukine Hills, which movement was accomplished in a most brilliant manner. General Bosquet, who had witnessed the futile charge of the Light Brigade, said, "It was magnificent, but it was not war," a Gallic epigram which has become part of British colloquial speech.

For some time the Russian army had been steadily reinforced, and Mentschikoff determined to make a desperate attempt to drive the Allies from their trenches, and raise the siege of Sebastopol. On November 5 a Russian army of 35,000 men, with 134 guns, attacked the British lines at Mount Inkerman, held by the Second Division of 3,000 men, who were completely taken by surprise. Not only was the morning murky, but a heavy mist obscured the grey uniforms of the Russian infantry.

Mentschikoff brought up an additional 20,000 troops to assist in the attack on the ridges adjoining Mount Inkerman, occupied by the Guards under the Duke of Cambridge, who were speedily brought into hot action, followed by the Fourth Division, under Sir George Cathcart, and Sir George Brown's Light Division, who had been set free from the siege works. The British infantry, therefore, had been slowly increased from 3,000 to less than 13,000 to encounter the determined assault of 55,000 Russians. Inkerman has been called a soldier's battle. The struggle was really a series of desperate combats, in which officers and men were commingled, and fought with stubborn British bravery against odds amounting at times to more than five to one. Over and over again the British had to fall back a little way before the overwhelming force of the enemy, but they always came again, and the superiority of the new rifled weapon over the old smooth-bore musket of the Russian infantry, and the ever-repeated bayonet charges, compelled the Russians to retreat. The Brigade of Guards took a leading part in the battle, and the Coldstreams lost a third of their effective strength. Indeed, the Guards were at one critical moment so severely pressed that, but for the arrival on the scene

MISS FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

The condition of the hospitals at the seat of war and the terrible sufferings of the sick and wounded called for immediate action, and, on the invitation of the War Office, Miss Florence Nightingale organised a staff of lady nurses, whose ministrations were of incalculable value to the suffering troops.

of 6,000 Frenchmen, under General Bosquet, they would have been overpowered, and compelled to retire before, but face to face with, the Russian columns.

The Russian defeat might once more have been turned into a rout, and Sebastopol would possibly have fallen, if the retiring forces of Prince Mentschikoff had been pursued. This was what Lord Raglan wanted to do, but nothing would induce General Canrobert to join in the enterprise, which had perforce to be abandoned. The victory was won at great cost, the British losing in killed 597, of whom 39 were officers, and 1,760 in wounded, including 91 officers.

The detailed account of the battles of Balaclava and Inkerman created a profound sensation at home. The Queen, in a letter to Lord Raglan, expressed her feelings of pride and satisfaction at the glorious news, alloyed by the grievous loss of so many generals and men, conferred on Lord Raglan the baton of field-marshal, and announced her intention of bestowing a Crimean medal "on all those who had been engaged in the arduous and brilliant campaign." Furthermore, as the necessity for reinforcements was urgent, her Majesty expressed her readiness to give her own yacht for a transport.

A war of the elements, however, a few days after Inkerman proved more disastrous than the losses on the battlefield. At daylight on November 14 a tremendous gale, accompanied by torrents of rain and driving snow, swept over the Allied camps, overthrew their tents, filled the trenches with water, converted the roadways into a sea of mud. Many vessels were dashed to pieces against the cliffs of Balaclava. The largest British transport, the Prince, went down with a crew of 150 men and a cargo of supplies for the troops. In all two million pounds' worth of stores were destroyed. What food was left in stock on shore could with difficulty be transported to the front, as the horses, for lack of food, were unable to drag the commissariat carts through the mud.

Following scurvy and the misery of the Arctic cold without shelter for the men, cholera broke out; the military hospitals were overcrowded, and the effective strength of Lord Raglan's army fell in a fortnight to 13,000 men. The siege was practically suspended, the mismanagement was beyond description; there were stacks of winter clothing at Balaclava, but they were left to rot, while the poor soldiers were in rags covered with vermin. Lord Raglan maintained his health, and did all that was possible with the resources at his command to mitigate the sufferings of his soldiers; but most of the other prominent generals were either wounded, sick in hospital or on board ship, or invalided home. Dr. (afterwards Sir) William Howard Russell, the "Times" correspondent, in a series of graphic letters, put the truth before the British public, whose indignation was roused to white heat.

The condition of the hospitals at Scutari, on the Bosphorus, had already been described after the battle of Alma as miserable, and a fund was opened by the "Times" for the relief of the sick and wounded, which amounted in a short time to £15,000. Mr. Macdonald, a member of the staff of that journal, was sent out to distribute the money, while a Royal Patriotic Fund was subscribed by the general public which amounted to £1,250,000. But, as the winter proceeded and the awful sufferings of the sick and wounded came to be realised even by the War Office, Mr. Sidney Herbert, Secretary of War, invited Miss Florence Nightingale to organise a staff of lady nurses, which arrived at Constantinople on November 4. Almost immediately they brought about by their self-sacrificing and sympathetic labours an extraordinary alleviation in the amount of suffering amongst the sick and wounded, and brought order out of chaos in the hospital establishments.

HEROES OF THE CRIMEA AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE: QUEEN VICTORIA RECEIVING A COMPANY OF GUARDS

The incident represented in this picture, reproduced from the painting by Sir John Gilbert, R.A., occurred on February 20, 1855. The future King Edward is shown standing at the right hand of Queen Victoria.

Though the Commander-in-chief was not spared, the full force of invective on the public platform, in the Press, and in Parliament, which met on December 12, fell upon Lord Aberdeen and the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of War. It was known that the Cabinet was divided, and matters were not improved by the introduction of a Foreign Enlistment Bill, which enabled Mr. Cobden to ask whether "British honour was to be upheld by cut-throats taken from the back slums of Germany," and Mr. Bright to thunder against a war "waged for a hopeless cause and a worthless ally." The Bill, however, was passed, and a few Germans were enlisted, but the only effective part of the

Foreign Legion was a regiment raised in Canada, later known in the British Army List as 100th, and now the second battalion of the Leinster Regiment. Lord John Russell resigned from the Ministry, which was defeated on January 29, 1855, over a motion by Mr. Roebuck for a Committee of Inquiry into the conduct of the war—a motion which was carried by a majority of 157. Lord Derby refused to form a Ministry, Lord John Russell could not, and Lord Palmerston successfully undertook the task, with Lord Panmure, in place of the Duke of Newcastle, as Secretary for War.

In the height of the crisis, towards the end of January, the King of Sardinia, Victor Emmanuel, on the advice of Cavour, joined the Alliance, and agreed to furnish 15,000 troops, under the distinguished soldier General La Marmora, in consideration of a British loan of a million. Lord Palmerston about the same time began to negotiate with Russia for peace, and a Conference was held in Vienna, at which Lord John Russell was British Plenipotentiary and Prince Gortschakoff represented Russia, for the consideration of what were known as the "Four Points": (1) The transference from Russia to Europe of the protectorate over Moldavia, Wallachia, and Servia; (2) the free navigation of the Danube; (3) the termination of Russian preponderance in the Black Sea; (4) the establishment of a European protectorate over the Christian populations of Turkey. The first, second, and fourth were accepted unanimously, but bitter controversy arose over the third.

Peace Terms and the Vienna Conference

To the other political movements in the British Parliament it is unnecessary to refer here. As soon as Lord Palmerston became head of the Government he set to work to make improvements in the condition of the army at the seat of war, and his efforts were crowned with such success that the health and equipment of the troops and the appointments of ambulances and barracks excited the astonishment of French critics. About the same time Sir John Burgoyne, Chief Engineer Officer, who had guided the siege so fruitlessly, was recalled, and General Simpson was sent out as Chief of the Staff to Lord Raglan. Three years' service was introduced into the Army, instead of ten.

Then followed the victory of the Turks under Omar Pasha over the Russians at Eupatoria on February 17, and the death, on March 2, from chill and fret over the defeat of his army, of the Emperor Nicholas, who was succeeded by Alexander II.

THE PARIS CONGRESS OF 1856 THAT ENDED THE CRIMEAN WAR

Attended by two plenipotentiaries from each of the seven Powers—Britain, France, Russia, Turkey, Austria, Prussia, and Sardinia—the Congress of Paris agreed to the terms of peace that brought the Crimean War to an end. The Treaty of Paris was signed on March 30, and after the ratification of the Treaty, on April 27, public thanksgivings were held throughout the kingdom two days later.

General Canrobert resigned the command of the French army on May 16, and was succeeded by General Pélissier, an old soldier of great experience, whose motto became "The siege, the siege, and nothing beyond it." Before that policy could be vigorously put into operation, a naval and military expedition was undertaken against the fortified towns of Kertch and Yenikale, situated on the strait which connects the Black Sea and the Sea of Azof, and used by the Russians as a base of supplies for the garrison of Sebastopol. The Allied fleet was commanded by Admiral E. Lyons and Admiral Bruat, and the land forces by Sir G. Brown and General d'Autemarre, and both were so superior in numbers to the Russian defences that these were easily captured. Vast stores of coal and food were seized; the former was used by the fleets and the latter was burned. It was estimated that four months' rations for an army of 100,000 men were thus lost to the Russians. Seventy guns were also taken.

Pélissier selected the anniversary of Waterloo, June 18, for the joint attack on the remaining defences of Sebastopol. Previously two important positions had been taken by gallant assault—the White Quarries by the English, and the Mamelon by the French—with a loss to the Russians of 5,000 men and 73 guns, to the French of 5,400 men, and to the English of 693. On this occasion the task of capturing the Redan was set to the English and the Malakoff to the French, the former being under the command of General Sir George Brown, and the latter of General Regnaud de St. Jean d'Angély. On the previous day the Allied siege batteries over the entire front commenced a terrific bombardment, in which the whole of the enemy's works, including the Redan and the Malakoff, were disabled, with vast losses within them in killed and wounded.

The original plan was that at dawn on the 18th the cannonade should be resumed for two hours, but Pélissier changed the plan without a word to Lord Raglan, and ordered the assault to be made at daybreak without the preliminary cannonade. When Lord Raglan heard of this he was deeply concerned, but, "concluded that it was better to accept, and conform to the change, than to protest." The whole affair was badly managed. The French attack was made too soon, the British too late; and the victory of the Russians was complete. This disaster so weighed upon Lord Raglan's mind that he fell an easy victim to cholera ten days after, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

General Simpson took over the English command. By a curious coincidence the report of the Sebastopol Committee was presented to the House of Commons on June 18, although the discussion upon it did not take place till July 17. In that report the Committee found that the Government had entered upon the war recklessly, without adequate information; that sufficient care had not been taken for the wants and the sufferings of the soldiers; and that the transport had been insufficient and under no responsible head. Sir Hamilton Seymour and Lord Stratford de Redcliffe were censured, and Lord Aberdeen's

The Government Censured

administration utterly condemned. Mr. Roebuck proposed a vote of censure on the late Government, but as that could have no practical effect, it was defeated by more than a hundred votes, and the report was accordingly shelved.

Meanwhile, the main supplies of the garrison of Sebastopol having been cut off, their condition became appalling. Todleben was disabled by wounds, and the losses of the defenders mounted up to nearly a thousand a day. The military governor of the town was inclined to surrender, but that was opposed as dishonourable by Prince Michael Gortschakoff, who had replaced Mentschikoff as Commander-in-chief. Gortschakoff, instead, resolved on a bold attack upon the lines of the French and Italian Allies; and on the morning of August 16 was fought the battle of Tchernaya, in which both the French and Italian troops, numbering 27,000 men, with 71 guns, drove back the Russian army of 50,000 men, with a loss of three generals, 66 other officers, and 2,300 men killed, and 191 officers and 4,700 men wounded and missing. The French loss was 1,500 killed and wounded, and the Sardinians, 200.

Sebastopol's Disabled Garrison

"EASTWARD HO!" THE DEPARTURE OF BRITISH TROOPS FOR INDIA

When the Indian Mutiny broke out, in 1857, the British army in India was not sufficiently strong adequately to cope with the rising, and reinforcements were speedily dispatched from England. Farewell scenes are graphically represented in the above picture.

From the painting by Henry O'Neill, A.R.A.

It was agreed between Simpson and Pélissier that on September 8 a renewed assault should be made. The French were to attack the Malakoff, and after it had fallen the English were to advance and capture the Redan, which was untenable so long as the Russians were in possession of the former. Three days before the great attack, a tremendous fire was opened by the Allies on both these formidable redoubts, in which the French employed 600 siege guns and the English 200. General Sir William Codrington commanded the English storming force, and General de Salles the French, with MacMahon as a divisional general. The assault, timed for noon, was a surprise to the Russians, and in a few minutes the Malakoff was in the hands of the French. Upon seeing Pélissier's signal that the Malakoff was captured, General Simpson ordered the attack upon the Redan; but the force employed was far too small, and was received with such a murderous, continuous fire from the Russian defenders that the Light Division, and afterwards the Second, would go no farther. It was determined to renew the assault next day, but that opportunity came not, for during the night the Russians evacuated the south side of Sebastopol and blew up the magazine in the Redan. On the 9th all the other magazines were exploded; on the 10th the ships in the inner harbour were sunk, and the city laid in ruins, except one large barrack reserved for the dying and the dead.

Sebastopol in Ruins

The war was not yet over, but negotiations for peace were begun, and a protocol was signed on February 1 at Vienna by the representatives of the five Powers appointing a Congress to meet in Paris for the final settlement of the peace. The Congress met on February 25, Count Walewski, French Minister for Foreign Affairs, presiding. An armistice was immediately concluded, and the news dispatched to the armies in the Crimea, by whom it was received on February 28. On the day following, a meeting of the Russian and Allied generals took place at Trakir Bridge, and terms of suspension of hostilities were arranged. The Treaty of Paris was signed on March 30, and peace was officially proclaimed, amid great rejoicings, on April 1 at the Mansion House and Royal Exchange in London; and after the ratification of the Treaty, on April 27, public thanksgivings were held throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland on April 29.

Briefly stated, the articles of this Treaty were: (1) The neutralisation of the Black Sea; (2) the Sultan promised, so far as his Christian subjects were concerned, to observe the principle of religious equality, and all the Powers renounced their right of interference; (3) in the event of future differences with Turkey, the Powers concerned should invoke mediation before proceeding to war; (4) the free navigation of the Danube was conceded, and an International Commission appointed to supervise it; (5) the Russian protectorates over the Danubian Principalities were abolished, and they were declared independent of the suzerainty of the Porte; (6) the cession of Bessarabia to Moldavia (now Roumania).

The Treaty of Paris was accompanied by the Declaration of Paris, which deals with maritime war, and was to be binding on those Powers accepting it. It consisted of four articles: (1) That privateering should be abolished; (2) that the neutral flag should cover an enemy's goods, unless they are contraband of war; (3) that neutral goods, except contraband of war, should not be seizable under the enemy's flag; (4) that blockades, to be valid, must be effective—that is, maintained by an adequate naval force. Immediately after the conclusion of peace, the British troops were gradually dispatched home, where they were received with the greatest enthusiasm, and entertained with numberless banquets. That to the Guards was presided over by Prince Albert, and the famous brigade made a triumphal entry into London, and was received with the wildest acclamation on July 10 by the citizens of the capital. The final evacuation of the Crimea took place on July 12, on which day General Codrington formally gave up to the Russians Sebastopol and Balaclava with imposing ceremony, in which the 50th Regiment took part.

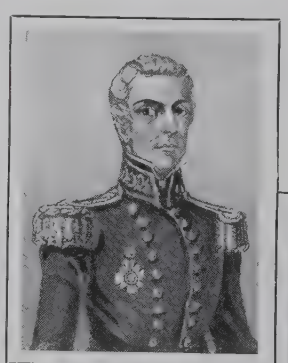
CHAPTER XIII

KING EDWARD'S FUTURE EMPIRE IN THE EAST

Presenting a Survey of the Course of Events in India from the Year of King Edward's Birth to the Eve of the Mutiny

LITTLE more than a year had passed after the conclusion of the Russian War when Great Britain suddenly found herself face to face with an utterly unexpected cataclysm, which presents one of the most thrilling episodes in her history. But the story of the Mutiny demands a retrospective account of events in India and affecting India since the outbreak at Kabul in November, 1841.

The principal British officers and the main British force, whose business was to maintain the British protégé, Shah Shuja, on the throne, were stationed at Kabul; another force was at Kandahar, and another small one at Jellalabad. Unfortunately, the general commanding was hopelessly incompetent. The émeute of November 2, which prompt action might have suppressed, was allowed to develop into a general insurrection, headed by Akbar Khan, the son of Dost Mohammed. Neither of the other forces could move. In the course of negotiations, Macnaghten, the British envoy, was murdered. Early in January the British, whose whole company numbered some fifteen thousand of both sexes and all ages, were allowed to march out of Kabul to the frontier, upon terms, with insufficient food and clothes and means of defence, through difficult mountain passes, and in cruel winter weather. The terms were not kept. Some hostages had been detained, and these were well enough treated. Of all the rest it is enough to say that only one survivor reached Jellalabad, a week after the march had begun.

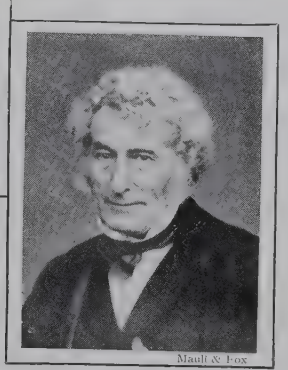


GENERAL POLLOCK

An able soldier, he persuaded Lord Ellenborough to permit an advance upon Kabul, and successfully carried it out, entering the city on September 15, 1842.

The force at Kandahar was in no danger. That at Jellalabad maintained its position with great difficulty, and no little skill and courage. By this time a new viceroy, Lord Ellenborough, had displaced Lord Auckland; also, Shah Shuja had been assassinated. A relief force, commanded by Pollock, was already on the point of joining hands with General Sale at Jellalabad. Instructions were sent to all the commanders for complete evacuation; but they found pretexts for deferring an operation so fraught with danger for the future, until they were informed that they might withdraw viâ Kabul. This was tantamount to permitting a virtual reconquest, which was in effect accomplished; and the British flag was flying at Kabul in the middle of September. In spite of the horrible initial disaster, the British power had been decisively asserted.

But the occupation of Afghanistan had been, from every point of view, a complete blunder from the outset. The only course now was to retire with as little discredit as might be. It was happily realised that the exceedingly shrewd and capable Dost Mohammed had been completely misjudged, and he was restored to the throne by the power which had removed him from it three years before, to the general satisfaction. Like old Ranjit Singh, of Lahore, Dost Mohammed fully recognised the policy of cultivating British friendship, and, in the years that followed, the powerful restraint which he exercised over the tribesmen was of immense service to the British Government.



LORD ELLENBOROUGH

Succeeding Lord Auckland, he was Governor-General from 1841 till 1844, during the Afghan troubles.

In spite of bombastic proclamations and triumphal displays, the whole Afghan episode seriously weakened the military prestige of the British in India. To some extent this was counteracted by the brilliant operations of Sir Charles Napier in Sindh early in the following year, 1843. No danger was to be apprehended from Sindh; but its rulers, the Amirs, were displaying a somewhat unfriendly disposition. Napier, who in 1842 took the place of the previous Resident, James Outram, with full powers military and political, conceived that the annexation of Sindh, though a piece of palpable rascality, would be of great advantage to the British and generally beneficial to the inhabitants; and he deliberately resolved to create an excuse for effecting it. Sufficient reasons were found for formulating demands which practically involved the surrender of the independence of the Amirs. These demands in due course produced a rising against the British at Haidarabad, on the Indus. Napier promptly took the field with a force of three thousand men, and at the battle of Miani shattered a Biluchi force of twenty thousand

men—the people of Sindh were mainly Biluchis—and, after that, anything short of annexation would have been universally attributed by Oriental minds not to magnanimity or justice, but to weakness. Napier announced the conquest by the painfully truthful pun, "Peccavi" (I have sinned); and Sindh was duly absorbed into the British dominion.

This episode affords the one example of British annexation in India which was the outcome of deliberate, wanton aggression. Annexation of territory as a sequel to military operations is in the East all but inevitable. Repeatedly the British Government, after a successful war, has attempted to abstain from appropriating territory. Invariably the defeated state has drawn from such treatment the conclusion that it could shake off the British ascendency; a second war has been necessitated, and the penalty, reluctantly or otherwise, exacted after all. In some other cases native aggression may have been welcomed as an excuse for annexation, but in all cases native aggression has been the direct cause of hostilities; and in no other case than that of Sindh has such native aggression been deliberately and intentionally brought about by British action. The annexation of Sindh brought with it a sort of nemesis of its own in the mutinies of troops employed in the occupation, for the mutinous spirit is apt to spread like a virus from regiment to regiment. Moreover, if the reputation of the British arms had been redeemed by Napier as well as by Pollock, the belief was at the same time confirmed in the minds of the independent or semi-independent princes that the British intended to absorb them all into their own direct dominion.

VISCOUNT GOUGH AND VISCOUNT HARDINGE

Commander-in-Chief in India from 1843 till 1849, the former won the battles of Mudki, Firozshah, Sobraon and Chillianwalla. Viscount Hardinge was Governor-General from 1844 till 1847, and himself took the field as second in command to Sir Hugh, afterwards Viscount, Gough.

Annexation of Sindh

Now, the last great contest in the peninsula had been against Maratha principalities. It had ended in the almost complete absorption of the Puna division; but four considerable states had been left with hardly diminished territories. Of these the most powerful was that of the Maharaja Sindhia, with its capital at Gwalior. At this juncture the reigning Sindhia was a child, and the chief person in the Gwalior state was Tara Bai, the very youthful widow of the last monarch. The Gwalior army was large and well organised, and the Marathas generally were disposed to look to Gwalior as their leading state.

Now, it has already been remarked that the Punjab state beyond the Sutlej was independent. This state was dominated by the Sikhs, themselves a comparatively small proportion of the population, but one which was organised as a particularly efficient army on curiously democratic lines, known as the Khalsa. Since the death of Ranjit Singh, the Khalsa had been gradually realising its own political power; and a state which is dominated by its army is tolerably certain to become aggressive. The Gwalior army was threatening to assume effective control at Gwalior, where Tara Bai relied on its support, and was bent on retaining the Regency under her own control instead of that of the Regent nominated by the British Government, in accordance with its recognised rights as the responsible paramount power. The Sikhs were a Hindu sect; the Marathas were Hindus; the Gwalior army was very largely composed of Hindustani Rajputs. A concerted Hindu rising seemed not impossible, if time were given.

SHER SINGH

The leader of the Sikhs whom Gough defeated in the hard-fought battle of Chillianwalla.

In Gwalior, the position was more immediately ominous. Tara Bai's tone was clearly defiant, and the climax seemed to have been reached when the British nominee for the Regency was driven to flight. An ultimatum was issued to Tara Bai; the Gwalior army resolved to fight; and in the month of December, between Christmas and New Year's Day, was fought the short and sharp campaign known by the name of the scene of the principal engagement, Maharajpur. This battle and that of Puniar were fought on the same day; they were completely decisive, though in both cases the resistance was obstinately courageous. The British appointed a Council of Regency, to be practically under the direct orders of the Resident. The greater part of the army was disbanded, and a British contingent—that is, a force of sepoys commanded by British officers—to the number of 10,000 was subsidised. The importance of this campaign was soon to be demonstrated. When it became necessary to dispatch a British force to the Punjab, the Gwalior army, under the old conditions, might have fallen upon its communications, and have threatened its rear and flank. This was a very dangerous situation which had thus been averted.

India's New Governor-General

Gwalior, taken by itself even at its strongest, would never have been able to offer a prolonged resistance to the British arms. This was by no means the case with the next state, which flung down the gage of battle. It was fortunate that before this took place Lord Ellenborough had been recalled and his place taken by the veteran soldier and experienced administrator Sir Henry Hardinge. In India it is above all things necessary that the Governor-General should give the impression of being a safe man. Such Hardinge was, pre-eminently; and such Ellenborough conspicuously was not. At the moment of his appointment he had been regarded on all hands as particularly well fitted to remove the painful impressions produced by the blunders of Lord Auckland's rule. He had a quite-deserved reputation for brilliant talents, but almost from the moment of his landing in India he habitually kept the world in a state of puzzled anxiety as to what he would say or do next. There were no disasters while he was Governor-General; on the contrary, there were three campaigns fought, all victorious and all decisive. But he had succeeded, so to speak, in racking the nerves of all India, and producing a feverish state of unrest. No better man could have been chosen to allay this irritation than his successor, who was essentially a soldier, but also judicious and level-headed. It may be remarked in passing that Peel was responsible both for his appointment, and for that of his predecessor.

THE BATTLE OF FIROZSHAH, ONE OF THE MOST CRITICAL IN BRITISH INDIAN HISTORY

Three days after the defeat of the Sikhs at Mudki, on December 18, 1845, the British forces, under Gough and Hardinge, found the main Sikh army entrenched at Firozshah. Darkness fell before the Sikh position could be carried, and before dawn the Sikhs were in full retreat, leaving the British masters of the situation. This victory completely broke up the Sikh invasion.

It did not take Hardinge long to realise that danger was threaten ng in the North-West. The power and the restlessness of the Khalsa were growing daily. The Maharaja Dhulip Singh, reputed to be Ranjit Singh's son, was a boy, and he was in the hands of his mother, the Rani Jindan, who had been not inaptly entitled the Messalina of the Punjab. The Court was divided into factions, each of which endeavoured to obtain the support of the Khalsa; and at the same time the sirdars, or great landholders, each of whom had at his back a large body of armed retainers, had also each his own ambitions; while all shared a common hatred of the Rani, a common fear of the Khalsa, and a common suspicion of the British. In one way, and in one only, all these discordant elements might be united temporarily—namely, by an aggressive movement against the British. Either victory or defeat was bound to clear some of the rivals out of the field.

Rivals to British Supremacy

In anticipation of troubles to come, Hardinge gradually collected and distributed additional troops in the North-West districts, although this had to be done with the minimum of ostentation, lest measures intended for security should have a provocative effect. On the other hand, the Sikhs had accumulated a large number of guns. They were expert artillerymen, and were particularly skilled in entrenching work; they had at least 50,000 drilled troops, besides double that number of irregulars in the service of the sirdars.

In the later months of 1845 it was becoming all but certain that the challenge would be thrown down; on December 12 the news came that the Sikh army had crossed the Satlej, and was in British protected territory. Hardinge and the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Hugh Gough, were both at the front ready to take the field, the Governor-General assuming the position of second in command, although he was officially entitled to take personal control of the operations. Troops were immediately on the march from Amballa and Ludhiana, and on the afternoon of December 18 a battle was fought at Mudki with the advance guard of the Sikhs, in which, after sharp fighting, the enemy were driven off the field.

Three days later the British, with numbers somewhat increased by the arrival of troops from Mirat, advanced in the direction of the frontier station on the Satlej at Firozpur, from which also a considerable body of troops started to join hands with them. But at a point called Firozshah, Gough and Hardinge found the main Sikh army entrenched. Gough wished to attack at once, a counsel of extreme audacity. Hardinge felt it incumbent upon himself to accept the responsibility of over-ruling the Commander-in-Chief, and waiting for the arrival of the force from Firozpur. Hence the attack did not take place till shortly before sundown. Darkness fell before the Sikh position could be carried, and the night which followed was one of the most intense anxiety. When morning came, and the attack was renewed, it was found that, for whatever reason, the bulk of the Sikhs were already in retreat. The victory of Firozshah completely broke up the Sikh invasion, but it had now become necessary to strike home and invade the Punjab itself.

For this the Sikhs had made or were making ready by preparing a very strong entrenched position at Sobraon on the Satlej. Nearly two months elapsed before Gough felt himself ready to strike the decisive blow. In the interval a notable victory was won by Sir Harry Smith at Aliwal. It may be noted in passing that the names of Harrismith, Ladysmith, and Aliwal North, which have since become so famous in another continent, are all associated with the victor of Aliwal. On February 10, Gough made his great attack. The Sikhs offered a desperate resistance, but were finally driven in rout over the bridge on their rear, which collapsed under them, so that numbers were drowned, besides those who fell fighting. From this moment resistance was broken, and at the end of March a treaty was signed at Lahore.

Gough Breaks the Sikh Resistance

DEFEAT OF THE SIKHS AT THE BATTLE OF ALIWAL BY SIR HARRY SMITH, JANUARY 28, 1846

This was another notable victory, the British forces under Sir Harry Smith fighting with conspicuous bravery.

Annexation of territory was the last thing desired by Lord Hardinge (who received his peerage as the reward of this campaign, as did Gough also), but some cession of territory to the British was demanded by the conditions. Kashmir and one province of the Punjab proper were handed over, and Kashmir itself was promptly passed on for hard cash to Gholab Singh, an astute Punjab statesman, who had managed to keep aloof from the recent outbreak. The desire of the Indian Government was to establish in the Punjab itself a native Government which should be at once vigorous and friendly, as that of Ranjit Singh had been in the past. It was manifest, however, that this could only be accomplished if something like a temporary protectorate were assumed. The Sikh sirdars themselves declared that they were quite unable to maintain order unless they had the assistance of British troops.

Accordingly, the following measures were adopted. The Khalsa was in great part disbanded, being reduced to thirty thousand men, and most of their guns were surrendered. A contingent of British troops was left at Lahore, which it was intended to withdraw at the end of the year, though, in fact, at the petition of the sirdars, their period of occupation was afterwards extended. The government was placed in the hands of a nominated Council of Regency; Henry Lawrence was appointed Regent, practically with the powers of a dictator, and a number of young British officers were, under his direction, placed in control of the frontier and other districts.

Henry Lawrence acquired immediately an extraordinary personal influence; but intrigue was exceedingly rife, and when the year closed it was found necessary to renew the Lahore Treaty at Bhairowal, in a form which gave the Resident a control even more complete than before, to last until young Dhulip Singh should come of age. For a year the Punjab was administered with astonishing skill and success; the British officers during the time being officially the representatives or executive, not of the British, but of the native Government. But at the very opening of 1848 Hardinge's term of office ended, and a new Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, took his place; while ill-health compelled Henry Lawrence to go home on leave.

The magnetism of a great personality counts for even more among Easterns than among Europeans. Lawrence's successor at Lahore was a competent and experienced official, but he was not Henry Lawrence. The Sikhs of the old Khalsa were extremely hostile to the British ascendency, and, although they had been soundly beaten in the field in the last campaign, they attributed their defeat, not to their own inferiority, but to the incompetence and, still more, to the treachery of their commanders. Hence they were thirsting to renew the conflict, in the belief that the results would be reversed. The Rani and her gang had nothing to lose and everything to gain by mischief of whatever kind. Of the sirdars, many acquiesced in a system which they disliked, merely because no possible alternative would be more satisfactory; none were enthusiastic, and nearly all were, at best, sulky. Matters were thus ready for disturbance, although Hardinge at the moment of his departure had not anticipated that disturbance would arise.

Elements of Discord

It is not easy to say how far the revolt, when it came, was actually organised or premeditated. The native Governor of Multan desired to resign; his resignation was accepted, and two British officers were sent to take temporary charge. On their arrival the soldiery rose, the officers were murdered, the Governor was reinstated more or less by force, and a general defiance was hurled at the British. Technically, this was not a revolt against the British "Raj," but against the legitimate native Government, in whose service British officers and British regiments were employed. If the Government were loyal to its engagements, it was its business to suppress the revolt and punish the malefactors. For the British Government of India to intervene would have been in effect to claim that it was exercising direct dominion in the Punjab, a position which it entirely repudiated. It would warrant the Regency in repudiating responsibility, and would justify the insurgents in declaring that they were fighting against a usurped dominion. If the Sikh Government failed to do its duty the British would have to set about an actual conquest of the Punjab; but to dispatch now a punitory column to Multan would only have the effect of precipitating a general conflagration.

BRITISH VICTORY OVER SHER SINGH AT CHILLIANWALLA ON JANUARY 13, 1849

In this desperate and sanguinary battle the British brigades and regiments lost touch with each other in the jungle, and only sheer pluck and hard fighting prevented a catastrophe. But the British again gained the mastery, the Sikhs falling back under cover of darkness to their position at Rassul.

The Indian Government, therefore, held its hand, while the Resident at Lahore urged the Regency to assert its authority.

Herbert Edwardes, a young officer in charge of the Derajat, had his own view of responsibility. He had won the confidence of the Pathan tribesmen, and he resolved at all risks to make at their head a dash, as he thought, for the rescue of the British in Multan. His little force routed the insurgents, and was encamped close to Multan a few days before the Government troops arrived under the command of the sirdar Sher Singh. This body of besiegers was presently reinforced by a British column from Lahore; but in September the situation was changed by the open defection of the entire Sikh force, with their leader, Sher Singh, who withdrew from Multan, and proclaimed a general revolt against the British usurpation.

The Sikhs Once More in Revolt

An invasion on a decisive scale had now become necessary. Sher Singh gathered a large and enthusiastic army beyond the River Chenab, and this was the force against which Gough directed his movements when he entered the Punjab in November, though a column was ordered up from Bombay to take part in the siege of Multan. In the beginning of December, Gough had forced his way over the Chenab, with a sharp skirmish at Ramnagar, and a more severe engagement at Sadulapur; but the latter was really in the nature of a rearguard action on the part of the

Sikhs, covering a withdrawal to an almost impregnable position at Rassul. Political pressure prevented Gough from awaiting the fall of Multan as he had himself intended. He advanced in the second week in January, and was on the point of encamping at Chillianwalla when the Sikhs opened fire from advanced entrenchments which the jungle had concealed. This was the opening of a desperate and sanguinary battle, in which British brigades and regiments lost touch of each other in the jungle; more than one only escaped annihilation by sheer pluck and hard fighting, and one distinguished Lancer regiment broke and fled in a frenzied panic. Colours were lost; guns were lost if others were won; the proportion of casualties was enormous; but the British remained actual masters of the field, the Sikhs falling back under cover of darkness to their position at Rassul, from which it was impossible to dislodge them.

British Victory at Chillianwalla

A week later Multan was stormed, and three weeks after that it was found that Sher Singh had evacuated Rassul and was on the march for Gujerat. There the decisive battle was fought. The Sikhs were completely and utterly routed. This time they knew that they had a straight, stand-up fight with the British, and they took their thrashing like good sportsmen. They accepted the inevitable, and at the end of March the Punjab was formally annexed to the British dominion. From Peshawar to Cape Comorin, from the mountains to the ocean, the whole Indian peninsula acknowledged the suzerainty of Great Britain.

Thus the first act of Lord Dalhousie's brilliant and much debated administration was one of annexation, which had been practically forced upon him.

Dalhousie was the first Governor-General since the Marquis Wellesley who proceeded definitely on the theory that policy and duty alike required the British Government to use every available legitimate opportunity for bringing native territories under direct British dominion. The recognised policy had been to go as far as it was possible to go with safety in the way of maintaining native Governments. The legal method of perpetuating native dynasties by adoption of a son on the failure of heirs of the body had been systematically observed, though always very explicitly on the basis of the doctrine that no adoption was valid until it had received the assent of the suzerain Power; that there was no obligation on the suzerain Power to give its assent, and that if such assent were withheld the principality lapsed to the suzerain Power. This was the legal principle on which the Moguls had always acted. It so happened that during Dalhousie's tenure there were several failures of heirs; and in one case after another Dalhousie acted in perfect accordance with the legal rights of the case by refusing to recognise adoptions, and so absorbing territories into the direct British dominions. The most prominent cases were those of Sattara, Nagpur, and Jhansi. But Dalhousie's action, though legitimate, was a departure from the prevailing custom, and was viewed with alarm in several states as pointing to the early disappearance of all native dynasties. How genuine a ground there was for this sentiment may be realised when we observe that in one of the most important —that of Gwalior—every successive Sindhia had succeeded by adoption since the beginning of the dynasty, some hundred years before. Not one had left an heir of his body.

"THE SAVIOUR OF INDIA"

Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab when the Mutiny broke out, Sir John Lawrence greatly distinguished himself during the crisis, winning the proud title quoted above by his re-taking of Delhi after a three months' siege. He became Governor-General of India in 1863, and was created a peer six years later.

These annexations by lapse made very substantial additions to the British dominion, and, besides these, war, which gave Great Britain the Punjab on the north-west, gave it also Pegu on the east beyond the Bay of Bengal. The Burmese monarch was unable to divest himself of a conviction that he was the greatest potentate in the universe, and his provincial governors paid no respect to treaty or any other rights in their treatment of British merchants and other inhabitants of the coast territories. Official protests were met by official insults, and at last it became clear at the beginning of 1852 that no argument would be effective which was unconnected with powder and shot.

An expedition was accordingly prepared, and an ultimatum sent demanding the payment of certain indemnities before April 1 in that year. The ultimatum was ignored; on the 11th a British force was before Rangoon; in three days more Rangoon itself was occupied. Experience had shown that midsummer campaigning in Burma was inadvisable, therefore the next military movement was not made till September. In the interim a provisional government had been set up. The campaign was brief, closing with the capture of Pegu in November. A treaty would have been superfluous, as the Burmese Government regarded all treaties as waste paper. Therefore Dalhousie simply issued a proclamation announcing that the territories forming the province of Pegu were now annexed by the Indian Government; and an administration in accordance with the recognised system was established. It is probable that Dalhousie would have preferred to do without any extension of British Further India; his great desire was to concentrate in British hands the government of India itself; but even outside of India proper he had no doubt whatever about the principle that wherever the British flag had been carried, there it should abide.

One more annexation, second only in importance to that of the Punjab, has to be recorded. The Punjab, in fact, like Sindh in theory, had been conquered and annexed because it had challenged war, and had proved the political impossibility of its continued independence. Other states had fallen in by lapse of heirs. There was a third ground on which the British had always claimed the right of absorption — namely, persistent misgovernment by the native rulers in defiance of repeated remonstrance. This was the fate which befell the kingdom of Oude. Since the days of Clive the Oude dynasty, whether with the title of Nawab or that of king, which had been bestowed upon them in the time of Lord Hastings, had been allies of the British. Next to the Nizam of Hyderabad, the King of Oude was the greatest Mohammedan potentate in India. There had never been a time when the misgovernment of Oude had not been a subject of remonstrance; more than once the dynasty would have been ejected but for the claim to consideration which its consistent loyalty had established. Lord Hardinge had given the king a serious warning less than a year before his retirement; and since then matters had been going from bad to worse. Dalhousie himself was disinclined, though not very strongly, to the extreme measure of deposing the king and annexing Oude; he himself recommended the alternative of taking over the administration, while allowing the king to retain his rank and dignities and the ostensible sovereignty. The home authorities, however, decided on annexation; which was accordingly carried out almost at the moment of Lord Dalhousie's retirement.

Oude Annexed by Great Britain

CHAPTER XIV

IN THE DAYS OF THE INDIAN MUTINY

A Detailed Chronicle of the Causes which Led to the Rising, of the Horrors of the Mutiny, and of the Gallantry and Final Triumph of the British Forces

AFTER eight years in India, Dalhousie left the country utterly worn out himself, but with a conviction almost universally shared that India might look forward to years of unbroken peace and order. His successor, Lord Canning, was destined to rule over the great dependency through days of the fiercest storm and stress, as the last of the East India Company's Governors-General, and then as the first of her Britannic Majesty's Viceroys.

In sundry respects the brilliant rule of Dalhousie was responsible for bringing the eternal unrest of India almost to the eruption point. Every annexation, on whatever ground, had excited the alarm of the surviving native dynasty. The new frontier province had absorbed the best troops; and the other new provinces had added to the numbers of the sepoy regiments, while there had been no corresponding increase in the number of white regiments.

CHIEF OF THE SIKHS
Who remained staunch to the British.

Further, there were specific grievances. Dundu Punth, foully known to fame by his popular title of the Nana Sahib, the adopted son of the last Maratha Peshwa, who had been deposed and pensioned in 1819, conceived himself bitterly wronged because, although he inherited large estates, the Government had refused to continue to him the pension allowed to his father. The Rani of Jhansi, widow of the last ruler, could not forgive the Jhansi annexation. The deposition of the King of Oude was felt as a blow to Mohammedan prestige. And always there was the recurring suspicion in the minds of the high-caste Hindu soldiery of Hindustan and Bengal that the British meant to force them all to embrace Christianity by doing something which would make them lose caste—a suspicion which had been stirred, however slightly, by the Burmese war—and the fear that the high-caste troops would be ordered to cross the "Black Water," as the sea was called by the natives.

These were disturbing elements created or intensified by Dalhousie's rule; but, in addition to these, there were causes of unrest of a kind which in any country which has been brought into subjection by force of arms usually prevail until the fact of conquest has been forgotten. The Mohammedans had occupied the position of a conquering race in India for centuries before the British supplanted them. When the British ascendency began, and for half a century afterwards, the Marathas had dreamed of making themselves masters of India. The Hindustani Rajputs were full of the pride of race and of traditions of ancient renown and dominion. Again, to the Hindu the Mussulman was an alien, as the German is an alien to a Frenchman or a Russian, or as the Austrians were aliens to the Italians; but to both, the British were aliens, as Turks or Japanese are alien alike to the Teuton, the Latin and the Celt. This element of unrest carried with it also an element of security; for the only aim common to the Mussulman, the Hindustani and the Maratha was that of shaking off the British domination; none wished to substitute for the British rule any native supremacy other than its own. Hence, when the time of stress arrived, the absence of a concerted aim prevented concerted action. The Mussulman rebels raised the standard of the Moguls, and their doing so probably acted as a check on the Hindu princes.

Other circumstances must be noted which were favourable to the British at the moment when the crisis arrived. In the first place, the Punjab was to prove a source of strength. The Sikhs, beaten in fair fight, and generously treated by the victors, were the more loyal to the British, because they detested both the Mogul tradition and the Hindustani sepoy. The nervousness of the Princes of Rajputana had been allayed by the presence among them of Henry Lawrence on his withdrawal from the Punjab. Still later, the same benign influence quieted the talukdars of Oude, where Lawrence was placed in charge shortly before the outbreak of the Mutiny. Moreover, Lawrence himself, almost the only man of the front rank who realised the impending danger, was able to make preparations for resisting, which proved of incalculable value when the storm actually burst.

Almost immediately after his arrival, Lord Canning's advisers induced him to issue the General Service Enlistment Act, under which all future recruits enlisting in the Bengal Army were to be liable for foreign service. The bulk of the Bengal troops were high caste. Most of them were drawn from families who had joined the army generation after generation, and expected their sons and their descendants to go on doing the same. But, for service in Burma, the special object which the Act had in view,

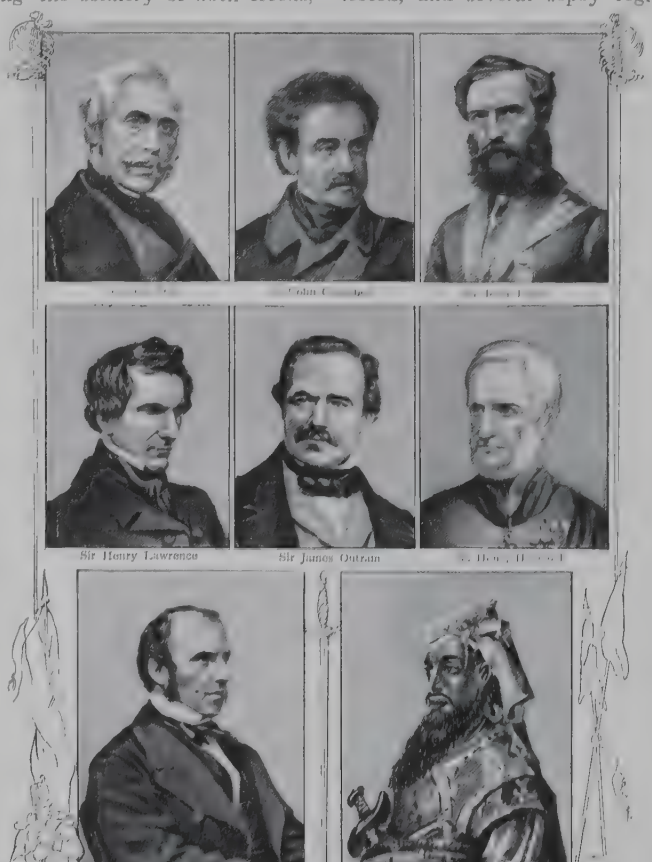
they would have to cross the "Black Water" and would thereby lose caste. On the top of this came the notorious cartridge incident. The adoption of the Enfield rifle as a new arm involved the issuing of a new cartridge. The new cartridge contained a lubricant; and, in spite of Government orders, the manufacturers employed the fat of cows and swine. The sepoy, on loading his rifle, had to bite off the end of the cartridge. The Mohammedan is strictly forbidden to taste the flesh of swine; the Hindu is deprived of his caste if he tastes the flesh of kine, which to him are sacred, while to the Mussulman swine are unclean. Among the soldiery of both creeds, agitators fostered the panic which arose as soon as the disastrous rumour got abroad. Government denials, even the withdrawal of the whole batch of the suspected cartridges, failed to check the alarm.

The Notorious Cartridge Incident

An ancient prophecy flew from lip to lip through every bazaar in Hindustan, that one hundred years was the destined limit of the British ascendency, which had begun with Clive's victory at Plassey in 1757. Insubordination, then actual mutiny, broke out in one regiment after another; at Murshidabad in February, at Barrackpur in March, in a cavalry regiment, and then in the whole group of regiments stationed at Mirat on May 10. There the mutineers rose, murdered every officer and every Englishman on whom they could lay hands, and the next day marched upon Delhi, where the living representative of the old dynasty resided with his family; and the restoration of the Mogul Empire was proclaimed.

The effective field of the great revolt is confined to the great basin watered by the Ganges, the Jamna, the Chambal, and their tributaries. Bengal below Patna remained secure. The Nizam's dominions and the whole of the South remained quiet; as did Rajputana and the Punjab on the west and north-west, and the greater part of what is called Central India. For the most part the conflict raged in the districts known as the North-West Provinces, in Oude, and to some extent in Behar. Primarily, in form, it was a revolt of the sepoy army in Hindustan; leaderless, because the officers of that army were all British. These were joined and directed to some extent by disbanded soldiers of the old army of Oude, and forces collected by disaffected persons, such as Nana Sahib. But the great princes, and, until a later stage, the principal landowners, or talukdars, with their following, held aloof. There was a most fortunate lack of organisation in the whole affair; but it was extremely formidable simply from the enormous disproportion of the fighting men who could be mustered immediately on either side.

Taking the area concerned as stretching from Mirat and Delhi on the west to Patna on the east, there were only five white regiments, together with artillery, distributed between Mirat, Agra, Cawnpore, Lucknow, and Dinapur. At these same stations there were seventeen native regiments of the regular army, besides the masses of other troops already referred to, which were soon collected, and several sepoy regiments at stations where there were no white troops. Within a month very nearly all the native regiments within this entire area had mutinied, and were concentrating on either Delhi, or Cawnpore, or Lucknow.


Sir Henry Lawrence
Sir James Outram
Viscount Canning
Nana Sahib
Neill defended Cawnpore; Sir Colin Campbell suppressed the Mutiny, while Inglis conducted the defence of Lucknow, in which siege Lawrence lost his life. Outram also fought at Lucknow, and Havelock was the hero of the first relief. Canning was Governor when the Mutiny occurred, Nana Sahib being its chief instigator.
GREAT FIGURES IN THE INDIAN MUTINY

Almost three weeks, however, passed between the mutiny at Mirat and the general insurrection. During that time, prompt and vigorous dealing with suspected regiments had secured the Punjab. Troops were collecting at Mirat and Amballa; Henry Lawrence was preparing the Lucknow Residency for a siege, and soon detachments were on their way to Allahabad from Lower Bengal.

By June 12 the siege of Delhi had begun. That is to say, there were from twenty to thirty thousand mutineers inside the city and between five and six thousand besiegers on the ridge outside. Meanwhile, the defence of Cawnpore had begun on the 8th. Here, besides the small number of British who were capable of bearing arms, there were more than two hundred women and children. The defences were of the flimsiest, and the mutineer army, here commanded by Nana Sahib, were in very large numbers. The rebels, however, never showed any enthusiasm for hard fighting, and for nearly three weeks the handful of defenders held them at bay. During that time two hundred and fifty of the little garrison had lost their lives, the sufferings of the whole party were intense, and when Nana Sahib offered to permit their departure down the river to Allahabad under safe conduct the offer was accepted. All were embarked and pushed off on the stream, but no sooner were they started than the native boatmen dived overboard, and a storm of bullets was poured into the hapless flotilla. Escape was impossible. As they struggled to shore nearly every man was killed; very, very few were those who

Native Treachery at Cawnpore

AN HISTORIC EPISODE IN THE MUTINY: THE MEETING OF HAVELOCK, OUTRAM, AND COLIN CAMPBELL AT THE RELIEF OF LUCKNOW

The defence of the Residency at Lucknow against an immense force of besiegers [illegible] as one of the most gallant incidents of the terrible Mutiny. Within the lines were some three thousand persons, including five hundred women and children, and [illegible] guarded, constant vigilance being necessary to prevent the inrush of the enemy. [illegible] September 25; and the added strength thus imparted to the defender [illegible]

succeeded in reaching cover, or were seen alive again. The women and children were not massacred—yet: they were taken back to Cawnpore to await the mercy of Nana Sahib.

Four days after the surrender at Cawnpore the British garrison of Lucknow, with a detachment of Sikhs and a few more loyal sepoys, were shut up in the Lucknow Residency, and the famous siege began. A fortnight earlier the British at Jhansi were massacred, and at Gwalior the contingent—that is, the very considerable body of troops commanded by British officers—mutinied in spite of all that Sindhia and Dinkar Rao could do, and shot their officers. Sindhia succeeded in conveying the rest of the British to Agra, and fortunately the mutineers made no immediate movement to join their forces with the rebels either at Delhi or in Oude.

Through July and August the little force before Delhi hung on grimly, on what was in fact the defensive. Without a siege train no effective attack could be made on the city. John Lawrence from the Punjab could at first spare no troops, but at last John Nicholson arrived with a column, which brought the numbers on the ridge up to more than eight thousand, and these were gradually increased by another three thousand; the long-desired siege train from Firozpur at length reaching the ridge on September 6.

It was now possible to open the attack. Breaching batteries were brought into play with consummate skill by the engineers Baird Smith and Alexander Taylor. Early on the morning of the 14th, Home and Salkeld, by an act of splendid daring, blew in the Kashmir gate. Here, and at two other of the breaches, three out of the four columns of assault forced their way in. The ramparts were won; but it took nearly a week of fighting before the whole city and the person of the Mogul himself were in the hands of the victors, and the mutineer army was in flight to unite with the forces on the east.

The Capture of Delhi

In one sense the capture of Delhi was the decisive blow, although it had cost the life of John Nicholson, the figure which in most minds stands out in the most heroic proportions. Nicholson was the ideal representative of a splendid type which had almost been created by the necessities of the Punjab; men absolutely self-reliant, utterly without fear, welcoming responsibility, somewhat impatient of authority, and loathing conventional rules and every hint of red tape. Such men, wherever they had a free hand, did incomparable work; as subordinates it must be admitted that they were sometimes trying. But there can be no doubt that in the popular imagination John Nicholson has eclipsed them all. He was of that stuff of which the demigods were made when the world was young. While the main British force was holding its grip during those three months before Delhi, another garrison was maintaining itself stubbornly against an immense force of besiegers in the Residency at Lucknow. Within the lines there were some three thousand persons, nearly half of them non-combatants, including five hundred women and children. There was no lack of guns or ammunition or food, but the circumference of the group of buildings which required to be defended was about a mile, while in many places the enemy lay under cover within a few yards of the rampart. Hence the most ceaseless and exhausting vigilance was required. At the very beginning of the siege Henry Lawrence himself was killed, but he had taught his subordinates what they were to do. The mutineers outside very soon found that they had no chance whatever of rushing the defences.

Lucknow Under Siege

From the strictly military point of view the great danger of the garrison was that of successful mining operations on the part of the besiegers. Covered as the mutineers were, they had every opportunity for running a series of mines simultaneously at different points; had they done so, it would have been a sheer impossibility to deal with them all. Happily they did not make the attempt. To show, however, the terrific strain to which the engineers and miners within the Residency were subjected, it is interesting to observe that in the sixty-five days from July 20 to September 23, thirty-seven mines were attempted. Of the thirty-seven, twenty-five were met by countermines from within. Of the remainder, six were exploded, but were short of the intended point; and one only actually made an effective breach. On this occasion the mutineers were

apparently so surprised at their own success that the garrison were able to place the breach itself in a state of defence before any attempt was made to turn it to account.

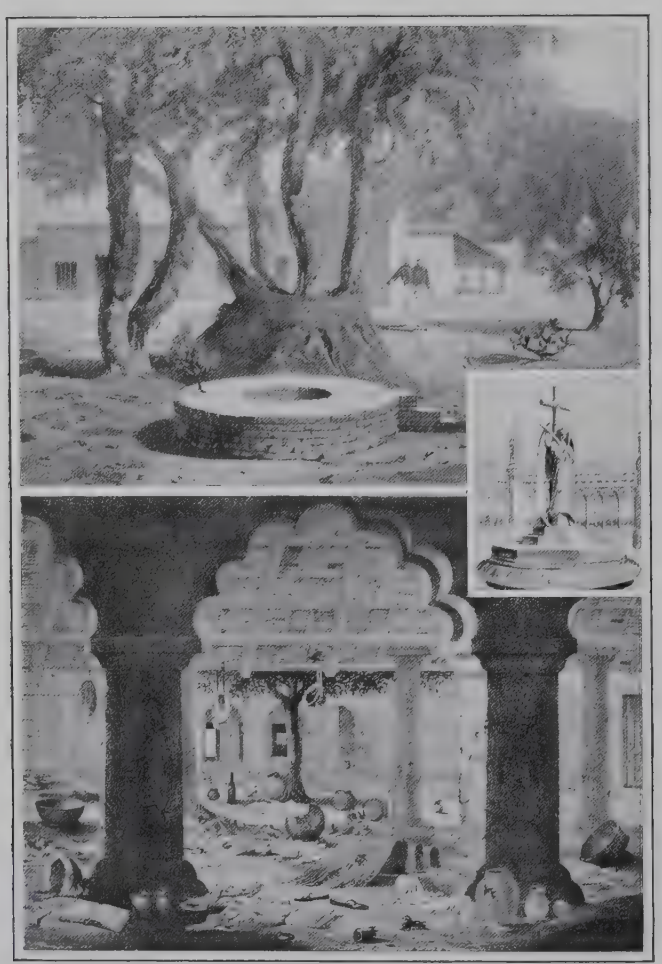
At various times three attacks in force were made, but all were repulsed. On each occasion, however, the garrison suffered; and all the time there were incessant casualties, as the enemy had innumerable marksmen stationed under cover, often only a few yards away, who missed no opportunities. It was this persistent strain which constituted morally the gravest danger to a garrison which depended largely on the loyalty of the seven hundred sepoys, Sikhs and others, who were included in its numbers. The defenders were almost entirely cut off from communication with the outside world. Rumours did indeed reach them, sometimes of approaching relief, sometimes of disaster. Some of the sepoys, who were loyal enough, had nevertheless made up their minds that if relief did not arrive by the last day of September they would themselves march out from the Residency; and it must be noted that a week before that time a great mass of the mutineers from Delhi were already on their way to join their comrades at Lucknow.

Brave Defence at Lucknow

The very important position at Allahabad had been secured by Brasyer and Neill in June; and on the 30th Havelock had arrived to take the command, and, if possible, to advance on Cawnpore and Lucknow. On July 7 he was able to begin his march. Already the news had reached him of the fall of Cawnpore, and of that monstrous treachery of Nana Sahib's, which, perhaps, raised the most uncontrollable storm of rage in the minds of the British people that they have ever known. Four days later Havelock caught up his advance guard, which had preceded him. The Nana's troops came against him in force. He routed them on the 12th, and again twice over on the 15th. On the 16th, with the fifteen hundred men still left to him, he again routed the opposing army, of which five thousand regulars formed a part. Three times in that day the hard-worked little band met and routed fresh troops; there were still, it was believed, the women and children in Cawnpore to be saved. On the next day the rescuers were in Cawnpore. But Nana Sahib had done his work. From the moment of the discovery, the men were possessed with a blazing passion for vengeance. "A life for every hair," was the solemn adjuration of a Highland sergeant as he held up a tress of woman's hair, stained with blood, which had been shorn from one of the victims.

The Tragedy of Cawnpore

Swift as he had been, Havelock had not been in time at Cawnpore; now he had to try to drive his way with his fifteen hundred men through Oude, with its thousands of mutineers, to Lucknow. He pushed on into Oude; three times he fought and routed the enemy. But in the meanwhile, down the river, the sepoys at Dinapur had mutinied; the communications were severed; there was no present hope that reinforcements could reach Havelock, and he was obliged to fall back from Oude to Cawnpore again. This absolutely necessary retreat turned the scale with many of the Oude talukdars, who had hitherto held back, but now allowed their retainers to join the Lucknow mutineers. The way, however, was soon again cleared from Bengal. Outram, Havelock's senior, was given the supreme command, and reached him with reinforcements on September 15, the day after the British had stormed into Delhi. The Bayard of India placed himself as a volunteer in subordination to Havelock, that the latter might have the glory of effecting the relief for which he had fought so gallantly. The force of three thousand men dashed from Cawnpore to Lucknow, and on September 25 fought its way through the mutineer hosts into the Residency. Lucknow was saved. There was now no question that the force within the Residency could maintain itself.



SCENES OF THE MASSACRE AT CAWNPORE

The top view shows the house in which the women and children were massacred; the well into which many of the victims were thrown is now surmounted by the memorial seen on the right. The third picture represents the interior of the building after the massacre, the floor strewn with clothing, books, and other articles, while everything was soaked in blood. From contemporary illustrations.

The back of the revolt was broken, in a little less than five months since the outbreak at Mirat; but it was only now that supports and reinforcements began to find their way to India. Sir Colin Campbell arrived to take the chief command in September; by the end of October his preparations for a campaign of conquest were almost completed. On November 9 he was able to march from Cawnpore at the head of the force which was to effect the actual relief of the Residency at Lucknow. This was accomplished on the 17th. The Residency was evacuated, the non-combatants were withdrawn altogether, and a strong garrison was placed in the fort called the Alam Bagh, four miles away, under Outram's command. Havelock had died a week after Campbell's arrival. The city of Lucknow itself was held in immense force by the mutineers, and could not be dealt with at once.

For although, as has been said, the back of the revolt was broken by the capture of Delhi and the rescue of the Residency garrison, the insurgents were becoming more, rather than less, active. In particular, the Gwalior army, led by Tantia Topi,

the one really capable leader who appeared among the rebels, had assumed the aggressive, crossed the Jamna, joined Nana Sahib's forces, and had forced back Windham at Cawnpore into his lines. As soon, however, as Sir Colin was able to advance from Lucknow, he fell upon this force on December 6, cut it in two, and drove Tantia Topi back over the Jamna, while the Nana retreated across the Ganges.

The rest is a story of conquest. Early in March converging columns, joined by a contingent of Ghurkas from Nepal, arrived before Lucknow; after hard fighting, the city was once more, on the 17th, in the hands of the British, and the mutineer army shattered and scattered in flight. But Oude was not the only region where fighting was needed. The campaign in Central India was brilliantly conducted by Sir Hugh Rose. The various native forces which had declared for the rebels from Indur to Jhansi were mastered; Tantia Topi was totally routed, and all his guns captured; and Jhansi itself was taken in the first week of April.

The Roll of Heroes

In the whole of the British annals there is no episode quite so full of thrilling events, of desperate deeds of valour and endurance, of personalities which assume heroic proportions, as this of the Indian Mutiny; at least, throughout the five months when the British and the loyal sepoys who stood by them were fighting with their backs to the wall against overwhelming odds. The world does not know, it never can know, how nobly British women played their part in those terrible days when everything depended on maintaining heart and hope in the men who were fighting to preserve them from such a doom as fell upon those at Cawnpore. Among the men, how shall any be selected for special honour in the great muster-roll of heroes, from John Nicholson himself down to the telegraph clerk of Delhi who flashed his warning message to the Punjab till the mutineers broke in and cut him down?

Yet of one man it is necessary to speak, the man in a position of highest reponsibility, who throughout the crisis was assailed with fierce obloquy both in India and in England; who yet never for a moment swerved from the path which he held to be that of duty, of justice, of wisdom; who never suffered considerations of personal reputation, of personal advantage, of popular clamour, to shake him for an instant. It is not given to many men under such conditions as the Mutiny created to keep their heads, to control their elementary passions, to think of justice before vengeance, to discriminate between the objects of vengeance. The British are a people not easily stirred to rage, but when they are so stirred they "see red." They "saw red" in those days. The blood of women and children cried out to them from the stones. "For every hair a life" was what all men felt. There are few men alive to-day who were living in Calcutta fifty-three years ago; those who were have hardly yet forgiven Canning for his absolute refusal to include all who were in any way concerned in the revolt in one common condemnation, his recognition of the fact that there were differences of guilt, his determination to act on the principle that the loyal Mussulman and the loyal Hindu were deserving of trust and confidence. But through good and evil report Canning held to the part he had chosen; and he was not without his reward when he was appointed the Queen's first Viceroy of India on the transfer of the government to the Crown.

For the Mutiny meant the end of the Honourable East India Company, and so there was, after all, an element of truth in that prophecy that the rule of the white conquerors should last for a hundred years; since it was for a hundred years that the rule of "John Company" lasted.

THE BRITISH RESIDENCY AT LUCKNOW AFTER THE SIEGE

The top picture shows the ruins of the Residency as drawn by a British officer after the siege; the telegraph apparatus was in the high tower to the left. The centre oval is a picture of the Residency from the Water Gate, the verandah having been shot away; while the appearance of the billiard room, in the bottom picture, gives an idea of the general destruction.

The first duty of the new Government was that of pacification and the restoration of confidence; and this was the task entrusted to the pilot who had steered through the crisis. Among the native dynasties the anxieties created by Dalhousie were removed when it was understood that the old practice with regard to adoption would be maintained, and adoption permitted unless where there were strong and definite reasons to the contrary. The principle most vital to public security was definitely laid down with the establishment of the fixed rule that there should be in India white troops to the number of one-half of the sepoy forces. That overwhelming disproportion which had encouraged the soldiery to believe that they could overthrow the dominion of the Sahibs would never have the chance of recurring. A complete revision of the system of taxation was a further reform, undertaken and carried out with the best results. The rule of the first Viceroy was brought to a close when he was succeeded by Lord Elgin in the beginning of 1862.

Peace Since the Mutiny

From the days of Clive to the days of Canning twenty years had never passed in which the British had not been engaged in some contest with a native enemy within the confines of India. Since the Mutiny there has been no war within those confines.

THE DRAWING-ROOM AS IT WAS WHEN USED BY THE ROYAL STUDENT

THE STUDY, SHOWING ITS APPOINTMENTS EXACTLY AS THEY WERE DURING THE PRINCE S OCCUPATION

KING EDWARD'S ROOMS AT FREWEN HALL DURING HIS STUDENT DAYS AT OXFORD

From contemporary lithographs

CHAPTER XV

KING EDWARD'S LEGAL MAJORITY

The Importance of the Event to the Young Prince, Parliament's Provision for the Heir to the Throne, and the Rejoicings on the Attainment of his Eighteenth Birthday

IN the autumn of 1859 Lord Palmerston was inundated with correspondence regarding an event which loomed largely in the public mind. On November 9, 1859, the Prince of Wales completed his eighteenth year; on that day, according to the custom of the Constitution, he would, in the event of Queen Victoria's death, have been entitled to take up the full burden of kingship. In the eyes of the law he that day attained his legal majority as a sovereign *in posse*. Some confusion existed at the time, and still exists, with regard to this subject. In the case of a sovereign, there is a distinction between his coming of age and the attainment of his legal majority. The difficulty is best elucidated by an illustration. Had Queen Victoria died shortly after the birth of the Prince of Wales, the Prince would have been the Sovereign of the United Kingdom, but until the completion of his eighteenth year he would have been regarded as a minor, and a Protectorate or Regency would have been entrusted with the task of government. On his eighteenth birthday, however, he would have taken up the full duties of kingship, and the Regency or Protectorate would have been abolished. As Prince of Wales he did, therefore, obtain his legal majority on his eighteenth birthday, though, like his subjects, he did not come of age until he was twenty-one.

The confusion that exists on this subject has been enchanced by the references to the Prince of Wales in the correspondence of Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort. The customary view with regard to the notation of birthdays is that the birthday is given the number which represents the years completed on that day. November 9, 1859, being the day on which the Prince of Wales completed his eighteenth year, was, according to the customary system of notation, his eighteenth birthday. But the Queen and the Prince Consort regarded the matter quite differently. In their view, the birthday should be called after the year which was about to be begun. The day which saw the Prince of Wales exactly one year old was, according to their calculation, his second birthday. To his Royal parents, therefore, the Prince of Wales attained his legal majority, not on November 9, 1859, but on November 9, 1858. On that day the Prince Consort wrote to his son-in-law, the Prince of Prussia—afterwards the Emperor Frederick of Germany, who had married the Princess Royal on the previous January—in the following terms:

"I ought not to tease you just now with family trifles; still, I will let you know that Bertie, *who to-day solemnises his eighteenth birthday*, proposes to pay a fortnight's visit to his sister, and asks leave to present himself to you. It will not be a State, but purely a family visit, and we, therefore, beg you only to show him such slender courtesies as are suitable to a member, and a very young one, of the family. To-day he becomes a colonel in the Army (unattached), and will receive the Garter. Colonel Bruce, Lord Elgin's brother, has become his governor. Mr. Gibbs retires to-morrow."

Here it is stated clearly that, in the view of his parents, November 9, 1858, was the Prince of Wales's eighteenth birthday. They regarded it as the day on which he attained to manhood—the

THE WHITE LODGE, RICHMOND

It was here that King Edward, shortly before the attainment of his seventeenth birthday, settled down, "so as to be away from the world, and devote himself to study and prepare for a military examination."

day on which he assumed the toga virilis, and was emancipated from parental control. All that year careful preparations had been taken for this important moment of his life. In the early months arrangements had been made for his confirmation, which was solemnised on Maundy Thursday, April 1. On the previous day he was examined in the tenets of the faith before the Archbishop of Canterbury and his Royal parents. Gerald Wellesley, Dean of Windsor, conducted the examination, plying him with questions for a full hour, and the Prince Consort notes with pride "that his Royal Highness acquitted himself extremely well." Lord Derby and his two political rivals, Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell, were present at the Confirmation, which was conducted with great solemnity, and made a deep impression upon the mind of the young Prince. On the evening of that day he dined privately with his parents, according to the reverent custom of the Prince Consort, who did not like to appear in company either the evening before or on the day on which he took the Sacrament. The following day he received Holy Communion with Queen Victoria and Prince Albert.

The Prince's Confirmation

A week later, he was sent for a fortnight's holiday to Ireland. On his return, he settled down at White Lodge, in Richmond Park, "so as to be away from the world, and devote himself exclusively to study and prepare for a military examination." During these months at White Lodge he was kept severely to his work. It was the last period of preparation, and the Queen and the Prince Consort strained every effort to make that preparation thorough and complete. When his birthday was near at hand, the Queen wrote him a letter of loving advice and admonition. Reference is made to this incident in Greville's Memoirs, and is best reproduced in his own words. In the entry in his voluminous diary, under the date of November 4, he says:

"I hear the Queen has written a letter to the Prince of Wales, announcing to him his emancipation from parental authority and control, and that it is one of the most admirable letters that ever were penned. She tells him that he may have thought the rule they adopted for his education a severe one, but that his welfare was their only object, and, well knowing to what seductions of flattery he would eventually be exposed, they wished to prepare and strengthen his mind against them, that he was now to consider himself his own master, and that they should never intrude any advice upon him, although always ready to give it him whenever he thought fit to seek it. It was a very long letter, all in that tone, and it seems to have made a profound impression on the Prince, and to have touched his feelings to the quick. He brought it to Gerald Wellesley, in floods of tears, and the effect it produced is a proof of the wisdom which dictated its composition."

On the evening of November 8 the Prince of Wales left White Lodge for Windsor, where were assembled for the morrow's celebration the Duchess of Cambridge and her daughter, and several other distinguished guests. On the following day there appeared in the "Gazette" the announcement of his appointment by brevet to a colonelcy in the Army—an incident which was marked by an interesting cartoon in "Punch," entitled, "A Little Souvenir to H.R.H. Colonel the Prince of Wales." In this picture, Punch, in the uniform of a field-marshal, is portrayed in the act of presenting an enormous "Life of the Duke of Wellington" to the youthful soldier. At Windsor the birthday was celebrated by the firing of a *feu de joie* and a parade of troops. Afterwards, the Prince of Wales, accompanied by the Prince Consort and the Duke of Cambridge, went out shooting. The solemn bestowal of the Garter and a large dinner-party brought the events of a memorable day to a close. In London the birthday was celebrated by the flying of the Royal Standard at the Tower and Greenwich Hospital.

But, though apparently in the minds of his Royal parents, the Prince had now reached his majority, in the view of the public that event was not held to have taken place until the following year. So anxious were the people to celebrate in a fitting manner this important birthday of their future sovereign, that innumerable letters were sent to Lord Palmerston, inquiring whether it was the intention of the Government to make that day a general holiday. After some deliberation, Lord Palmerston announced the official attitude on the subject by replying to one of his correspondents in a letter which was published in the "Times." There he declared that the Government had not been advised to mark the eighteenth birthday of the Prince by any special act. There was to be no public holiday, and only the formal celebrations of the day would take place. Lord Palmerston, in making known this decision, acted, of course, under the direction of Queen Victoria, who had regarded the previous birthday as the one on which the Prince had attained his legal majority. It was not until now, however, that Parliament was asked to make a special provision for his Royal Highness by putting Marlborough House in order. It may be here noted that the provision made by Parliament for the Royal Princes and Princesses was not the gift of Parliament, but was voted under the conditions of the general financial settlement accepted at the beginning of the Queen's reign, according to which certain Crown lands were transferred to the nation. In providing for the Queen's children, Parliament simply fulfilled a contract.

KING EDWARD'S FIRST INDEPENDENT RESIDENCE

When King Edward attained his legal majority, in 1859, Parliament was asked to make special provision for him by putting Marlborough House in order. Up till that time, this mansion had been adapted to the purposes of a picture gallery; but, as it was now to become the residence of the heir to the throne, the collection of paintings which it contained was removed to South Kensington Museum.

Though no official order had been issued declaring the day to be a public holiday, it was observed as such at both Oxford and Cambridge, and amidst these rejoicings the boyhood of the Prince of Wales was brought to a close. Already he had learnt, through instruction and experience, the first principles of kingship; through the wisdom of his Royal parents he had been prepared for the great position he was destined to take in the pageant of a splendid history. From now onwards a new era opened in his life—the era of Royal responsibility.

The Passing of Boyhood

KING EDWARD IN HIS EIGHTEENTH YEAR, WHEN APPOINTED TO THE RANK OF COLONEL

Engraved from a photograph taken at Windsor by command of Queen Victoria

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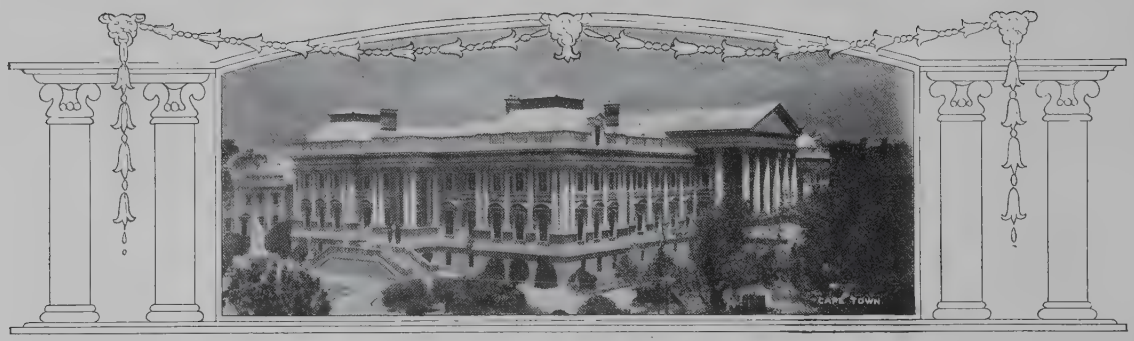


CHAPTER XVI

GREATER BRITAIN DURING KING EDWARD'S YOUTH

A Survey of Colonial Progress from the Year of the King's Birth to the Period of his Legal Majority

IN the year 1841 none of her Majesty's dominions over seas was in the enjoyment of anything in the nature of representative government, except those in the North American Continent; it was, accordingly, natural that these should have led the way in obtaining that control over their own affairs to which is given the name of responsible government. That is a term the meaning of which is perhaps not precisely apparent at first sight to the average reader who is unfamiliar with the technical phraseology of political students. Since the leading feature or characteristic of colonial history during the first Victorian period is the development of responsible government in all the greater colonies, it may be as well to open this chapter with a precise explanation of the meaning of the term.

The expression is elliptical. Every government is obviously "responsible" in the sense that it has responsibilities, and that there is someone to whom it must answer for its conduct of affairs. But, in the technical sense, a responsible government is one in which the members of the executive are responsible to the elected representatives of the people, and are, in effect, by them chosen and by them displaced from office. In other words, responsible government exists where the Ministers are appointed as holding views in harmony with those of the majority in a representative Chamber. In 1841 responsible government had been established within the British Isles for a century and a quarter; it had not yet found a place in any one of all the British dependencies. Everywhere the principal executive officers were still nominated either by the Governor as the Queen's representative, or by the Crown.

In the American provinces, which were already endowed with a Legislative Assembly of elected representatives, the demand for a responsible government had now become pressing. Lord Durham's report, the basis of the Canada Reunion Act, had laid down the principle in emphatic terms. Lord Durham had found himself unable "to understand how any English statesman could ever have imagined that representative and irresponsible government could be successfully combined." Nevertheless, the Act did not itself secure that desideratum. Governors were unable at the outset to solve to their own satisfaction the problem of reconciling their own responsibilities to the Crown with the appointment of Ministers responsible to the Colonial Assembly.

KING EDWARD AS A YOUTH IN THE UNIFORM OF COLONEL
From a portrait taken shortly before his visit to Canada.

The new Canadian Constitution established two Houses: a Legislative Council, consisting of twenty life members appointed by the Crown, and a Legislative Assembly of eighty-four members elected on a franchise with a low property qualification. There was also a property qualification for members. In the Assembly, Upper and Lower Canada were equally represented, although the population of the lower province was considerably larger; the French language, despite a similar objection, was excluded; and at the same time the united provinces became responsible for the

heavy debt of the upper province. Hence the reunion was hardly more warmly received in Lower Canada than in old days the Incorporating Union with England had been received in Scotland.

The doom of the last Melbourne Ministry was already sealed in England when the first United Parliament of Canada was opened in June, 1841, by Lord Sydenham, the Governor. The intention clearly was that the executive should be in harmony with public opinion; whereas Lord Sydenham himself took the view that it ought to be under his own control, and not under that of the Colonial Assembly. He was, however, prompt to recognise that colonial sentiment on the subject was strong; and when the Parliamentary leaders carried resolutions definitely affirming the principle of responsibility, he certainly at the close of which he held the office of Acting Governor-General during the vacancy before Lord Auckland's appointment. He had then retired from India, and successfully discharged the task of pacifying the irritation in Jamaica, which had been the outcome of the abolition of slavery.

But no man who has acquired the art of government in India can readily adapt himself to Western conceptions of self-government; and Metcalfe, in Canada, identified himself with the doctrine that the Governor, being responsible to the Crown, must act on his own judgment, whether or no that judgment corresponded with the public opinion of the colony and the views of the Ministry whom he found in office. Hence, at the outset, he ignored the advice of Ministers in distributing patronage; the Ministry resigned. After long delay, a new Ministry was appointed from the supporters

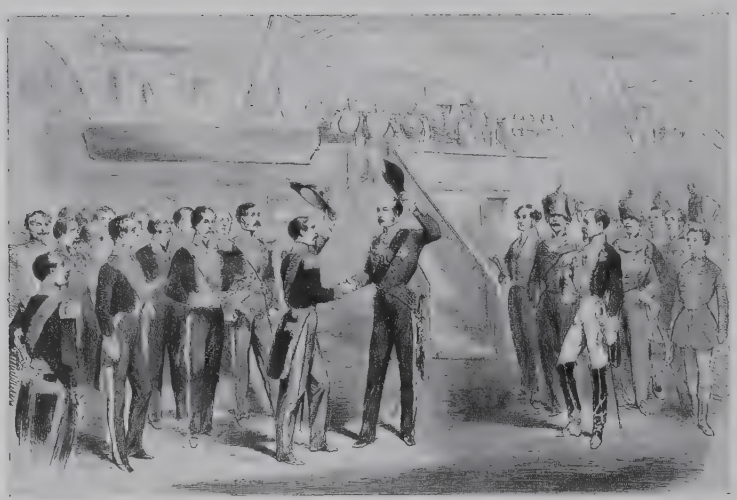
THE ROYAL FAMILY AT OSBORNE WHEN KING EDWARD WAS SIXTEEN YEARS OF AGE

Reproduced from a photograph by Messrs. Caldesi & Montecchi, taken by command of Queen Victoria in 1857.

raised no opposition. Within three months he died, as the result of an accident; and his successor, Sir Charles Bagot, was more definitely disposed to associate himself with the new doctrine. But Bagot, too, died in 1843, when he had already found himself in strong disagreement with the home authorities, and his place was taken by Sir Charles Metcalfe.

Both these appointments were made by the Peel Ministry, which had displaced that of Lord Melbourne; and Peel's Colonial Secretary was Lord Stanley, who later became the Earl of Derby. It was owing practically to Stanley's censure that Bagot desired to be released from the governorship. Metcalfe, whom Stanley chose to replace him, had behind him an exceedingly distinguished career in India of the Governor, the Assembly was dissolved, and the election gave Metcalfe a small majority. Unfortunately, the effect was to make the Opposition virulently hostile to the Governor-General himself, and to revive the sentiment of grievance against the home Government.

Ill-health compelled Metcalfe's retirement, in spite of emphatic endorsement of his policy by the Ministry at home. But this was at the moment when Peel was declaring his conversion on the subject of the Corn Laws, and there was simultaneously an acute quarrel on hand with the United States on the question of the Oregon boundary. The repeal of the Corn Laws was extremely disturbing to Canada, because her wheat had hitherto enjoyed a very substantial preference under the existing tariff; while



THE PRINCE CONSORT MEETING THE EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH AT BOULOGNE, SEPTEMBER 5, 1854

The Emperor and the Prince, says a contemporary record, raised their hats as soon as they perceived each other. The Prince Consort, who was attired in a Field-Marshal's uniform, on stepping ashore, again raised his hat; the Emperor then put out his hand, and a most cordial shake was exchanged. The batteries fired a salute of nineteen guns, and the military bands played "God save the Queen," the cheering never ceasing till the Imperial carriages had entered the Royal residence.

the restrictions on foreign shipping under the still unrepealed Navigation Act prevented Canada from seeking immediate compensation in other markets. It was fortunate, therefore, that when Russell's Ministry succeeded that of Peel, a Governor-General was chosen, in the person of Lord Elgin, who was prepared to recognise, and, so far as he could, to remedy grievances, and to give the fullest effect to the principle of responsible government. On this principle he acted from the moment of his arrival. A dissolution in the regular course gave in January, 1848, a large majority to the Ministers with whom Metcalfe had quarrelled. Lord Elgin thereupon introduced the practice recognised in England, and invited the leader of the victorious party to form an administration. The precedent thus set has never been departed from; and 1848 may be regarded decisively as the date which opens the era of the extension of responsible government to the Britains across the seas.

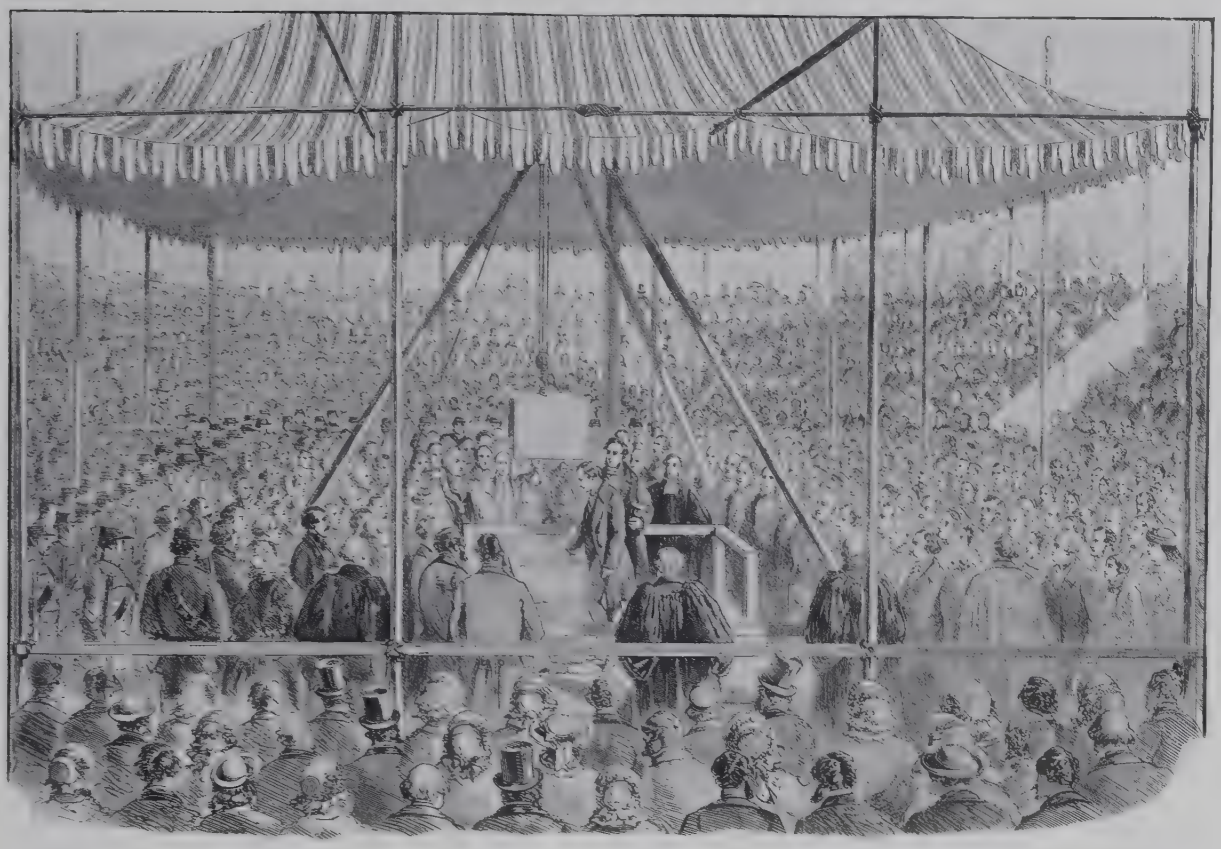
The principle, however, had already been acted upon in New Brunswick, as it had been by Bagot in Canada; and the same fight going on in Nova Scotia was terminated at the same moment and in the same way. There the champions of responsible government were Joseph Howe and James Boyle Uniacke, while Lord Falkland played the part of Metcalfe in Canada. The Russell Ministry withdrew Lord Falkland, and replaced him by Sir John Harvey; and when a dissolution gave a strong majority to Howe and Uniacke, Sir John entrusted the task of forming the administration to Uniacke. Responsible government was conceded to the third of the maritime provinces, Prince Edward Island, in 1851.

Canadian opinion is apt to hold that the diplomacy of Downing Street is not sufficiently alive to the interests of Canada. Periodically, disputes over boundary questions with the United States have become serious.

Sir Robert Peel's Government was responsible for the settlement of two such disputes; and in neither case were the colonists satisfied with the terms secured by the home Government. In the first case, not Canada proper, but New Brunswick was the colony immediately affected. The State of Maine borders on New Brunswick, and the question where the border line falls had never been settled. As

THE FIRST PUBLIC CEREMONY OF THE FUTURE KING: PRESENTING COLOURS TO THE ROYAL CANADIAN REGIMENT

The incident pictured in the above illustration represents the first public act of the future King Edward, and shows him presenting colours at Shorncliffe, on January 10, 1859, to the regiment raised in Canada, and called the 100th, or Prince of Wales Royal Canadian Regiment of Foot. A contemporary record of the interesting ceremony says that "the youthful Prince performed his part in a most able manner, the whole tenor of his bearing being cool, manly, and dignified, such as would have done credit to one over whose head forty summers had passed," and that "it made a great impression upon every officer and man in the regiment."



KING EDWARD, WHEN PRINCE OF WALES, LAYING THE FIRST STONE OF THE LAMBETH SCHOOL OF ART IN JULY, 1860

late as 1835 a quite reasonable proposal had been made by the United States President, Jackson, which would, in fact, have secured to New Brunswick the greater part of the territory in dispute, the dispute itself arising from the indefinite terms in the original treaty of 1783. But this settlement was not adopted, and during the following years the State of Maine proceeded on the theory that the debatable land was Maine territory. Naturally there were serious collisions in consequence, and matters went so far that Nova Scotia voted a sum of money to support New Brunswick in maintaining its rights. The home Government, however, intervened; and by the Ashburton Treaty of August, 1842, virtually surrendered everything that Maine in its most extravagant moments had ever dreamed of claiming. Documents have since come to light which show that at the time of the original treaty the boundary in Benjamin Franklin's mind would have conceded to Great Britain even more than the New Brunswickers claimed. It is not, therefore, without reason that Canadians still point to the Ashburton Treaty as an example of misplaced amiability and concession by the Mother Country at the expense of the colonies.

The Ashburton Treaty Surrender

The same reproach, however, cannot fairly be applied in the case of the second dispute concerned with the Oregon boundary in the Far West. It was exceedingly difficult to arrive at any clear basis on which either the United States or Great Britain could claim prior rights in respect of the great Western territory lying between the forty-second and fifty-fourth parallels of latitude. A compromise of some sort was the only conceivable solution. In the British view the Columbia River would have given a satisfactory boundary. The United States claimed parallel 54° 40′; and in 1845 it appeared probable that nothing short of war would induce them to accept any compromise at all. More reasonable counsels, however, prevailed, and in 1846, when Lord Cathcart was Governor of Canada, between the time of Metcalfe's retirement and that of Lord Elgin's appointment, the treaty was signed which fixed parallel 49° as the boundary from the Great Lakes to the west coast, and gave the Island of Vancouver to Great Britain. Opinions will, no doubt, always differ as to the merits of a treaty which is claimed as a decisive victory sometimes for the British and sometimes for the United States. The announcement of the treaty itself was almost simultaneous with the fall of Peel's Free Trade Government. Even in this treaty, however, there were indefinite expressions which afterwards gave rise to disagreements in respect of the islands in the channel between Vancouver and the mainland, which were settled in favour of the United States, when referred to the arbitration of William, the first German Emperor, in 1871.

With the establishment of responsible government came other changes. The home Government which had established it, in 1849 repealed the Navigation Laws, and thus removed a serious check on the expansion of Canadian commerce. Before that date the colonies in America had been granted, as a necessary corollary of British Free Trade, the right of reducing or removing tariffs on imports; and they thus virtually acquired a complete control over commercial regulations, as distinguished from the taxation which since the American War of Independence had been recognised as lying in the hands of the colonists themselves.

A Concession to French Canadians

The Ministry which took office at the beginning of 1848 removed the objectionable restriction on the use of the French language, and also created violent opposition among the extreme self-styled loyalists by giving compensation to persons who had suffered, as rebels, for sympathising with the agitation which had issued in Papineau's revolt.

A ROYAL VISIT TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE: THE ARRIVAL OF THE PRINCE AT CLUMBER

In October, 1861, the Prince of Wales paid a visit to the Duke of Newcastle at Clumber, Nottinghamshire, the above illustration showing the arrival of the Heir to the Throne at the ducal residence, where he spent several very enjoyable days.

had received representative government on the same lines as New South Wales; and Victoria, as the new colony was called, was placed on the same footing; Western Australia alone remaining under the old system, as not having yet attained a sufficiently advanced stage. New Zealand, as being outside the whole Australian group proper, and having a separate development of its own, will have its story told separately.

It was fortunately recognised that, with the rapid growth of the colonies, there was every probability that the system set up by the Act of 1850 would very soon require modification. Wisely, therefore, the Act empowered the Legislative Councils to draw up such schemes as seemed suitable for new Constitutions. Such new Constitutions would require the assent of the Crown, and perhaps of the Imperial Parliament, but the separate colonies were empowered separately to make each its own scheme for itself. Accordingly, in 1854, all the four colonies sent in their proposals, and the four new Constitutions received the Royal assent and became law.

They did not materially differ. All adopted the two-Chamber system, with a Lower Chamber which was purely elective. South Australia required no property qualification; Victoria required a comparatively high one for the members. All intended the representative Chamber to control finance. With regard to the constitution of the Upper Chambers, the differences were more marked. New South Wales rather leaned to the idea of a hereditary Chamber, but finally adopted a Legislative Council of nominees holding office for life. The other three colonies chose to have a second elected Chamber, but with a high property qualification.

The aim of these Constitution makers was to establish a responsible government on a system as nearly as possible reproducing that of the British Cabinet Government, a system which really exists only in virtue of conventions and traditions which must be scrupulously observed. Naturally enough, some little time elapsed before the new

In 1854 the Ministry was formed by a combination of the Centre Parties, really under the leadership of John Macdonald; they have the credit of accomplishing what the Reform Party could scarcely have dared to do, and settling the question of the Clergy Reserve by appropriating the property to secular purposes, while assigning adequate compensation to such of the clergy as were fairly entitled to it. In like manner they abolished the old French seigniorial system, giving due compensation to the seigniors. About the same time the British principle was established of retaining the officers of public departments in their position without regard to political changes.

Passing from Canada to the other side of the world, it has already been seen that in 1841 the Australian continent was divided into three colonies: the eastern, New South Wales; the central, called South Australia; and the western, called Western Australia. The southern province of New South Wales, called Port Phillip, was not yet separate; nor had the northern portion, now called Queensland, reached a sufficiently advanced stage of colonisation to think of parting from it. Tasmania, then better known as Van Diemen's Land, was a separate colony, and that of New Zealand had just been established. All were in the Crown Colony stage, under a Governor with a nominated Executive Council, and a nominated Legislative Council which had passed the stage of being merely consultative.

In 1842 the first step was taken towards responsible government by the grant to New South Wales of the principle of representation in the Legislative Council. This was now to consist of thirty-six members, one-third nominated and two-thirds elected, on a property qualification franchise. One-fourth of the elected members were to be from the Melbourne or Port Phillip district. Thus the two systems, of nomination and representation, were combined in a single Chamber. In 1851 Port Phillip, or Melbourne, was formally separated from New South Wales. In the previous year South Australia and Tasmania

WORKSOP'S DEMONSTRATION IN HONOUR OF ENGLAND'S FUTURE KING

At the conclusion of his visit to the Duke of Newcastle the Prince drove to Worksop Station, and all along the route were thousands of people who "cheered loud, long, and enthusiastically." A contemporary chronicler declared that "never since the days when the old Abbey Church of Worksop was filled with priests and monks have there been such gay doings and rejoicings on saint day or holiday as the ancient town witnessed on Saturday last"—the occasion of the Royal procession through its streets.

machinery got into thorough working order, because the principles of Cabinet Government are discoverable not from laws and statutes, but only from a very careful examination of Parliamentary practice; and the unwritten conventions do not *prima facie* present themselves as fundamental rules.

Convict Element in Australia

Queensland was separated from New South Wales in 1859, and at once received the same status as her elder sisters. Western Australia had to wait till 1870 before she had fulfilled the conditions required for the grant of representative government, and received full responsible government twenty years later.

The Australian colonies had first come into existence as convict settlements, but the convict element had long become a quite subordinate one. In South Australia it had never been admitted. In New South Wales transportation was abolished in 1840, and an attempt to revive it in 1849 was received with such indignation by the colonists that it completely fell through. Tasmania did not succeed in ridding herself of the incubus till 1853. Only in Western Australia, and in the Moreton Bay district—the nucleus of what afterwards developed into Queensland—was there a demand for convict labour, but that demand had perished before Queensland became a separate colony. In Western Australia, however, which developed slowly, the demand became active in the later forties. Consequently, the colony was adopted by the home Government as a convenient outlet for convicts and convict establishments. The convict establishments were maintained by the expenditure of the home Government, and the system continued to be popular in the colony, which required cheap labour. At the same time it very seriously affected the constitution of the West Australian population, and it was not till the abolition of the system in 1865 that Western Australia began to be in a position to look for recognition such as the other colonies had achieved. The maintenance of the convict system there, though it brought with it appreciable advantages, considerably delayed the time when Perth should become the capital of a colony enjoying responsible government.

During the greater part of the forties the Governments and the colonists generally were in disagreement on the land question. In 1851 began those discoveries which fundamentally altered the course of Australian history. The colonial population had been expanding, but there had not as yet been any great flood of immigration. A considerable proportion of the most energetic arrivals had been

QUEEN VICTORIA AND PRINCE CONSORT RECEIVING VOLUNTEER OFFICERS AT ST. JAMES'S PALACE

The interesting event depicted in the above illustration took place on March 7, 1860, when about 2,600 officers of the Volunteer Movement were presented to Queen Victoria. The Prince Consort and the Prince of Wales appeared at the levee in Volunteer uniforms, the former as Colonel of the Hon. Artillery Company, and the latter as Colonel of the Oxford University Corps.

people who intended not to settle down permanently, but to make their fortune in the new territory, and then go home to enjoy it in the old country. Of this group were most of the squatters. The gradual appearance of agriculturalists was introducing a new element of a more permanent, if less adventurous, type; but practically an industrial population, a manufacturing population, had not yet come into existence. It was simpler to import what was required in the way of manufactures than to set about the production of it locally.

Australia's Development

Now the gold discoveries in California in 1848 suggested to certain minds that it might be worth while to make active investigations as to the existence of gold in Australia, a possibility or probability which had already been affirmed by scientific inquirers. Experience in California directed a

New South Wales settler named Hargraves to examine a spot where he soon satisfied himself that gold was to be found. He placed his information before the Government, a Government expert verified it (May, 1851), and from that moment began the rush for the gold-diggings. The Government proclamation as to licences to dig for gold was issued on May 22.

Gold in New South Wales

Within a few days a second and a third goldfield had been discovered, followed in July by the discovery of rock as well as of alluvial gold. This was in New South Wales. Gold discoveries began in other colonies, but the richest finds were in Victoria.

No sooner was it known that gold was to be had in large quantity, than the fever fell upon practically the whole working population of the colonies. There was a general rush to the diggings, and there was hardly anyone left away from the goldfields but women and children. Nobody would do any ordinary work—even the ordinary administrative officers deserted their employments—and nothing could be done unless enormous wages were paid. There was a violent agitation against the cost of the licences, and the general excitement reached a pitch in which the preservation even of a semblance of law and order was threatened. It was not till 1855 that the Government had recovered complete control, after something very like an organised insurrection, at the Eureka stockade, had been prevented by Captain Thomas at the end of 1854; and legislation in 1855 reorganised the whole system of licensing and of government in the goldfields.

Not only from the colonies themselves, but from Europe also, a swarm of gold-seekers poured in. The great increase of a population in want of all sorts of supplies and ready to pay recklessly for its wants, together with the need for labour to carry on the ordinary operations of the colonists as the fever began to abate, began to attract a population of a new type; a market was created for the home production of goods which had hitherto only been imported, and the industrial development of the colonies began.

In many respects New Zealand presents a contrast to her larger neighbour. The fundamental difference is in the character of the native populations. For practical purposes the Australian and Tasmanian natives hardly counted; physically and intellectually they were of too low a type to stand in the way of the advance of the white man. But the Maoris in New Zealand counted for a great deal. Their political organisation was by no means contemptible; the Maoris had a very definite conception of law and custom, of property and of personal rights; and they could not be ignored either in theory or practice. It was under definite terms of a definite treaty formally accepted by Maori chiefs, who perfectly well understood what they were agreeing to, that a British Government was introduced into New Zealand. Nor was there on the part of the Maoris any disposition to run counter to the treaty. It was British settlers who wished to drive a coach and four through the treaty when they found that the natives insisted on regarding the pledges it contained as binding guarantees. The Treaty of Waitangi was made at the beginning of 1840; at the end of that year New Zealand had been constituted a colony, with a virtually autocratic governor who had a small nominated Legislative Council which was practically consultative only. The settling of colonists was mainly the work of the New Zealand Company.

KING EDWARD AS A VOLUNTEER: IN CAMP AT THE CURRAGH

It was a great disappointment to the youthful Prince of Wales, who was always fond of soldiering, that he was not permitted to devote himself to a military career. But, if he could not become a Regular, he could, at any rate, be a well-trained Volunteer, and joining the movement himself he persuaded his companions to follow his example, there being at the time a fear that Napoleon III. might attempt the invasion of England, and the Volunteer Movement had been started with a view to meet this contingency. In addition to joining the Cambridge University Corps, after his return from his American tour in 1861, the Prince spent the year's Long Vacation on military duty at the Curragh, Kildare; and in August, Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort went over to Ireland to see him. The × indicates the Prince in the above group.

Troubles began promptly enough when the company's agents declared that they had bought lands from Maori chiefs which the said chiefs denied having sold. There was a collision between some of the whites and some of the Maoris; the accidental discharge of an English musket caused the Maoris to fire upon the English; and, but for the refusal of the then acting Governor to make any attempt to punish the Maoris when he found that the English had been demonstrably in the wrong, it is not improbable that the British settlement would have been wiped out. He assured the chiefs that their rights under the treaty would be maintained, and they demanded nothing more. The Governor who arrived in 1843 was

Trouble with the Maoris

less independent, and allowed himself to give way to the demands of the settlers. But, fortunately, at the end of 1845 he was superseded by Captain George Grey, whose capacity had already been tested in the Governorship of South Australia.

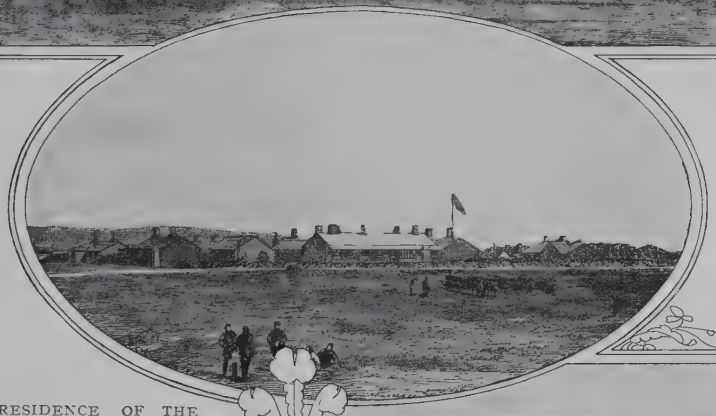
The essential point of the Treaty of Waitangi was that the Maoris accepted British government on condition of their retaining their property in the land, which could only be alienated to the British by purchase. But there was no private property in land, which belonged not to individuals, but to tribes, and could be sold only by the action of the tribe. But the English settlers persisted in demanding the recognition of purchases from individuals, in clear disregard of the treaty terms. Hence in parts of the island the Maoris were actually in arms. Grey reassured the chiefs, partly by entrusting them with Government work; they were then ready to help him in suppressing others who were persistently hostile.

Grey, however, was almost immediately in antagonism with the home Government which succeeded that of Sir Robert Peel, and found himself compelled to refuse to enforce the land regulations promulgated by them at the instance of the New Zealand Company, a course in which he was supported by Bishop Selwyn and by the Chief Justice. The point at issue was the proposal to treat as Crown lands all such as were not held under a valid title—practically ignoring the validity of existing Maori titles.

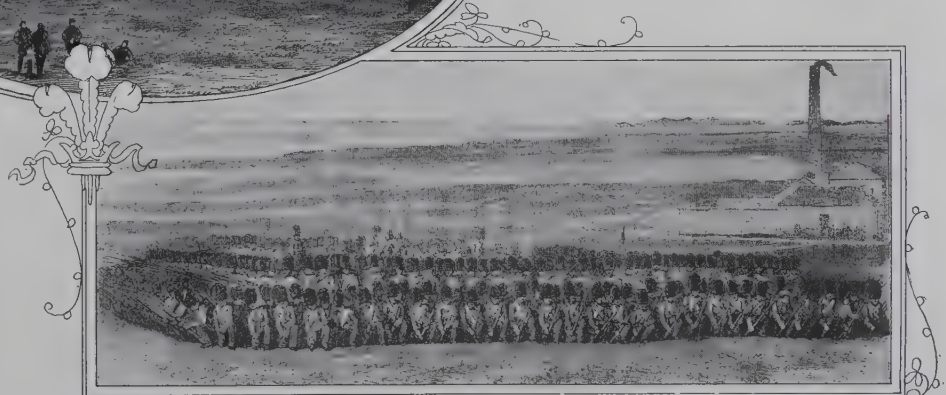
It was the home Government that had to give way. Nor was it more successful in issuing, again at the same instance, a new and absolutely unworkable Constitution, which it was obliged to cancel within eighteen months, during which time the Governor had practically refused to act upon its provisions.

ARRIVAL OF THE PRINCE AT KINGSTOWN HARBOUR, JUNE 29

THE PRINCE OF WALES PRESENTING COLOURS TO THE 36TH REGIMENT AT THE CURRAGH CAMP



THE RESIDENCE OF THE PRINCE AT THE CURRAGH



SQUARE OF THE FIRST BATTALION OF GRENADIER GUARDS, TO WHICH THE YOUNG PRINCE WAS ATTACHED

KING EDWARD CALLED TO THE BAR: THE OPENING OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE LIBRARY

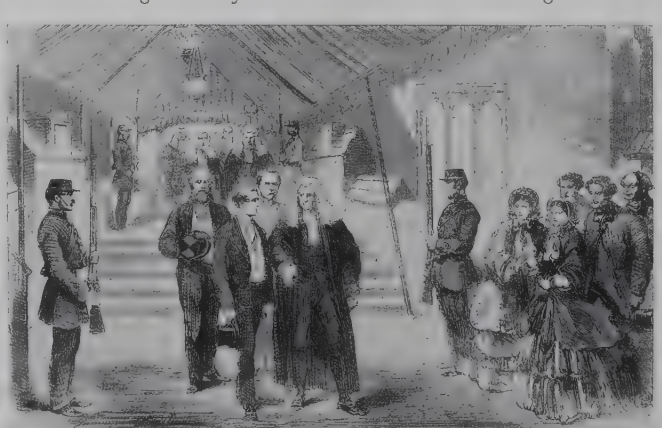
On Thursday, September 30, 1861, the future King Edward paid a visit to the Middle Temple, where he met with a most enthusiastic reception. The purpose of the visit was the calling of the youthful Prince to the Bar, his election as a Bencher of the Middle Temple, and the inauguration of the new Library. In the above illustration, Mr. Anderson, Q.C., the Treasurer, is seen reading a loyal address, after replying to which the Prince performed the ceremony and formally opened the new building.

Fortunately, the condition of the New Zealand Company brought about its dissolution by statute in 1851; and in 1852 New Zealand was given a Constitution based on the scheme sketched by Sir George Grey himself, on whom knighthood had recently been conferred. The colony was divided into six provinces, each with an elective Council, and an elective Superintendent, holding office for four years, and having limited powers of legislation. For the whole colony there was a Legislative Council nominated for life by the Governor, and an elected House of Representatives. Certain powers were reserved to the Governor. New Zealand was the first of the Australasian colonies in which the two-Chamber system was established.

Sir George Grey left New Zealand at the end of 1853, to assume almost immediately afterwards a position of no less importance in another region of the Empire, of which the history during these years now demands attention. The Cape Colony at the beginning of the reign of Queen Victoria may be regarded as having for its boundaries the Orange River on the north, and the Fish River on the east. Beyond the Fish River, between the mountains and the sea, were Kaffir tribes, with the Zulu power on the north-east, in the land round the Tugela. Beyond the Orange River the warlike Matabele had established a merciless dominion over the more peaceful tribes who had occupied the country before their arrival. The Boer stalwarts, who trekked from the colony in 1836, drove the Matabele into remoter regions across the River Limpopo. Then, turning towards the sea, they had effected a settlement in what is now Natal—where at that time a very small number of British had planted themselves—after giving, on what is known as Dingan's Day, at the stream called the Blood River, an exceedingly stern lesson to the Zulu tyrant Dingan. Here the Dutch had set up a Republic; but here they were not allowed to remain. In 1841 the British compelled them to retire, on the general hypothesis that they were still British subjects and had no right to set up an authority except as under the British flag. In 1843 Natal was formally occupied and placed under a definite administration. The Dutch retired across the Drakensberg, to regions where they were beyond the reach of the British.

The British Government in those days had no desire to extend its territories or responsibilities in South Africa. It did not, however, at all approve of its own subjects retiring into remoter regions and setting up for themselves. On the other hand, there was a prevalent theory in England that the Kaffir races only required to be properly influenced by missionaries in order to become civilised and virtuous communities. Hence sprang the idea that by setting up a girdle of native states it would be possible to prevent a continuation of the Boer exodus, to induce the emigrants to return, and generally to serve the cause of Christianity.

At this stage, then, the able Basuto Chief Moshesh was instituted as sovereign over a large tract on the Upper Orange River; and to the westward there was set up the Griqua State, of which the population was of a hybrid character, Hottentot and negro ancestry predominating, but with some admixture of European blood. Unfortunately, white settlers ignored the authority alike of Basuto and of Griqua; while the other Basuto chiefs subordinated to Moshesh were not at all inclined to submit to him as a superior, although, under the ægis of the Government, he was able greatly to extend and consolidate his



THE PRINCE LEAVING THE NEW LIBRARY AFTER THE CEREMONY

KING EDWARD VII.

Drawn from life by Mr. Harold Speed

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authority. As regards the purpose with which they had been instituted, the Treaty States were a complete failure, while they really introduced an additional source of friction.

Between Adam Kok, the Griqua sovereign, the Boer settlers, Moshesh, and the recalcitrant Basuto chiefs, each of them with missionaries pleading their own particular cause with the Cape Governor, the friction in fact became so acute that a change was absolutely necessary. In the Griqua territory the settlers were formed into a separate community under a British Governor, while they paid a sort of tribute to Adam Kok, an arrangement which on the whole worked satisfactorily. As concerned Moshesh, however, a settlement nominally on the same lines was practically ineffective.

It was the Kosa Kaffirs, however, beyond the Fish River, who really brought about a change in the management of South African affairs. What is known as the seventh Kaffir War at last induced the home Government to realise that administrators on the spot were likely to grasp the necessities of the position somewhat better than theorists at home; and Sir Harry Smith, who had recently distinguished himself, as has been seen, in the first Sikh War, was sent out as Governor.

Sir Harry Smith had already valuable experience of South African affairs as the subordinate of one of the ablest of governors, Sir Benjamin D'Urban. He reverted to Sir Benjamin's policy, which had been thwarted by the home authorities, and he promptly converted the district between the Fish River and the Kei River into the British province of Kaffraria, though leaving the chiefs a very considerable authority. In the Treaty States, he got rid of Adam Kok by paying him compensation—the Griqua "Captain" took a much keener interest in cash than in sovereignty. The Dutch, who had known Sir Harry of old, and liked him, acquiesced in being converted into the "Orange River Sovereignty" under British administration. The stalwarts to the northward resented British control, but finding themselves unable to resist it in the field, betook themselves across the Vaal River, where they continued to regard themselves as an independent Republic under the leadership of Andries Pretorius.

The Dutch Beyond the Vaal

In 1850, however, Kaffraria revolted, and there followed a sanguinary war which lasted for two years. At last the Kaffir resistance was exhausted, and at the conclusion of the war a firm government was established in Kaffraria. The suppression of this revolt placed fresh forces at the disposal of Sir George Cathcart, who had succeeded Sir Harry Smith, and who in the meantime had been brought face to face with a serious rising in the Basuto territory, where Moshesh, being determined to consolidate his own power, had fomented quarrels between his own followers and recalcitrant Basuto chiefs. Marching into the Basuto territory, Sir George Cathcart seized a considerable amount of cattle, and then met with a sharp check. The astute Moshesh, who now saw more to be gained for his personal ascendency by British friendship than by British hostility, took advantage of the position to ask for peace as a favour. Cathcart was anxious for peace, and conceded it.

On this there followed the curious proceedings by which the Orange River Sovereignty, established as an outcome of the Sand River Convention, held on January 17, 1852, was converted into the Orange Free State. The home Government wanted to rid itself of responsibility for the territory. The loyalist inhabitants protested against being cast adrift and left to protect themselves against the tender mercies of a power so strong as that of Moshesh was becoming. An anti-British party was practically worked up by the British Commissioner who had been sent out to deal with the question; a separatist assembly was collected, and on February 23, 1854, the Bloemfontein Convention created the Orange Free State.

Origin of the Orange Free State

In accordance with the general principles which actuated the home Government in its relation to the colonies at this period, a new Constitution was promulgated for the Cape Colony in 1853, by which it received two Chambers, both elective, whose assent was thenceforth necessary for legislation. The Governor's Executive Council, however, continued to be nominated from home. Responsible government did not come till 1872.

THE FIRST CAPE PARLIAMENT: THE OPENING CEREMONY IN THE STATE ROOM AT GOVERNMENT HOUSE CAPE TOWN, JULY 1, 1854

From a contemporary sketch in the "Illustrated London News."

BUCKINGHAM PALACE: THE STATELY LONDON RESIDENCE OF THE BRITISH SOVEREIGN

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CHAPTER XVII

EUROPE AFTER THE CRIMEAN WAR

The Balance of Political Parties in the United Kingdom; Britain's War with China; Napoleon III. and the Struggle for Italian Liberty; and the First Shadow of the Franco-Prussian War

THE Aberdeen Ministry had been forced into the contest with Russia; it was destined to fall in trying to carry through a campaign which it did not approve, and could not control. The departmental inefficiencies which the early months of the war made so glaringly apparent created uneasiness, not only in the country, but in the Cabinet. The Duke of Newcastle, who had been placed at the head of the War Department, which was now separated completely for the first time from the Colonial Office, not unnaturally figured in the popular imagination as the author of the confusion that had characterised the opening of the struggle. In the Ministry itself Lord Aberdeen and Mr. Gladstone were opposed to the war on account of their distrust of the Turks and their sympathy with the Sultan's Christian subjects. Lord John Russell was uneasy in a Government whose affairs he had controlled, nominally, at least, for nearly six years. Lord Palmerston, on the other hand, was for the prosecution of the war with all that vigour and force which he himself possessed. In the mind of the public he was regarded as the one man capable of carrying the campaign to a triumphant conclusion, and, in the storm of indignation which began gradually to rise, the Home Secretary was always exempted from popular censure. At least one Cabinet Minister recognised the position of Lord Palmerston, and in the early autumn of 1854 Lord John Russell advocated the substitution of Lord Palmerston for the Duke of Newcastle as head of the War Department.

While the political situation was rapidly reaching a climax, the country was divided between expressing indignation at the conduct of the war and in providing funds for the soldiers and sailors. Early in October, at the instigation of Sir Robert Peel, "The Times" had opened a relief fund for the sick and wounded, and obtained subscriptions amounting to some £25,000. Before this had all been expended, the Prince Consort busied himself in placing this much-needed relief on a more business-like footing. With his usual energy and ability for organisation, a Royal Commission was issued for the establishment of a Patriotic Fund for the relief of the orphans and widows of soldiers, sailors, and marines who might fall in the war. The appeal was warmly supported by the nation; funds poured in steadily, and bazaars, sales of work, and concerts helped to swell the offerings. The members of the Royal Family took an active part in all these various patriotic enterprises. Both the Prince of Wales and the Princess Royal contributed to the bazaars drawings and pictures, which were sold at high figures. Eventually the Patriotic Fund rose to above a million and a quarter, and proved fruitful in alleviating the distress caused by the war.

THE EMPEROR AND EMPRESS OF THE FRENCH

But this patriotic movement was not without its opponents. Bright, from conscientious motives, had refrained from endorsing the popular temper

with regard to the war, and, staunch in his peace principles, had refused to budge from the position he had taken up at the first—that the attitude of Great Britain towards the Near Eastern question should have been one of non-intervention.

But the conduct of Bright and the Peace Party, of which he was the leader, did not hamper the Government to such an extent as the attitude of Lord John Russell. His position as ex-Prime Minister and Leader of the House of Commons was one which he found difficult to support. He had expected the resignation of Lord Aberdeen and a summons from the Queen to take over the government of the country; but two years had passed, and Lord Aberdeen had not resigned. He had seen, with tears in his eyes, his Reform Bill once more set aside, and the publication of his correspondence with the Prime Minister, urging the latter to substitute Lord Palmerston for the Duke of Newcastle, had been received by the Cabinet with feelings of unanimous hostility. Early in December he threatened to resign, and it seemed, in consequence, that at a critical crisis in the war the Government would be turned out of office.

Lord John Russell's Disappointment

A stormy scene took place between Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston; there appeared to be no way out of the difficulty. The Queen was greatly concerned at the state of affairs, and the whole political world was on tenterhooks of anticipation. Five days later, to the surprise of everybody, Lord John announced his intention of retaining office.

THE RULERS OF BRITAIN AND OF FRANCE AT THE OPERA IN LONDON

Arising out of their common interests in the war against Russia, a kindly feeling sprang up between Britain and France, the rulers of the two countries exchanging visits of friendship. On April 16, 1855, the Emperor Napoleon III. and Empress Eugénie arrived in England, visiting Queen Victoria at Windsor Castle, and in the above picture they are shown with the Queen and the Prince Consort at the Royal Italian Opera on April 19. In the following August Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort visited France, receiving there a most hearty welcome.

The session closed two days before Christmas with a heated debate on the Foreign Enlistment Act, an Act which authorised the forming and drilling of a force of 15,000 foreigners in this country. It was opposed virulently in both Houses, and was only allowed to pass after some amendments had been made and the proposed number had been reduced to 10,000. Its opponents were justified by subsequent events, for the result of the Act was costly and comparatively worthless. When, a month later, the House reassembled, the opposition to the Government had increased. It took the form of a motion, emanating from Mr. Roebuck, for the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the Government's conduct of the war. The Government opposed the motion, and might have carried the day had not the sudden resignation of Lord John Russell rendered such resistance unavailing. His abandonment of his colleagues at this juncture was disastrous. Lord Palmerston characterised his action as peculiarly ill-timed, and as likely to "exhibit to the world a melancholy spectacle of disorganisation among our political men at home, similar to that which had prevailed among our military men abroad."

The resolution for the appointment of a committee of inquiry was, however, proceeded with. The debate was long and spirited, but, in spite of the eloquence of Gladstone, the motion was carried by 305 to 148. The Government immediately resigned, and to the Queen fell the difficult task of finding a new Minister. For nearly nine days, in the middle of a great war, the country was virtually without a Government. Lord Derby, who was first sent for, endeavoured to secure the co-operation of Lord Palmerston, but the latter, after some meditation, refused the offer. Gladstone and Sidney Herbert also declined, and Lord Derby abandoned his attempt. Lord Lansdowne also failed. Lord John Russell was then sent for. The Whig Leader, who had hoped and believed that he could form a Government without the aid of the Peelites, discovered that it was impossible to get together a Ministry under his leadership. As the days went by the situation became exceedingly critical. The effect on the Continent was at once seen. A conference at Vienna, for the purpose of discussing the "Four Points" which were to be the basis of peace, was in process of assembling. The attitude that Great Britain was likely to take up was under discussion with Count Walewski, the French representative. "What influence," the Count is reported to have answered, "can a country like England pretend to exercise which has no army and no Government?" The story was circulated in England, and enhanced the general uneasiness. It was clear that a man strong in the support of public confidence was required at the head of the Government. The Queen sent for Lord Palmerston.

In the new Ministry Gladstone was Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Clarendon retained the office of Foreign Affairs, while Lord Panmure united under his authority for the first time the formerly distinct offices of Secretary of War and Secretary of State for the War Department. Lord John Russell was sent as British representative to the Conference at Vienna, and the Palmerston administration commenced its duties under the most favourable auspices. But Mr. Roebuck refused to withdraw his resolution for a committee of inquiry, which was subsequently appointed, and for some months conducted its investigations in public. Ultimately it found, by the casting vote of the chairman, that the late Cabinet, when directing the expedition to the Crimea, had had no adequate information as to the force they would have to encounter there. A rider was added proposing to visit with severe reprehension every member of the late Cabinet; this, however, was parried by carrying the previous question.

Death of the Tsar Nicholas

Great hopes had been held out that the Conference assembled at Vienna would succeed in finding a settlement to the war. But before the Conference had opened the news reached England that on March 2 the Tsar Nicholas had died. It was thought that with his death the necessity

THE MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCESS ROYAL TO PRINCE FREDERICK WILLIAM OF PRUSSIA ON JANUARY 25 1858
From the painting by John Phillips, R.A.

of prolonging the war would cease. The negotiations, however, at Vienna failed to substantiate this view. Russia refused to consent to the third of the Four Points, by which her preponderance of power in the Black Sea was to be put an end to. Austria had proposed, as a way out of the difficulty, that Russia should not increase her naval forces in the Black Sea beyond the number actually there in 1853, and that any such increase should be regarded by Austria as a *casus belli*. The proposal was utterly valueless to Great Britain and France, but both Lord John Russell and the representative of France lent their influence to the Austrian suggestion, without having obtained the consent and approval of their respective Governments. Towards the end of April the Conference broke up, and Lord John Russell returned to England, where he employed language quite out of keeping with the policy he had supported at Vienna.

The Vienna Conference

On the 6th of July, on the motion of Mr. Milner Gibson, the question of Lord John Russell's attitude at the Vienna Conference was brought up for discussion. Cobden attacked him indignantly; Disraeli described him as "a man who had quietly pocketed his own opinion, and had consented to remain in a Cabinet of war as a Minister of peace." Lord Palmerston attempted a defence of his colleague, though realising its futility. Four days later Sir E. Bulwer Lytton gave notice of a motion, "that the conduct of the Minister in the recent negotiations at Vienna has, in the opinion of this House, shaken the confidence of this country in those to whom its affairs are entrusted." Anticipating the effect of the debate, Lord John Russell resigned, and his place was taken at the Colonial Office by Sir William Molesworth.

In April, 1855, the Emperor and Empress of the French visited England, and were received with cordial enthusiasm by all sections of the population. The visit had been encouraged by the British Government in order that they might be in a better position to induce the Emperor to abandon his proposal of going to the Crimea and assuming command of the allied armies. At a Council of War held at Windsor he was unanimously opposed by all present, and on his return to France he announced that he had decided to remain at home. The Queen was very favourably impressed by both the Emperor and the Empress, though the Prince Consort was less enthusiastic in his estimate of the third Napoleon. In August the visit was returned. Queen Victoria, accompanied by her Consort, the Prince of Wales, and the Princess Royal, were received in person at Boulogne by the Emperor. Their reception was warmly enthusiastic, and the Royal party carried away with them charming memories of their stay in Paris. On the Prince of Wales, the impression created was destined never to be eradicated, and his popularity with all sections of the French people, and the influence that that sentiment has had on the peace of Europe, may be said to date from the occasion of this visit. Queen Victoria records that the Emperor was so kind to the Prince of Wales that he became devoted to him, and that it was with difficulty that he could be induced to return home. In a letter to Baron Stockmar she also commented on "the most extraordinary success" of the young Prince.

Before the close of 1855 negotiations for peace were commenced. On February 26 of the next year the Congress of Paris opened, and on March 30 the Crimean War came to an end. That this disastrous conflict did not permanently embitter the feelings of the nations engaged in it was shown by the renewed relations of friendship with Russia, these being emphasised by the presence of Lord Granville as special ambassador at the coronation of the Tsar Alexander at Moscow in September.

Tsar Alexander Crowned at Moscow

Trouble had arisen with America over the Foreign Enlistment Bill. As a result of that measure unauthorised recruiting had taken place in the United States. For some time our relations with the United States had been strained in connection with British operations in Central America. The charge that British officials had induced citizens of the United States to go to Canada that they might there

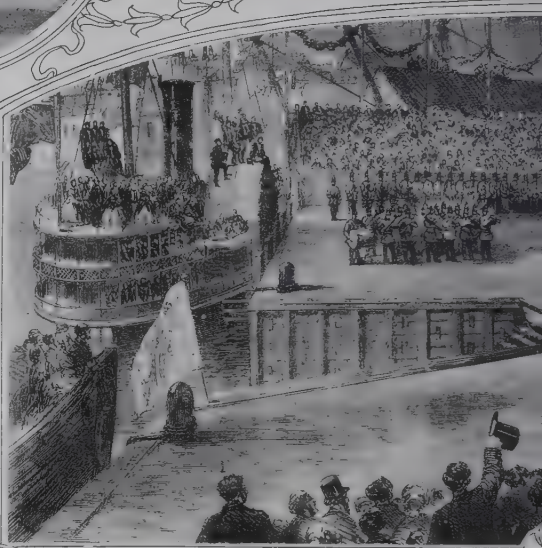
LOYAL CANADA'S ENTHUSIASTIC WELCO

Firemen drawing the Royal carriage through Carleton, New Brunswick

The Lumbermen's Arch at Ottawa

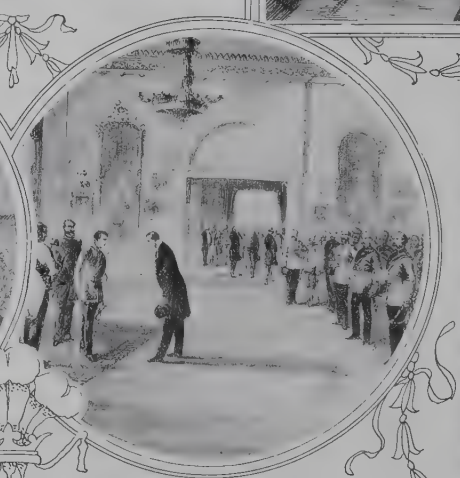
The departure fr

Toronto's welcome to the young Prince



The Royal guest landing

The procession passing the children's gallery at Halifax



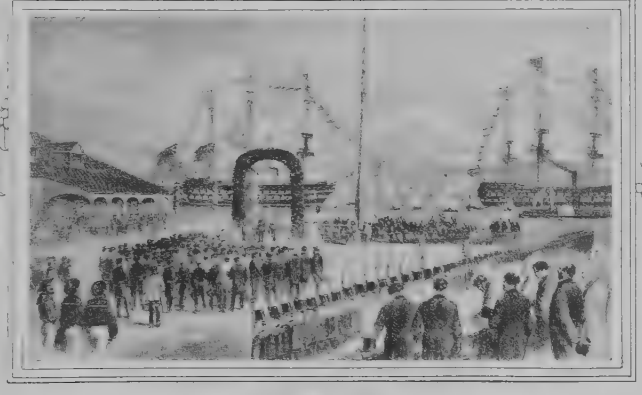
A reception by the Prince at Government House, Halifax

The Provincial Exhibition

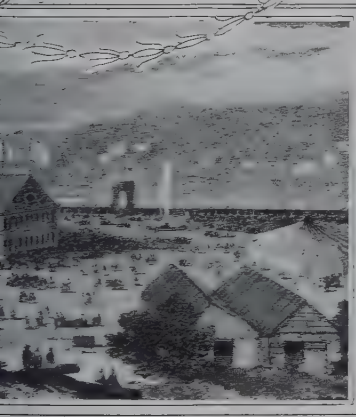
TO THE FUTURE KING EDWARD IN 1860

The residence of the Prince at Hamilton, and his entrance into the town

at St. John, New Brunswick



The landing at Halifax



e, which was opened by the

The Orangemen's Arch at Toronto, and the Prince embarking at the Queen's Wharf, St. John's, Newfoundland

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III. AT THE BATTLE OF SOLFERINO
From the painting by Meissonier in the Louvre.

be enlisted in the English service served to enhance the feeling of indignation already existing in America. Though the charge was not brought home to any British official acting with the authority of his Government, the situation became so grave that Mr. Crampton, the British Ambassador at Washington, received his passports from the President and left the country. Lord Palmerston acted with great moderation. No retaliatory measures were adopted towards the American Consul in London, who was received as usual. The effect of this conciliatory diplomacy was the proper settlement of the difficulty and the pacification of American *amour propre*. The Prime Minister, however, was made the object of attack in the House by both Lord Derby and Disraeli, though the adverse motion they proposed was defeated. Before the year was out the Kingdom of Oude was added to the British possessions in India, the war with Persia, dealt with in a previous chapter, had broken out, and a conflict had begun with China.

The Chinese dispute had originated in the action of a party of Chinese in boarding the lorcha Arrow, a vessel flying the British flag. The flag had been torn down and the crew arrested as pirates. The matter was complicated by the fact that the captain's right to fly the British flag was open to question. The vessel was registered under a recent ordinance of Hong Kong. The term of registry had, however, expired; the right to the use of the British flag was, therefore, debatable, and the ship's earlier history under the Chinese flag justified the authorities in the action they had taken. Details of the affair were furnished by the British Consul at Canton to Sir John Bowring, the British Plenipotentiary at Hong Kong, who immediately ordered the Chinese authorities to surrender all the men taken from the Arrow, to offer an apology for their arrest, and to give a formal pledge that no such act should ever be committed again. Unless these terms were complied with within forty-eight hours naval operations would be commenced against the Chinese. The Chinese Governor Yeh so far consented to comply with these terms that he released the men, and promised that in the future no British ship should be subjected to improper interference at the hands of Chinese officials. To apologise, however, he refused, maintaining that the Arrow was a Chinese vessel. Sir John Bowring immediately authorised the bombardment of Canton by Admiral Sir Michael Seymour's fleet. For three weeks naval and military operations were continued, Governor Yeh retaliating by offering a reward for the head of every Englishman brought him.

When the news reached England considerable sensation was created, and action was immediately taken in the House to censure the attitude of the Government. By the narrow majority of sixteen the vote of censure was carried. A few days later Lord Palmerston announced his intention of appealing to the country. That appeal was a great triumph for the Prime Minister. That "an insolent barbarian" should violate the British flag was a statement of the case which carried public feeling away on a tide of patriotic emotion. He returned to power with a majority double that which he had previously possessed, and both Cobden and Bright and other of his more prominent opponents lost their seats.

One of the first acts of the Government after the contest at the polls was the bringing forward of a Divorce Bill. The object of this measure was the abolition of the ancient jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts respecting divorce, and the establishment of a regular court of law to deal with matrimonial relations. The Bill was strongly opposed in the House of Commons by Gladstone, who adopted the attitude that divorce was prohibited by Scripture, and was a social evil. By threatening to prolong the sittings of the House, the Prime Minister ultimately secured the passage of the Bill. The abolition of the system of transportation of criminals was another measure also carried through during the Session. But public attention for the time was centred, not so much on social and political questions, as on the terrible situation which had arisen in India with the outbreak of the Mutiny in May. At first the

The Outbreak of the Mutiny

SOLFERINO: "ONE OF THE BLOODIEST CONFLICTS OF THE CENTURY"

On June 24, 1859, was fought the Battle of Solferino, "one of the bloodiest conflicts of the century." Three hundred thousand men, with nearly 800 guns, were opposed in the terrible fight, and while the French had no definite plan of action, the Austrian leaders were unable to avoid a series of blunders. Rarely, indeed, have troops been handled with so little generalship. In the battle, which ended in the defeat of the Austrians, no fewer than 12,000 Austrians and nearly 17,000 allies were killed or wounded, and 9,000 Austrian prisoners were taken, as against 1,200 Italians.

From the painting by Jules Rigo in the Versailles Museum.

THE FRENCH ATTACK UNDER MACMAHON AT THE BATTLE OF MAGENTA, JUNE 4, 1859

From the painting by Yvon in the Versailles Museum.

Ministry did not fully realise the peril threatening the Indian possessions. Even after the intelligence reached England of the mutiny of the native regiments at Meerut on May 10, and of the horrible massacres of women and children, Lord Palmerston failed to grasp the gravity of the situation. The birth of the Princess Beatrice on April 14 and the institution by Royal warrant of the Victoria Cross in June were among the events of importance in the earlier half of the year.

The Marriage of "England's Daughter"

In January, 1858, the marriage took place between the Princess Royal and Prince Frederick William, afterwards the German Emperor. To the Queen and the Prince Consort especially the event was of great importance. It was the first time that they were to be separated from one of their children, and in her letters the Queen expressed the deep emotion she felt at the parting. The occasion was marked by an outburst of loyalty. The nation regarded the marriage almost as if it was a personal affair, and Cobden crystalised the general feeling by referring to her as "England's daughter." Parliament settled upon her a dowry of £40,000, and an annuity of £4,000 with great unanimity, and marked this fulfilment of a legal contract by many expressions of deep respect and affection for the Queen. But, while the Royal Family of Great Britain were occupied with the future happiness of the Princess Royal, very different feelings were agitating the minds of the Imperial Family of France. On the evening of January 14 a desperate attempt was made to assassinate the Emperor Napoleon as he was on his way with the Empress to the Opera. Grenades filled with detonating powder were thrown under their carriage; the Emperor was only slightly hurt, but ten bystanders were killed and a hundred and fifty-six more were wounded.

The perpetrators of this outrage were Orsini and Pierri, and some other members of the Carbonari Society, of which in his youth, at Rome, Napoleon III. himself had been a member. It was subsequently discovered that the plot had been conceived and the grenades manufactured in England. A dangerous spirit of hostility to Great Britain immediately showed itself in France. It was argued that the prescriptive right of asylum enjoyed by foreign refugees within the United Kingdom enabled them to plot such attempted assassinations with impunity. The military party in France, in particular, employed most vehement language with regard to the attitude of England. Count Walewski, the Ambassador for Foreign Affairs, sent a despatch to the British Government, inquiring whether "England considered that hospitality was due to assassins." About the same time the Duc de Persigny, the French Ambassador in London, declared, in reply to a deputation from the Corporation of London, that if the law of England was strong enough to put down conspiracies for assassination it ought to be put in motion, and if it was not it ought to be made stronger. Absurd charges were manufactured in Paris, and the storm of indignation against this country, unjustified though it was, reached very dangerous proportions.

These hostile feelings found an echo in England. Only the Ministry refused to be guided by the general sentiment of the country. Instead of treating the charges made against Great Britain with calmness and reason, Lord Palmerston allowed himself to be influenced to the extent of bringing in a Bill for the suppression and punishment of conspiracies to murder. In reply to questions in the House, he admitted that he had been influenced by the despatch from Count Walewski, to which her Majesty's Government had not yet replied. On the second reading of the Bill an amendment was brought forward by Mr. Milner Gibson, postponing the reform of the criminal law until the peremptory demands of Count Walewski had been formally answered. Gladstone supported the amendment, and Disraeli joined with him in the attack upon the Government. On a division taking place, the Ministers found themselves in a minority of nineteen. Lord Palmerston at once resigned, and Lord Derby was entrusted by the Queen with the task of forming a new Government. One of the last duties of Lord Palmerston was to announce the conclusion of the Chinese War, by the capture of Canton with the co-operation of the French, and to move the thanks of Parliament to the civil and military officers of India for their exertions in suppressing the Mutiny.

France Angry with England

In the new Ministry, Disraeli again took up the duties of Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons. The Conspiracy Bill was quietly dropped, and, after the interchange of some correspondence, France and Great Britain returned to their old position of amity. One of the first measures carried out by the Parliament under Lord Derby's administration was the removal of the disability which prevented Jews from taking a seat in Parliament. An Act, amending the oath in their favour, so as to prevent them having to employ the words, "on the true faith of a Christian," was proposed. One of the immediate effects of this reform was the taking of his seat, as member for the City of London, by Baron de Rothschild. The passing of this measure marked the conclusion of a struggle which had lasted for twenty-eight years.

Early in 1859 Disraeli introduced a Reform Bill. The step was courageous, for the Government could with difficulty maintain themselves in power, and the reform question was one on which public opinion was greatly divided. But its rejection by the House was a foregone conclusion, and on Lord John Russell's amendment being carried, the Government dissolved Parliament, and appealed to the country. The election gave the Conservatives an accession of twenty-five seats, but still left them in a minority if the Opposition were united.

A meeting of the several sections who were opposed politically to Lord Derby's Government was held. Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell again joined hands, and they were supported by Sidney Herbert and the Peelites and Bright. A plan of action was agreed upon. At the opening of Parliament the Marquis of Hartington moved an amendment to the Address expressing want of confidence in the Government. Disraeli defended himself and the Ministry with characteristic bitterness. He flung his taunts right and left, and received from Sir James Graham the sobriquet of the "Red Indian of debate," as illustrative of his methods of defence. In spite of his exertions, the Government were defeated. The Queen was faced with the difficulty of having to decide between Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell, both of whom, having held the office of Prime Minister, had claims to be entrusted with the task of forming a new Government. As a compromise to what her Majesty designated as "a very invidious and unwelcome task," she sent for Lord Granville, the Leader of the Liberal party in the House of Lords. Lord John Russell, however, made known his determination not to serve under Lord Granville, at the same time expressing his perfect willingness to take office under Lord Palmerston. The Queen's difficulty was therefore removed. Lord Palmerston formed a new Ministry, and to Lord John Russell was entrusted the Foreign Office, Gladstone returning to his old position as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Defeat of the Government

These political changes had been taking place at home, while another great war was brooding over Europe. The struggle for Italian freedom, begun in 1848, had found a directing force in the person of Count Cavour. After the defeat of King Charles Albert of Sardinia at the hands of the Austrians, and his subsequent abdication, the cause of Italy had descended to Victor Emmanuel II. In 1852 Count Cavour was appointed Prime Minister, and immediately began a policy which had for its object the gaining of the good opinion of Europe. Commercial treaties were entered into with France, Belgium, and Switzerland, and, at his instigation, Sardinia joined the allied forces in the Crimea. With regard to Italy herself, he deprecated the actions of the republicans and revolutionaries, and advocated the cause of Italian freedom by methods which were strictly legitimate. It was his ambition first to establish a northern Italian kingdom by means of French intervention. The Orsini outrage, however, which embroiled England and France, also strained the relations with Sardinia. When that difficulty had been removed, Cavour procured an interview with Napoleon at Plombiéres, July 20, 1858. There the terms of an alliance were arranged. They comprised the expulsion of the Austrians from Italy by the French and Italian arms; the erection of a northern kingdom in favour of Victor Emmanuel; and in return the cession of Savoy and Nice to France. The alliance was cemented by the marriage of the Emperor's cousin, Napoleon, the son of the first Napoleon's youngest brother, King Jerome, with Clotilda, daughter of the King of Sardinia.

The Fight for Italian Freedom

The alliance was kept secret, even from the Emperor's own Ministers. There was no legitimate cause of quarrel between France and Austria, and Napoleon's one object in agreeing to the treaty was the aggrandisement of France and his dynasty. Though suspicions had been aroused, no definite certainty regarding the attitude of France prevailed

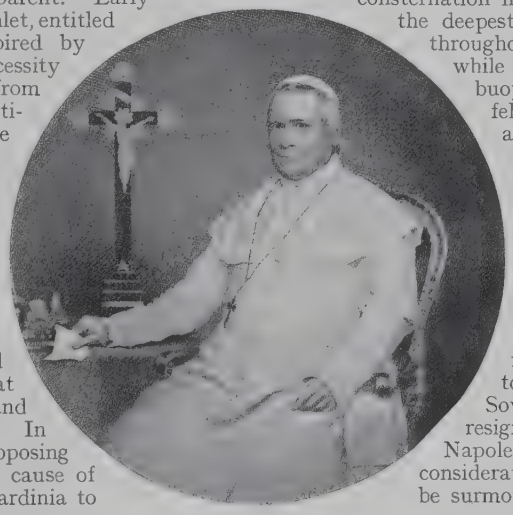
THE WELCOME OF PARIS TO THE FRENCH ARMY ON ITS RETURN FROM ITALY, AUGUST 14, 1859

From the painting by E. Ginain in the Versailles Museum.

till January 1, 1859. On that day, at a reception of the foreign diplomats, the Emperor calmly expressed his regret to the Austrian Ambassador that his relations with his master, Francis Joseph, were not cordial. Astonishment and alarm filled Europe when the news of this announcement, so suddenly and openly made, was published. Ten days later Victor Emmanuel's speech on opening the Chambers at Turin emphasised the approaching crisis. When, finally, on January 30, Prince Napoleon was united to Princess Clotilda, the nature of the alliance between France and Sardinia was made apparent. Early in February there appeared a pamphlet, entitled "Napoleon III. and Italy," inspired by the Emperor, insisting on the necessity of re-organising Italy, freeing it from foreign domination, and re-constituting it on the basis of a federative union.

Europe was now openly in expectation of war. In England very strong feelings were expressed against the Emperor, and Queen Victoria, in announcing to the Emperor of the French the birth of a grandson, the present German Emperor, took the opportunity of urging counsels of peace and moderation. Some attempts at mediation were made at Vienna and Turin, which proved ineffectual. In March, the action of Russia in proposing a Congress proved indirectly the cause of war. Austria refused to admit Sardinia to the Congress, and required, as a condition of her acceptance of the Congress, that Victor Emmanuel should immediately disarm. This ultimatum was dispatched on April 23, with the demand that a reply must be forthcoming within three days. Immediately on its receipt, Cavour demanded the promised assistance from Napoleon. That assistance was promptly forthcoming. A small body of troops was at once embarked for Genoa, and by May 14 the allied armies amounted to 200,000 men. The Emperor in person commanded the French forces. Meanwhile, the Austrians, with an equal force, crossed the Ticino, thereby abrogating the Treaty of 1815, and placing themselves, from the point of view of international law, in the wrong. In his great effort for the liberation of Italy, Cavour employed all sections of the people. The revolutionaries were welcomed, and Garibaldi was placed at the head of the irregular forces so embodied. The Mazzinians alone were excepted by Cavour; their assistance was rejected, and he threatened to fire upon them if they stirred. On the advance of the allies, the Austrian general, Giulay, retreated on Como, from which he was forced to retire four days later. On June 4 the French had begun to cross the Ticino. On the following day the Battle of Magenta was fought. The Austrians suffered a crushing defeat, losing over 20,000 men, chiefly by a skilful manœuvre of MacMahon, who was decorated on the field by the Emperor with a marshal's baton and the title of Duke of Magenta. On the news of this disaster, the Austrians hastily evacuated Milan, which was entered in triumph by Victor Emmanuel and Napoleon on June 8. From here Napoleon issued a proclamation to the whole Italian people to take up arms for the liberation of their country. On the 23rd the Austrian forces, who had been joined by their Emperor, Francis Joseph, recrossed the Mincio to give battle to the allies at Solferino. All three Sovereigns were present at this battle. After severe losses on both sides, the Austrians were driven from their position, and retired upon Verona. It now seemed that Napoleon had the completion of his task in sight, the freedom of Italy from foreign domination. Cavour, two days after Solferino, came away from a long interview with the French Emperor full of assurance that Napoleon was determined to prosecute the war with vigour to its conclusion. But his hopes were to be dashed to the ground.

The Battle of Magenta



POPE PIUS IX.

When in Rome, in January, 1858, the Prince of Wales paid a visit to Pope Pius IX., and the interview, in spite of many fears concerning it, "went off extremely well." This was the Pope who, ten years earlier, during the revolutionary fever of 1848, opposed the public desire for a war with Austria, and the mob then became so menacing that he found it expedient to make his escape from the Quirinal in disguise.

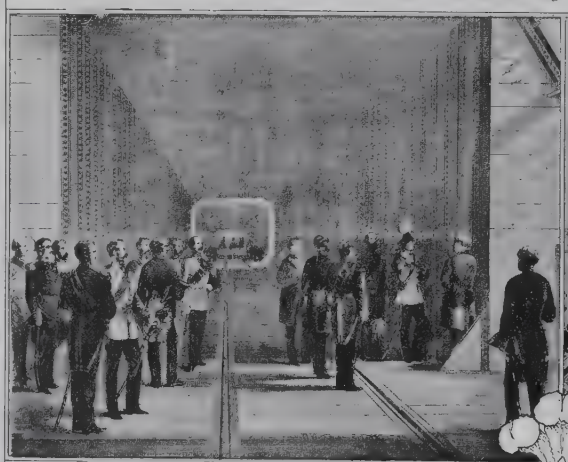
Without consulting Victor Emmanuel, the Emperor had sent General Fleury to the Austrian camp with proposals for an armistice. On July 8 he returned and announced the success of his mission. The result was the conclusion of an armistice for one month. The announcement spread consternation in the Sardinian camp, and excited the deepest disappointment and indignation throughout Italy. Coming upon the Italians while still in the flush of victory and buoyant with hope, the tidings were felt, not only as a terrible shock, but as the betrayal of the cause of Italian freedom. The two Emperors met at Villafranca on July 11, and on his return from that interview Prince Napoleon was sent to Verona to settle the preliminaries of peace. When Victor Emmanuel heard the news, he preserved his usual calmness with difficulty. Cavour showed less control. In a frenzy of rage, he refused to consent to a peace concluded without his Sovereign and himself, and indignantly resigned his position as Prime Minister. Napoleon's conduct was dictated by considerations of the difficulties that had to be surmounted in a further prosecution of the war, the possibility of Prussian intervention, and the fears aroused by what had taken place in the Italian duchies. In Tuscany the Grand Duke had been compelled to fly. In Modena a like fate overtook the Duke, while in Palma a Government had been set up in the name of the King of Sardinia. It was no part of Napoleon's policy to gratify the wishes of the duchies by allowing them to be annexed to the dominions of Victor Emmanuel. Moreover, Napoleon had satisfied his military ambition. So far the war had been prosecuted with honour and success. Its continuation might not prove so favourable, and military failure was detrimental to the interests of his dynasty. By the Peace of Villafranca, the two Emperors engaged to promote an Italian confederation, with the Pope as honorary president; Austria was to cede her possessions in Lombardy, with certain exceptions, to the King of Sardinia; Venetia, though still under the Austrian sceptre, was to form part of the new confederation, while the rights of the Sovereigns of the three duchies were to be expressly reserved by the high contracting parties.

The course of events in Italy was watched by the Queen and her Government with great uneasiness. The triumph of the Emperor Napoleon seemed to disturb the balance of power in Europe, and to raise him to the position of arbitrator of the Continent. The Queen, with rare foresight, anticipated the war with Prussia eleven years later, and urged upon her Ministers the necessity of maintaining an attitude of non-intervention. She was also compelled to remonstrate once more with Lord Palmerston for expressing opinions to the representatives of foreign States which were not uttered in his official capacity, and with the support and consent of his Sovereign and her other Ministers. A remark to De Persigny had been reported to the Emperor, and had been employed by him to extort better terms from the Emperor of Austria at Villafranca. The Peace of Villafranca was finally embodied, after much consideration, in a formal treaty at Zurich, which was signed on November 10.

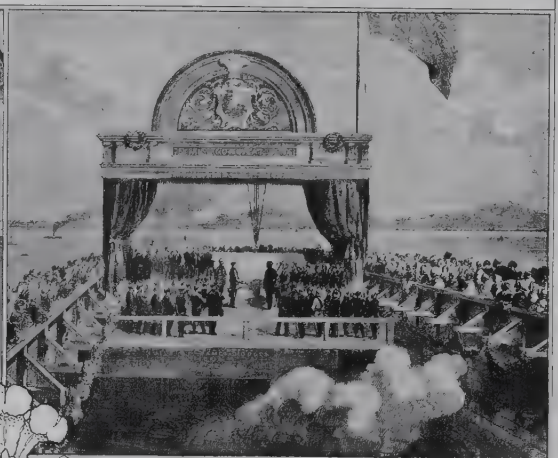
Queen Victoria's Statesmanship

THE FUTURE KING AT MONTREAL

Montreal from the St. Lawrence River showing Mount Royal at the time of the Prince's visit



The Prince closing the last rivet of the Victoria Bridge



Laying the last stone of the Victoria Bridge

A view of Montreal from Mount Royal, showing the Victoria Bridge spanning the St. Lawrence

CHAPTER XVIII

KING EDWARD'S EARLY TRAVELS

His Educational Stay in the Rhineland and his Visit to the Alps; the Tour in Ireland, and his Sojourn in Italy, in the years 1857-59

THE Prince Consort, as seen in an earlier chapter, laid emphasis on the importance of foreign travel in carefully planning the scheme of the education of the Prince of Wales. As a German, he knew the value of the "Wander Year" in widening the outlook and expanding the intellect of a youth blossoming into manhood. The rhythmical dictum of the Imperial poet, "What do they know of England who only England know," which has now passed into current speech, had long ago been put into practice.

It was at this period that the Prince of Wales's travel education began with his first prolonged excursion on the Continent. His Royal Highness was attended by Prince Leiningen, his cousin, Sir William Codrington, Colonel Ponsonby, Mr. Gibbs, his tutor, and Dr. Armstrong, his medical attendant, and the departure from England was made on July 26, 1857. The Prince had as a youthful companion Lord Stanley, son of the Rupert of Debate, and the usual Rhine voyage was taken, the party staying at all places of interest on the romantic river. Some time was spent at Königswinter for educational purposes, and the Prince was joined by a batch of other youthful associates, which included the present Viscount Halifax, G. H. Cadogan, afterwards Earl Cadogan, and William, eldest son of W. E. Gladstone, both long since departed this life.

Excursions were made to every spot of interest in the Rhine Valley, and then the party went on to visit Switzerland. At Chamonix, Albert Smith, the novelist and traveller, who did so much to awaken British interest in Alpinism, acted as guide to the Cascade du Dard and in a traverse of the Glacier du Bossons. The Pass and Monastery of St. Bernard were also visited, and the Prince selected a puppy from the collection of the monks' celebrated breed of St. Bernard dogs, for which he paid 200 francs. The tour lasted till November.

In the following year the Prince of Wales had his first experience of travel in the company of the Queen and Prince Albert in a public capacity. Her Majesty and the Prince Consort, on the invitation of the French Emperor, attended the opening of the recently completed great naval fortress and arsenal of Cherbourg. La Belle de Normandie, as Cherbourg had been romantically called, was an open roadstead on that point of the coast of Brittany which approached nearest to the southern coast of England—equi-distant from Portsmouth, Weymouth, and Plymouth. Its construction as a naval port was begun by Louis XIV., some of the work was designed by Vauban; it was continued by Louis XVI. and Napoleon the Great. The military port was opened in 1813 by the Empress Maria Louisa, then Regent; it was advanced under the Orleans dynasty at the Restoration, and completed by Napoleon III.

A Visit to the St. Bernard

On his return to England, the Prince of Wales made a tour of the south of Ireland, as Queen Victoria said in one of her letters, for "recreation purposes," being, of course, accompanied by his tutor and other members of his suite. Most part of the time was spent in the neighbourhood of Killarney. A brief visit was paid to the demesne of Lord Kenmare, where a highly characteristic incident occurred. Taking a walk by himself, the Prince noticed a smart young fellow with a stick-leg, who, however, was unaware of his identity. "How did you lose your leg?" asked the Prince. "Fighting for my Queen and country," answered the young fellow. "Well, now, if you had the use of your leg, would you fight for the Queen again?" "Begorro, I would in the morning." "You're a fine fellow. What is your name?" "Morto O'Sullivan." "A little refreshment will do you no harm," said the Prince, giving him some silver.

An Irish Anecdote

Of course, visits were paid to Ross Island, Muckross Abbey, the tomb of the O'Sullivan, and the famous yew-tree. A drive was also made along the beautiful shore of the middle lake to Torc Cascade and Cottage, and the round of the lake was made in an eight-oared barge, the splendid echo effects being drawn out by cornet-playing and the firing of a small cannon, to the delectation of the Royal party. The lower lake was next visited, and Sweet Innisfallen, which island, with its woods and bays, would have been "immortal even if Moore had never celebrated its beauty." The Prince gathered bunches of shamrock, which he sent to his Royal mother and his sisters. Next day other remarkable scenes were visited, including the Devil's Punchbowl, into the unfathomless depths of which the high-spirited Prince rolled large stones.

On returning by the upper lakes, the youthful Prince expressed a wish to have some island named after him which had not previously been "christened" for any other person. The Gun Rock, near Brickeen Bridge, was in due form baptised Prince of Wales Island, and presented by Stephen Spillane, his Highness's cicerone, in the following terms: "I present your Royal Highness with this island as a token of loyal affection to your person on the part of the people of this county, and as a monument of their gratitude for the frank and confiding manner in which you have come amongst us—an honour, let us hope, to be repeated."

The Prince, who was in high spirits, and nothing the worse for his walk over the Kerry Hills, expressed his cordial thanks, and fully reciprocated the sentiments of regard, of which he had not only there, but since his arrival

in that most interesting country, received so many indications. On the Sunday the Prince attended the parish church of Aghadoe; on Monday he visited the Gap of Dunloe; the next day, Valencia, and inspected the landing-place of the Atlantic cable, and then took his departure by steamer to Bristol, from which port he returned to Windsor. Later in the autumn the Prince paid a private visit to his sister, the Princess Royal and Crown Princess of Prussia, in Berlin.

What may be regarded as corresponding to the traditional Grand Tour of the Continent took place early in 1859. The Prince left Windsor on January 10 of that year for Dover, where he broke his journey for the purpose of presenting new colours to the 100th, or Prince of Wales's Canadian Regiment, at the camp at Shorncliffe. This was the regiment which had been recruited in Canada during the Crimean War under the Foreign Enlistment Act, and which had greatly distinguished itself at the Siege of Sebastopol. The speech with which his Royal Highness presented the colours, the first he had actually delivered in public, was marked by graceful and easy diction. The Prince's suite now embraced Colonel (afterwards General) Bruce, brother of the Earl of Elgin, now appointed Governor, who never thereafter, until his lamented death, left attendance upon his Royal Highness; Colonel Grey; Rev. Charles F. Tarver, Director of Studies; and Dr. Chalmers, medical attendant. Crossing to Calais, a special train conveyed the Royal party to Brussels, where they were received by the Duke of Brabant and Count of Flanders, and by them escorted to the palace at Laeken. There the Prince was cordially welcomed and entertained by his grand-uncle the King of the Belgians. The tour through Europe to Rome was made in their own private carriages viâ Munich and the Brenner Pass. On January 27, when *en route*, his Highness heard of the birth of his first nephew, the eldest son of the Princess Royal and Crown Princess of Prussia, now William II., Emperor of Germany; and Rome was reached on February 3. Queen Victoria, in approving of the visit of the Prince of Wales to Rome, stated to Lord Malmesbury, Foreign Secretary in Lord Derby's Government of 1858, that "it was desirable that his Royal Highness should visit and remain at Rome incognito, and indispensable that he should receive no foreigner or stranger alone, so that no reports of pretended conversations with such persons could be circulated without immediate refutation by Colonel Bruce." When informed of the intended visit, Pope Pius IX. in January, at a private interview with Odo Russell, afterwards Lord Ampthill, then resident in Rome, expressed his gratification at the approaching event, saying that he felt sure that her Majesty had done well to allow the Prince to prosecute his studies in the Eternal City. The day after the arrival of his Royal Highness, the Pope sent his *major domo* to pay his respects, and the interview with his Holiness took place a few days afterwards. Queen Victoria, writing on February 15 to the King of the Belgians, said that the "interview with the Pope went off extremely well. He was extremely kind and gracious, and Colonel Bruce was present. It would never have done to have let Bertie go alone, as they might hereafter have pretended God knows what Bertie had said."

The Interview with the Pope

KONIGSWINTER, THE SCENE OF KING EDWARD'S STUDIES ON THE RHINE

As has already been seen, the education of King Edward was carried out with the utmost care, due place being given to travel as an educational factor. To the beautiful retreat on the Rhine shown in the above picture, he was sent to study for several months in 1857, being accompanied by two governors, three tutors, and four young noblemen.

The Prince paid visits of courtesy to the numerous members of sovereign families then resident in Rome, and then devoted himself to the study of the antiquities of the city, regarding which only one or two incidents need be mentioned. When in St. Peter's, he stood for some time silently impressed before the tomb of the exiled Stuart princes. On St. Patrick's Day, March 17, the Prince drove to the Irish College of St. Agatha wearing a bunch of shamrock in his buttonhole. There he was received by Archbishop (afterwards Cardinal) Cullen, and was shown over the institution, and the lovely Chapel of St. Agatha, where he took special notice of the monument to Daniel O'Connell.

The Prince's Stay in Rome

Only once did the Prince break his incognito, and that was to receive a special mission from King Victor Emmanuel, who came to invest him with the Order of the Annunciation, the highest decoration in the gift of the King of Sardinia. As Colonel Bruce had made it known that "the society of the most eminent men was desired" for the Prince during his stay in Rome, all who were brightest, most intellectual, and most famous in art and letters were made welcome at his Royal Highness's receptions in his apartments on the Corso, including, besides the most distinguished personages in Roman society, Browning, the poet, who, according to a very witty letter of his wife, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, described the Prince as "a gentle, refined boy"; John Gibson, R.A., who had conducted his Royal Highness through the galleries of the Vatican and other museums, and explained their treasures to him; Frederick Leighton (afterwards Lord Leighton and President of the Royal Academy); and Motley, the historian. On Easter Day his Royal Highness negatived the suggestion of attending the magnificent spectacle of High Mass in St. Peter's, and preferred going to the service in the English Church, where he received Holy Communion.

It had been arranged that the stay of the Prince in Rome should last to the end of May, but late in April, during the crisis immediately preceding the war between France and Sardinia and Austria, which eventuated in the unification of Italy, the Prince Consort wrote that "it was impossible that the heir to the British Throne should be at large on the face of a disturbed Continent," and he ordered the Prince to leave Rome at once, and proceed to Gibraltar. Accordingly, the Prince of Wales and his suite left Rome by rail on May 2 for Civita Vecchia, where he embarked on board H.M.S. Scourge (Captain Prince Hohenlohe), and his departure was made the occasion of a great popular ovation. At Gibraltar, on May 7, the Prince had a grand reception, and afterwards he made the tour through Andalusia, returning to Gibraltar, where he embarked on board the Royal yacht Osborne, and sailed for the Tagus. The Prince and suite visited the King of Portugal and the Royal Family at Lisbon, and then returned in the Osborne to England, arriving at Buckingham Palace on the last Saturday of June, 1859, after an absence of six months.

CHAPTER XIX

THE ROYAL PROGRESS THROUGH CANADA

A Full Account of King Edward's Great Tour through British North America in 1860, and the Results of the Visit

SHORTLY after the close of the Crimean War a deputation of statesmen and representative citizens waited upon Queen Victoria, and asked that her Majesty should graciously pay a visit to her Canadian dominions. This invitation the Queen was compelled to decline, both on account of the risk to be met in a long voyage, much overland travel, and the fatigue to be endured. But her Majesty made a promise that the Prince of Wales would visit the great North American colonies when he was old enough to do so. Time and the occasion arrived early in 1860, when it was decided that his Royal Highness should cross the Atlantic and perform the ceremony of opening the Victoria Tubular Bridge which spans the St. Lawrence, one of the greatest engineering triumphs of the age, and lay the foundation-stone of the new Parliamentary buildings to be erected at Ottawa, the political capital of what has since become the Dominion of Canada.

When the intelligence reached Washington of the proposed visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada, President Buchanan addressed a letter to Queen Victoria offering a cordial welcome to the Prince, if he should extend his visit to the United States, and assuring her Majesty that the Prince would be everywhere greeted by the American people in a manner most gratifying to the Queen. As Sir Theodore Martin said, in his "Life of the Prince Consort," this request was answered in the same cordial spirit in which it was made. The Prince proposed returning from Canada through the United States; it would give him great pleasure to have an opportunity of visiting the President in person; and the feelings which had dictated the President's letter were fully reciprocated.

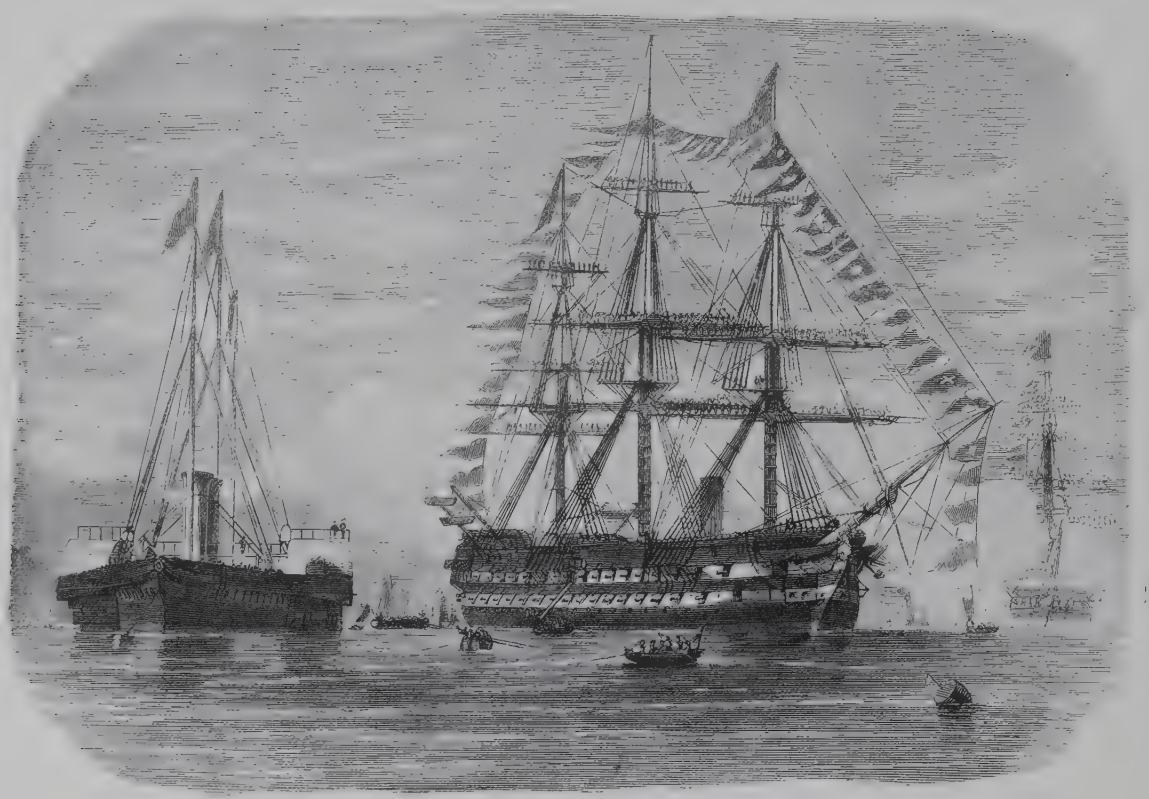
Previous to his departure for America, the Prince of Wales paid a brief visit to Coburg and Gotha, the ancestral home of his Royal father, which he had never previously seen, and where he made, according to a letter of Queen Victoria, "a very favourable impression."

The Royal Squadron appointed to convey his Royal Highness and suite consisted of the battleship Hero, Captain Seymour; the Ariadne, frigate, Captain Vansittart; and the Flying Fish, sloop, Commander Hope. The last, which was a slow vessel, had been sent on in advance of the larger men-of-war. On board the Hero were the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary to the Colonies, and director, as it were, of the trip, Earl St. Germains, Lord Steward to her Majesty's Household, Major-General Bruce, Governor of the Prince, Dr. Acland, Regius Professor of Medicine at Oxford, the Prince's physician, Lieutenant-Colonel Grey and Major Teesdale, Equerries. The squadron left Plymouth Sound on the morning of July 10, 1860, and at Rame Head fell in with the Channel Fleet, which wore round in two splendid lines, saluted, and accompanied the Hero till the shores of Ireland were left behind.

After a somewhat disagreeable voyage, the squadron arrived at St. John's, Newfoundland, on July 23. During a stay of two days in the island capital, the Prince visited, in company with the Governor, Sir

KING EDWARD IN 1860

From a photograph by John Watkins, taken at Buckingham Palace shortly before the visit to Canada.



THE ROYAL VISIT TO CANADA: THE PRINCE EMBARKING IN H.M.S. HERO AT PLYMOUTH

Alexander Bannerman, the Protestant cathedral, and then, out of sheer good humour, at the request of the Roman Catholics, also visited their cathedral church, which was taken as a great compliment; but it afterwards raised in Canada an Orange cry against what was called the Duke of Newcastle's Popish leanings. This was the only Roman Catholic place of worship the Prince entered during the whole of the tour. There were the usual festivities, but rain spoiled the out-of-door demonstrations.

The Rejoicings at Halifax

Four days' sail brought the squadron to Halifax, Nova Scotia, on the morning of July 30, and a magnificent reception was given to his Royal Highness and his suite by Earl Mulgrave, Governor of the island, and Admiral Sir Alexander Milne, Commander of the North American Fleet, on the part of the people; not the least picturesque section of which were Indians in a dozen birch-bark canoes decorated with ferns. After the Royal party had landed, a procession was formed, and marched to Government House, through streets profusely decorated with bunting and verdure brought from the great neighbouring forests, and crossed by numerous triumphal arches. There were addresses by the Legislature, a review of the garrison, Indian games, regattas, levées, banquets, and illuminations.

On August 2 a special train took the Royal party to Windsor and Houseport, at both of which places there were enthusiastic receptions. At the latter they went on board H.M.S. Styx, which conveyed them to St. John's, the commercial capital of the province of New Brunswick, on the Bay of Fundy. The beauties and natural phenomena of this region, about which Humboldt wrote in ecstasies, the pine-clad mountains which skirt the shores of the bay, its huge waves and rapid currents, the rise and fall of the tide, greater by many feet than in any other part of the world, were fully enjoyed. In the morning the Hon. J. Manners Sutton, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony, received the Prince on the wharf of the busy seaport, aided by General Trollope, the Militia, municipal authorities, etc. But the most pleasing greeting of all, amid the strange glittering medley of bright colours, was that of 5,000 school-children who sang the National Anthem, with new verses, of which the concluding was:

> Hail! Prince of Brunswick's line,
> New Brunswick shall be thine,
> Firm has she been.
> Still loyal, true, and brave,
> Her England's flag shall wave,
> And Britons pray to save
> A nation's heir.

On August 7, when the Royal party resumed their progress, it was by a route which combined delightful short journeys by water, railway, and horse carriages, through the primeval forest to Picton. At that port they joined the Hero, which was accompanied by the other vessels of the Royal Squadron and the North American Fleet, and sailed on the 9th for Charlotte Town, the capital of Prince Edward Island, where there was a repetition of enthusiasm during the official and popular functions.

Charlotte Town was left on Saturday, August 9, but the weather was wet, and little was seen from the Hero and attendant men-of-war of the rocky scenery of both the island and the mainland. When the open sea was gained on the Sunday morning the rain ceased, and in order to obtain a view of the boldly magnificent southern coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, all the squadron stood inshore as they rounded Cape Gaspé, whose huge cliffs of red sandstone, lit up by the sun, seemed like mountains of fire; and the Prince had a capital prospect of the strange blood-red sandstone pinnacle known as Percé Rock, because of the cavernous rents by which one can see right through the

Sight-seeing from the Hero

mountain. Darkness had swept down when the ships entered and anchored in Gaspé Harbour, and that nothing should be wanting in the grandeur of the reception, "the cauld blue north was flashing forth her lichts wi' hissing din."

The Governor-General of Canada, Sir Edmund Head, Lord Lyons, British Minister at Washington, the Canadian Premier, Mr. G. E. Cartier, the Hon. John Ross, President of the Executive Council, members of the Cabinet, and other Parliamentary officials, came on board the Hero on Monday morning, August 13, to welcome the Prince and his suite to Canada. A flotilla of boats also appeared alongside, containing the sheriff, accompanied by a large deputation of officials and citizens, who interviewed and petitioned the Prince to allow Gaspé in future to be called Port Albert in commemoration of his visit. But his Royal Highness said he was sorry that he was unable to comply with their request, the granting or refusal of which remained with the provincial authorities.

When preparations were being made for the voyage up the great St. Lawrence, a fog bank began to pour into the harbour of Gaspé, and a signal was made to the ships of the squadron to make all speed, as it would be unsafe to manœuvre the large vessels in so narrow an area. Accordingly the Hero led the squadron out into the open waters of the gulf and round into the estuary of the St. Lawrence, where, during the night, the fog was more dense. Signal guns were fired to enable the ships to keep in position as far as possible. The weather cleared on the morning of the 14th, and the squadron made a course for the Saguenay River, some 120 miles from Quebec. The Saguenay is hemmed in by tremendous cliffs, 1,200 to 1,600 feet high, and there is deep water for many miles, except at one tiny spot called the "Four Fathom Patch," and, as luck would have it, the Hero ran on that shoal, although she soon got off. This, however, led to the abandonment of taking the ships up the river, and they anchored some distance out in the estuary of the St. Lawrence. The Prince, however, amid a drizzling rain and chill wind, made an excursion up the great gorge in the Governor's steam-yacht, to the little town of Tadousiac, where, more than 300 years ago, Cartier, the first discoverer of Canada, landed. Next morning, fortunately, dawned bright and genial, and the Prince and his party, escorted by twenty birch canoes, manned by Indians, went up the stream, and landed at the junction of the Saguenay and the Ste. Marguerite, where he was welcomed by Mr. D. E. Price, M.P.P. His Royal Highness here put his first foot on Canadian soil, amid cheers from the flotilla of canoes and boats. Provided with rods, lines, and flies, the party tried for trout, and the Prince killed several fine fish.

The Prince on a Shoal

At the Gibraltar of America

In commemoration of the visit, the spot was named Prince of Wales's Bay, and a memorial stone, cut from the rock upon which he stepped on landing, has been erected with a suitable inscription. A fresh breeze and strong tide swept down the St. Lawrence early in the morning of the 17th, and the progress of the squadron up stream was slow. It was seven o'clock in the evening before the vessels anchored at Isle d'Orleans, twenty miles below Quebec, the oldest city in the land of the Lady of the Snows. Next morning a whole fleet of river steamers came down the river, all dressed in colours and covered from stem to stern with festive evergreens. Unfortunately, the weather was wretched; rain fell in drizzling showers, but the spirit of Mark Tapley seized the inhabitants of the crowded city—Britons and *habitans*, many from distances of 600 and 700 miles. They reaped a rich reward, however, when the Hero, with its escort of scores of steamers, rounded the extremity of the Isle d'Orleans early in the afternoon of Saturday, August 18, and made for the anchorage. "What a sublime, what a splendid picture presented itself! The murky clouds which had before covered the entire horizon partially cleared away, and the sun appeared, lighting up the magnificent scene before them. The Gibraltar of America looming up to the sky, covered nearly everywhere with human beings, the city decorated gaily with evergreens and flags, the surrounding country dressed in its brightest hue, the river covered with large and small craft, dipping their colours to the men-of-war, above all, the enthusiastic and hearty cheers, and ringing of bells, that told in delightful melody who was monarch there; all this formed a scene never to be forgotten."

QUEBEC AS IT WAS AT THE TIME OF THE KING'S VISIT TO CANADA IN THE YEAR 1860
From a drawing by the special artist of "The Illustrated London News"

At four o'clock the Prince entered his barge, accompanied by the Duke of Newcastle, Admiral Sir Alexander Milne, and suite, and made for the landing-stage on the shores of the most ancient city in North America. Here he was met by his Excellency the Governor-General, the Canadian Ministry, Lord Lyons, Lieutenant-General Sir Fenwick Williams, the hero of Kars, Commander of the Forces in Canada, and Mayor Langevin, of Quebec, and conducted to a handsome pavilion, where ceremonial addresses were presented and speeches made. The address from the City Council, after paying respectful homage to his Royal Highness and gratitude to the Queen for having deigned to testify the regard which her Majesty entertained towards her Canadian subjects by sending their future Sovereign in her stead, went on: "In this province your Royal Highness will find a free people, faithful and loyal, attached to their Sovereign and to their country. In this, the most ancient city of Canada, your Royal Highness will be in the midst of a population devoted to your interests, testifying by the heartiness of their acclamations the good wishes that, though they derive their origin from various races, and may differ in language and religious denominations, yet, they have but one voice and one heart in expressing loyalty to their Sovereign, and in welcoming him who represents her on this occasion, and who is one day destined, according to the natural order of events, to become her successor."

The trowel used by the Prince in the completion of Victoria Bridge, Montreal.

The Prince of Wales, in reply, said that it was with no ordinary feelings of gratification and interest in all around him that he found himself for the first time on the shores of Canada and within the precincts of that most ancient city. He acknowledged the cordiality of the welcome given him, "the account of which will be received with no little satisfaction by her Majesty, proving, as it does, that her Majesty's feelings towards the people are met on their part by the most devoted and loyal attachment to herself, her authority, and her family. Still more will she rejoice to learn from your own lips that all differences of origin, language, and religion are lost in one universal spirit of patriotism, and that all classes are knit to each other, and to the Mother Country, by the common ties of equal liberty and free institutions."

Thereafter there was a triumphal procession through the greater part of the city; and in the evening a most effective illumination, notwithstanding the rain, took place. The following day his Royal Highness and suite attended service in the Anglican cathedral, which a few days later received a handsomely bound copy of the Holy Bible, bearing the Royal Arms on the cover, with the inscription in his own handwriting: "To the Cathedral of Quebec, in memory of Sunday, August 19, 1860; Albert Edward." On the Monday there was an excursion to the Chaudière Falls, and on the following day a levée was held in the old Parliamentary buildings, which had been splendidly decorated, under the most auspicious circumstances. The first time the Prince personally conferred a knighthood was upon the Hon. Mr. Narcisse, the Speaker of the Upper House; and the Hon. Henry Smith, Speaker of the Lower House, also received the same distinction. This interesting ceremony was preceded by the presentation of two addresses from each branch of the Legislature, the first in English, and the second in French, in the course of his reply to which his Royal Highness said that Canada might be proud that within her limits two races of different language and habits were united in the same legislature by a common loyalty, and were bound to the same constitution by a common patriotism. After regretting that the Queen herself could not visit Canada, the Prince went on to say, "I shall make it my first, as it will be my most pleasing duty, upon my return to England, to convey to her the feelings of love and gratitude to her person and her rule you have expressed on this occasion, and the sentiments of hearty welcome which you have offered to me, her son." Other addresses were presented by the bishop, clergy, and members of the Anglican Church of Quebec; and by the Roman Catholic bishops at the Laval University, which the Prince visited, along with the Ursuline Convent, where the young lady pupils sang, with harp accompaniment, an ode composed for the occasion.

The stay in Quebec came to a close on August 23, when the Royal party embarked on board the fine steamer Kingston to sail up the St. Lawrence to Montreal. The voyage was most delightful, and the weather all that could be desired for viewing the magnificent scenery of the majestic stream. The night was spent at the City of Three Rivers, halfway between Quebec and Montreal, where the Royal steamer was joined by one containing the members of the Quebec Legislature, who obtained permission from the Prince of Wales to escort him to Montreal. Next morning, unhappily, broke foggy and wet, but that did not prevent the *habitans* all along the river banks from waiting patiently to cheer the flotilla, now increased to more than a dozen steamers, as it passed. On account of the rain, it was agreed to anchor at St. Helen's Island, below Montreal, and defer the ceremonial landing until next morning. Reward came with most delightful weather on the 25th, when 40,000 spectators gathered on the piers and every vantage point from which even a peep of his Royal Highness could be obtained when he stepped ashore. There the Prince was met by members of the Ministry, the clergy of all denominations, the Mayor, Aldermen and Town Council of Montreal, regular soldiers of every branch of the Service, Volunteers, and loyal associations. A great procession was formed in which a picturesque body of Iroquois Indians in their native costume took part, and marched to the Exhibition Building, where his Royal Highness opened the show, which consisted of specimens of all the mineral and vegetable resources of Canada, and its manufactures. Then the procession was reformed, and proceeded to the great tubular railway bridge which spans the St. Lawrence. The structure has a total length of 9,500 feet; its height from the water is a little over 100 feet. It is composed of 25 tubes, joined in lengths of two tubes, each about 270 feet, with a centre one of 330 feet, at the highest part above the river. The piers are 24 in number, and contain three million cubic feet of masonry. It was designed by Robert Stephenson and Alexander M. Ross, and built by John Hodges

Medal struck to commemorate the visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada and the inauguration of the Victoria Bridge.

for Sir Samuel Morton Peto, Thomas Brassey, and E. L. Letts. It took five years to complete, and cost £15,000,000.

The Royal party were conveyed by special trains of open cars to Point St. Charles, at the entrance to the bridge on the Montreal side of the river, where his Royal Highness laid the last stone. Then the party proceeded to the centre of the bridge where the Prince clinched the last rivet, a silver one, then christened it the Victoria Bridge, declared it open in the name of the Queen, and described the structure as "a work as unsurpassed by the grandeur of Egypt or of Rome as it is unrivalled by the inventive genius of these days of ever-active enterprise." In the evening there were illuminations, and fireworks from the bridge, which his Royal Highness endeavoured to see on foot incognito, but he was speedily recognised, and had a tremendous reception from the frantically loyal people. On Sunday the Prince rested and attended, with his suite, Christ Church Cathedral, to which he presented a Bible, as he had done to the Quebec Cathedral. During the next four days there were Indian games and war dances, a society ball, a trip down the Rapids of St. Lawrence, trips to Long Sault, the Cascades, the Cedars, and the Lachine.

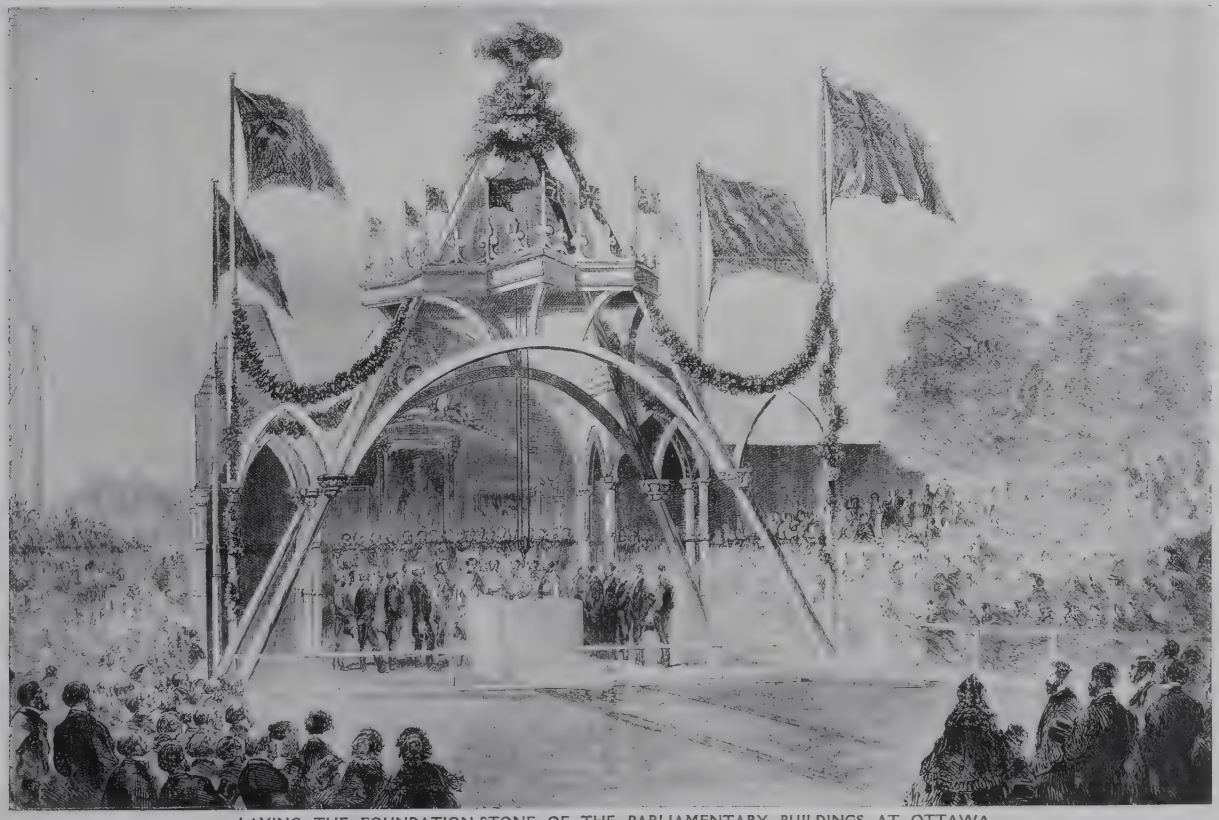
Inaugurating the Victoria Bridge

The next stage in the Royal progress was from the commercial to the political capital of Canada. His Royal Highness and suite were taken by train to St. Anne's, one of the noblest tributaries of the great Father of Waters, whose rapids inspired Moore's celebrated "Boat Song." Here the party got on board a steamer, and in glorious weather enjoyed a magnificent sail up the far-famed Ottawa River, passing scores of settlements all profusely decorated. At Carillon the party left the river and took railway cars to Grenville, where once more they embarked on a steamer, and shortly encountered the most striking and characteristic procession that had yet been seen—150 birch-bark canoes, manned by 1,200 lumbermen and Indians, attired mostly in scarlet tunics.

"At first it seemed like a dim cloud of red colours on the water, but after it drew nearer and nearer the quick chants of the Canadian boatmen could be heard, and the long, sharp outlines of the canoes were seen, with their quaint ornamented prows just turning up above the surface of the water, over which they came gliding like arrows without noise or ripple." It was a little before dusk when the Prince landed at Ottawa, which was adorned with arches, flags, and every conceivable kind of decoration, to give a grand and varied appearance to the city.

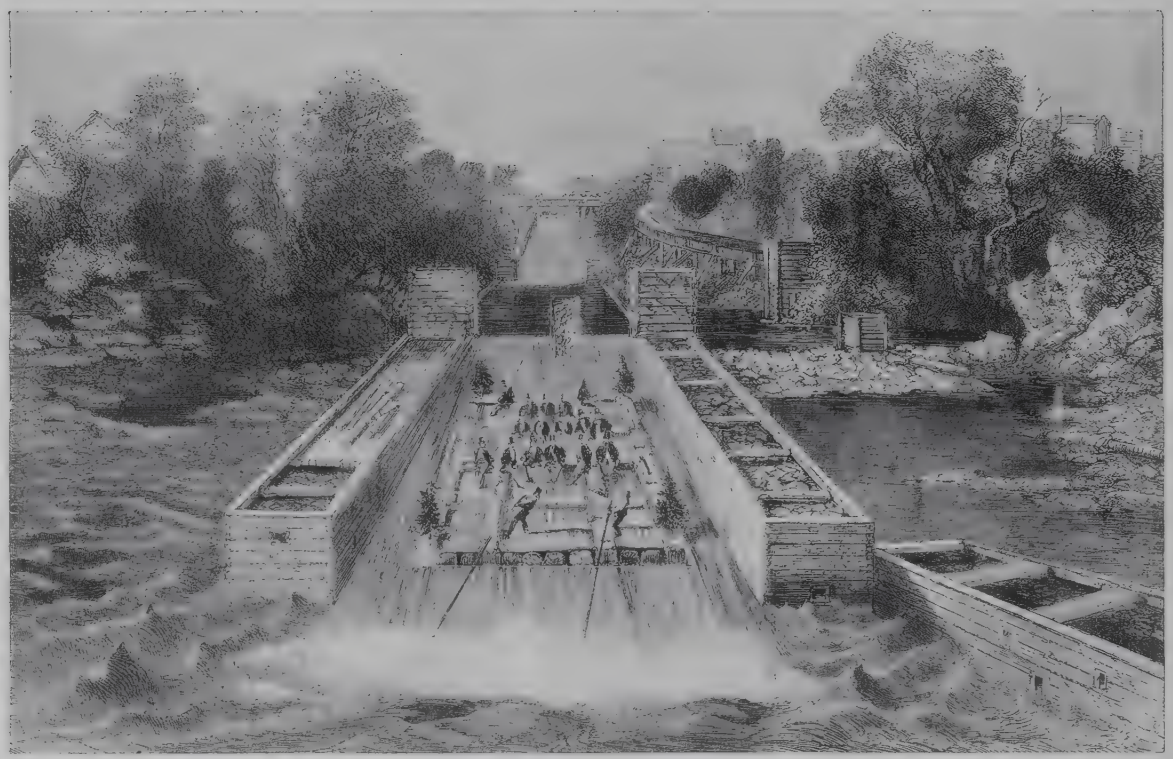
There was a striking phrase in the reply of the Prince to the address which, of course, was presented by the Mayor on behalf of the Corporation. "I am," said the Prince, "about to lay the first stone of a building in which the deliberations of the Parliament of Canada will be held, and from which will emanate the laws which are to govern the great and free people of these provinces, extend the civilising influence of British institutions, and strengthen the power of the great Empire of which this colony forms an integral and most important portion." On the following day the Prince laid the corner stone of the new Houses of Parliament, held a levée, inspected the camp of the Canadian Regiment, visited the Falls of Ottawa, with their picturesque broken, rocky steps, and the "Lost River," where the stream drops down over a column of rocks and disappears into a deep, unfathomable hole at the base, a phenomenon which the Prince and his suite long watched with wonderment. Then a resort was made to the unique arch erected in honour of the Prince by the lumbermen. It was modelled after the Marble Arch in Hyde Park, and in its construction 200,000 lineal feet of planking were employed without the use of a single nail. Needless to say, the

The Ceremonies at Ottawa



LAYING THE FOUNDATION-STONE OF THE PARLIAMENTARY BUILDINGS AT OTTAWA

That he might lay the foundation-stone of the new Parliamentary buildings at Ottawa—now the political capital of the Dominion of Canada—was one of the principal objects which inspired the visit of the Prince of Wales to British North America in 1860, and that important ceremony is admirably illustrated in the above picture drawn by the special artist of the "Illustrated London News."



THE FUTURE KING EDWARD DESCENDING A TIMBER SLIDE AT OTTAWA

After laying the foundation-stone of the Parliamentary buildings at Ottawa, the heir to Britain's throne visited the Falls of Ottawa and the "Lost River." Received with boisterous enthusiasm, the Prince admired the beautiful arch erected in his honour, and completed the happiness of the lumbermen by shooting the rapids on a timber raft.

Prince admired to the full this beautiful and peculiar edifice, but to complete the happiness of the lumbermen he shot the rapids on a timber raft.

A circuitous route was chosen for the expedition from Ottawa to Kingston, which was begun on September 3. The journey was partly by steamer, partly by canoe, then by carriage for twenty miles through the most fertile and most closely settled districts of Upper Canada. The river scenery was much enjoyed, and every hamlet was prettily decorated. At Brockville, which was reached at 8 o'clock at night, there was a gathering of 25,000 people, who had waited patiently for five hours the arrival of the Royal party. Darkness was immediately turned into light by the blaze of 1,200 torches carried by the same number of firemen, and when the Royal party entered the carriages which were to convey them to the waterside, the 1,200 firemen formed a double line on either side, each having a Roman candle, which shot out brilliant sparks of light from both sides of the street, meeting in the centre above the carriages in a perfect cascade of coloured fire, nearly a quarter of a mile long. The people shouted with frantic enthusiasm, tossed their caps in the air, and almost embraced the horses of the Royal carriage. Fireworks there were on the water, bonfires on the Thousand Islands, serenades from all sorts of bands—everything, in fact, which the most intense loyalty could devise was done, and done admirably well. The very joyousness of this demonstration was in striking contrast to the only unpleasant incident which happened during the Royal tour through Canada. There had been whispers at Montreal of the possibility in some of the towns to be visited of sectarian feuds between Roman Catholics and Orangemen, and the Duke of Newcastle wrote to the Governor-General a letter, in which his Grace said he had been informed that it was the intention of the Orangemen of Toronto to erect an arch on the line of route, and to decorate it with the insignia of their association. Further, that they meant to appear in the procession decorated with party badges.

Upper Canada's Great Welcome

"It is obvious," said the Duke, "that a display of this nature on such an occasion is likely to lead to religious feud and breach of the peace, and it is my duty to prevent, as far as I am able, the exposure of the Prince to supposed participation in a scene so much to be deprecated, and so alien to the spirit in which he visits Canada. I trust you may be able to persuade those who are concerned in these preparations to abandon their intention; but that there may be no mistake I hope you will inform them that in the event of any such arch being erected, I shall advise the Prince to refuse to pass under it, and enter the town by another street. . . . Further, if any Orange demonstration, or any other demonstration of a party character, is persisted in, I shall advise the Prince to abandon his visit to the town altogether." His Grace added that these remarks applied to Kingston, where he had heard a similar demonstration was contemplated.

The Orangemen's Idea of Loyalty

Sir Edmund Head, accordingly, wrote to the Mayors of Toronto and Kingston, enclosing copies of the Duke's letter, and insisting that any party displays "would be viewed with extreme dissatisfaction." He pointed out that the invitation to the Prince to visit Canada had been conveyed to his Royal Highness by both branches of the Legislature without distinction of creed or party on behalf of the whole people of the country, and that it would be inconsistent with the spirit and object of such an invitation and of such a visit to thrust on his Royal Highness the exhibition of banners, or other badges of distinction which were known to be offensive to any portion of her Majesty's subjects.

On the morning of September 4, the Royal steamer,

escorted by a fleet of small boats, sailed from Brockville for Kingston on Lake Ontario. The arrival at that town, originally timed for noon, was delayed in the hope that the Corporation and the society of Orangemen would remove the obnoxious decorations and mottoes on the arches which they had erected, and not insist in joining in the procession with their insignia and banners. They, however, absolutely refused, and indeed insulted the Prince and his party by ordering their bands to play at the quayside "Boyne Water" and "Croppies Lie Down," while the loyal Volunteers responded by firing a Royal salute, and the citizens who lined the shore, and whose ardent patriotism had no sympathy with insensate sectarianism, cheered to the echo. With characteristic courtesy, the Duke of Newcastle intimated to the City Council that his Royal Highness would remain till 9 o'clock next morning to allow them to think over the matter, but that if the demonstration was then persisted in, he would leave Kingston altogether. The reply was in effect that his Royal Highness might leave Kingston if he chose, but that "they would not surrender their rights and their regalia."

The Playing of "Boyne Water"

At other places en route to Toronto the Royal party were received with enthusiastic demonstrations. Toronto is the headquarters of the Orangemen in Canada, and notwithstanding what had occurred at Kingston and Belleville, the Grand Master of the order and his friends determined to erect an arch in King Street, the principal thoroughfare in the city and the finest in Canada, through which the procession escorting the Prince must pass. This arch, which represented the historic gate of Londonderry, was intended to be decorated with Orange paraphernalia, a transparency of William crossing the Boyne, with the figures 1688, and the motto, "To the glorious, pious, and immortal memory of William III." The arch was surmounted with the usual Orange emblems of the Bible and crown, with the motto beneath, "These we maintain." When the Duke of Newcastle heard of this he wrote to the Mayor, stating that the Prince would pass under no party memorial of the kind. The Mayor replied that the Orange insignia would be removed, and that for the transparency of William III., with the party mottoes, would be substituted a portrait of the Prince of Wales. But some Kingston fanatics arrived in Toronto, and induced the Orangemen to allow the transparency to remain, although the city solicitor, on the arrival of the Royal party in Toronto, went on board the steamer with a letter from the Mayor, stating that the intended change had been effected. It was also stated that the Orangemen would have their procession through the streets before the Prince landed, to which, of course, no exception could be taken. Relying on this, the Duke agreed to the route fixed for the procession.

SIR ISAAC BROCK'S MEMORIAL ON QUEENSTOWN HEIGHTS, COMPLETED BY KING EDWARD

Visiting this picturesque spot overlooking the Niagara River, the Prince placed in position the pinnacle of the obelisk to the memory of "the hero of Upper Canada," who fell on these heights after defeating an American army in the war of 1812.

With the single exception of the Orange arch, all the decorations were exquisitely beautiful. At the landing-place a pavilion had been erected in front of a vast amphitheatre, and King Street was a perfect arcade of arches to a point where four streets met. Here stood a beautiful market cross constructed of pine planks and vaulted arches, covered with pine bark, and the ribs with sheaves of corn, while at the corners hung baskets filled with every fruit and grain grown in the colony.

It was getting dark when his Royal Highness and suite landed from the steamer. After the presentation of the addresses, a grand procession was formed for the drive to Government House, which had been splendidly re-furnished for the reception of his Royal Highness. When the Royal carriage passed under the Orange arch the Duke of Newcastle, who had his back to the horses, did not notice until it had actually passed that the promise made by the Mayor to substitute the portrait of the Prince of Wales for that of William of Orange and the emblems had been broken, although the general public, in their frantic expressions of loyalty, seemed unaware of the Mayor's treachery to his pledged word. The Duke of Newcastle, immediately on the arrival of the Royal party at Government House, demanded an interview with the Mayor, and in the strongest terms complained of the deceit which had been practised on the Prince, and of the manner in which his Royal Highness had been entrapped under the Orange arch. His Grace also stated that if some apology or explanation were not given for such an affront he should feel it his duty to advise the Prince either to leave the city or to mark his sense of the deceit practised upon him by declining to receive the Mayor or any other members of the Corporation who had been parties to it at his levée on the following day.

A special meeting of the Corporation was called, and the Mayor wrote to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle an abject apology, and implored that the offence might not be visited in any manner upon the most loyal city of Toronto. The incident closed by the Duke of Newcastle writing a letter on September 8 to Mayor Wilson, in which he said: "I am so sincerely anxious that all the painful events of the last few days should be at once and for ever buried in oblivion, and nothing remembered but the heart-stirring scene which last night proclaimed to the world the unanimous and enthusiastic loyalty of the city of Toronto, that it is a real relief to my mind to feel that I can without any sacrifice of duty to the Prince of Wales accept the apology which is offered by your letter." The Mayor and Corporation had not been received at the levée on the 8th, at which 1,000 leading citizens and representatives of the universities and churches and organisations of every sort were presented, but a subsequent occasion was made for the presentation of the repentant Mayor and Corporation. The weather throughout the visit to Toronto was very wet, and many outdoor functions had to be declared off. The banquet and ball given by the Law Society, of which the Prince was made an honorary member, were a great success. Divine service was attended by the Royal party on September 9 at St. James's Cathedral, where the sermon was preached by Bishop Strachan.

Loyal Toronto Misrepresented

On the 11th there were a gathering of the clans under the auspices of the Canadian Highland Society, a regatta, a Volunteer review, the opening of the Queen's Park, and the laying of the foundation-stone of a statue of Queen Victoria. In the afternoon deputations of the inhabitants of Kingston and Belleville, who came to deplore the

unfortunate occurrences which prevented his Royal Highness from landing at these towns, were received, and were assured that all painful feelings occasioned by the proceedings, which his Royal Highness knew were heartily disapproved of by the great majority of the inhabitants, were now entirely removed. Then there were visits to the University, Knox's College, the normal schools, and the Horticultural Society's grounds, where the Prince planted a maple tree with the help of a silver spade. The day was wound up with a State dinner and a ball in the Crystal Palace.

Amidst enthusiastic farewells of the whole population of the Queen City of the West, the Royal party, accompanied by the Governor-General, the Commander of the Forces, their staffs, and some members of the Cabinet, left Toronto on September 12, for London, in state cars provided by the Grand Trunk Railway, meeting at every station where the train stopped with an impressive, not to say fatiguing, series of demonstrations. In London itself the loyalty of the inhabitants seemed literally beyond measure, and, in addition to the State functions and addresses, the vast crowds insisted on the Prince appearing at the windows of his hotel again and again. The following day was devoted to an excursion to Sarina, sixty-two miles away, at which representatives, 150 in number, of all the tribes of Indians in the Upper Province came to pay their loyal devotion.

The railway progress was resumed early on the morning of the 14th for Woodstock, Paris, Brantford, and Fort Erie, at all of which there were receptions, addresses, and unmeasured enthusiasm. At the last-mentioned place the Royal party embarked on a steamer for Chippewa, where, after the usual ceremonials, his Royal Highness and suite were conveyed in carriages to the pretty cottage of Mr. Zimmerman, which had been leased and furnished expressly for the occasion. For some days there was a surcease of ceremonial receptions, and the party gave themselves up to the real delight of sightseeing round and about the famous Niagara Falls. The visit to Niagara closed on September 18, when the Royal party left Clifton in carriages for Queenstown Heights. Here the engagement was to lay the crowning stone of the monument erected to the memory of Sir Isaac Brock, "the hero of Upper Canada," who, like Wolfe at Quebec, fell on these heights after totally defeating, and making prisoners, an American army in the war of 1812. There had formerly been a monument raised by a grateful country to Brock's memory, but it was blown up by gunpowder from some insane idea of revenge by a renegade Irishman, and a new one, which cost £2,000, had been built and inaugurated, with considerable pomp, in the presence of a great assembly in 1859. The pinnacle of the obelisk, however, had been left incomplete that it might be placed in position by the Prince of Wales. The ceremony over, the Royal party drove from Queenstown Heights to the edge of the river, where they embarked on board a steamer which carried them to the pretty town of Niagara, where one of the many arches to greet them bore the inscription "Edward, Duke of Kent, August 22, 1792." That was the date when the Prince of Wales's grandfather landed at Niagara, which was then the capital and chief town of Upper Canada.

"The Hero of Upper Canada"

By steamer and rail the party then went on to Hamilton. Here, in reply to the usual address from the Mayor and Corporation, his Royal Highness made a touching reference to the fact that this was the last of the very numerous addresses from municipal and other bodies which had flowed in upon him throughout the Queen's dominions in North America; and he could say with truth that it was not the least fervent in its declarations of attachment to the Queen, nor the least earnest in its aspirations for the success and happiness of his future life, and in its prayers that his career might be one of usefulness to others and of honour to himself.

The Last of Canada's Loyal Addresses

During that and the next day there were, as usual, a levée, a concert, visits to educational institutions, a ball, then an inspection of a great agricultural exhibition, and the inauguration of splendid new waterworks. At the exhibition, which his Royal Highness attended in state, he received the last Canadian address. It was from the Agricultural Society of Upper Canada, and, in reply, the Prince referred in warm terms to the remarkable fertility of the soil of Canada, its hardy race of industrious and enterprising men, which, combined, should secure for Canada an important position in the markets of the world.

SILVER STATUETTE OF THE PRINCE OF WALES
Exhibited at the International Exhibition of 1862.

The Duke of Newcastle, in his report on the results of the visit to Canada to her Majesty Queen Victoria, written during the rest at Dwight, on September 23, to be subsequently noted, said: "Now the Canadian visit is concluded he may pronounce it eminently successful, and may venture to offer her Majesty his humble but very hearty congratulations. He does not doubt that future years will clearly demonstrate the good that has been done. The attachment to the Crown of England has been greatly cemented, and other nations will have learned how useless it will be in case of war to tamper with the allegiance of her North American provinces, or to invade their shores. There is much in the population of all classes to admire and for a good government to work upon, and the very knowledge that the acts of all will henceforth be more watched in England, because more attention has been drawn to the country, will do a great deal of good. The Duke of Newcastle is rejoiced to think that this is not the only good that has sprung out of this visit. It has done much good to the Prince of Wales himself, and the development of mind and habit of thought is very perceptible. The Duke of Newcastle will be much disappointed if your Majesty and the Prince Consort are not pleased with the change that has been brought about by this practical school, in which so many of the future duties of life have been forced upon the Prince's daily attention. He has certainly left a very favourable impression behind him." From first to last the Royal progress had been a complete success and was of far-reaching educational value to the future King.

Alexandra

From an engraving of Queen Alexandra in her early married life

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CHAPTER XX

KING EDWARD'S VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES

His Memorable Journey as "Baron Renfrew" through the Lost Colonies of the British Crown, and the Far-reaching Effect of that Tour

ON the afternoon of September 20, 1860, a Royal train conveyed the Prince of Wales and suite from Hamilton a distance of 200 miles, to Windsor, where he left British territory, and entered that of the United States at Detroit. The ferry steamer Windsor carried the Royal party from British shores to those of the great Republic, and the moment the craft entered the American waters the Mayor of Detroit and the Governor of Michigan, who had previously joined the steamer, bade Baron Renfrew, which incognito his Royal Highness now assumed, welcome to the old French settlement, now one of the newest and most go-ahead cities in Uncle Sam's wide dominions. A large fleet of river and lake vessels escorted the Windsor, decorated with flags and coloured lamps, which spelled the word "Welcome." Showers of rockets were discharged, and the wharves and buildings of the lake and river front were brilliantly illuminated. A crowd of 30,000 people of all classes had assembled round the landing-stage, and so eager were they to catch a glimpse of the Prince when he stepped on shore that it was impossible for a long time for the carriages to make any advance to the Russell House, where apartments had been taken for the party. Finally the Prince managed to escape in a carriage because nobody knew that he was in it: no one seemed for a moment to suspect that a quiet, handsome, fair-haired young man, dressed in a plain travelling-suit, was really the Prince of Wales. Till midnight the enthusiastic curiosity of many people was certainly embarrassing, as they hung round the hotel, and penetrated even into the corridor. These scenes were repeated the next day, when the Royal party drove in a carriage and four to the railway station to take train for Chicago. At every place where the train had to stop for traffic purposes there were crowds, which climbed up the sides of the saloon, peeped through the windows, and cried "Bring him out," "Let's see him," or, with the frank hospitality of simple country folk, offered presents of fruit, honey, and even home-made bread; and many a settler's heart was made glad when the members of the Prince's entourage accepted the offering on his behalf. In Chicago, where a stay was made at Richmond House, his Royal Highness's incognito was more respected, although the Duke of Newcastle wrote that he was received by enormous crowds of 150,000 people. "Nothing could be more remarkable than the mixture of interest and good-humoured curiosity with respect and desire to conform to the expressed wish to avoid outward demonstration."

It was felt that, after the fatigue and excitement of the last weeks, a rest was desirable, if not absolutely necessary; and therefore an arrangement was made to slip away to the neighbourhood of a small hamlet called Dwight, some considerable distance in the open prairie of Illinois State, and there quietly to have a few days' sport. The party included, of course, the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Lyons, Lord Hinchinbrooke, General Bruce, Colonel Grey, Dr. Acland, and Captain Retallack, aide-de-camp to the Canadian Governor-General, who organised the expedition. After a Sunday rest, on September 22, during which the Prince and his suite worshipped in the Presbyterian church of the township, four days were spent in the hunt after prairie hen, plover, and quail, during which the Prince proved himself a most successful shot. The party, in addition, had the good fortune to witness the striking phenomena of a prairie fire, a prairie storm, and a prairie sunset, and everyone was pleased with the attention and hospitality of the American hosts.

"THE NEXT DANCE": MR. PUNCH'S CARTOON ON THE AMERICAN VISIT
"Now, my boy," Mr. Punch is saying to the young Prince, "there's your pretty cousin Columbia You don't get such a partner as that every day!"

INDEPENDENCE HALL

In this famous hall at Philadelphia, which was visited by the young Prince on October 9, the first American Congress assembled, and here its sessions were held down to the year 1797. It was from this hall that the historic and epoch-making Declaration of Independence was issued.

The Royal party were conveyed on September 26 by train to Alton on the Mississippi, and thence by steamer to St. Louis, vast crowds everywhere cheering in most demonstrative manner all along the river. An official welcome was accorded to his Royal Highness by the Mayor, backed up by enthusiastic crowds of about 80,000 people.

A special train de luxe was provided for the Royal party on the morning of September 28, for a run of 300 miles to the city of Cincinnati, which, on account of a breakdown of a goods train, was only reached after a journey of two days and a night. After having passed through four and seen six States, and been greeted by every variety of people in sunlight, moonlight, lantern and candle light, amid manifestations of interest unique in the history of travel, the Royal party found strictly private quarters prepared for them in the Burnet House, occupying a commanding situation in this picturesque city of hills and ridges on the banks of the Ohio. There was a programme sufficient to fill a week, but all the Royal party could do was to take a drive through the principal streets, and into the neighbouring hills, the scenery of which, for quiet, cultivated beauty, can hardly be surpassed.

At Cincinnati and Pittsburgh

On Monday, October 1, the journey of 380 miles from Cincinnati to Pittsburgh was made, and the objective was only reached very late at night. An immense crowd, however, waited for the Royal party, and conducted them, with uproarious welcome, to the Monongahela House. Next morning the Mayor, with mistaken kindness, ordered out several companies of Militia, which, when the Prince in his carriage started to see what was interesting in the city, marched in front with the bands playing, and converted the affair into a State reception, or, perhaps more truthfully, a raree show. The unfailing good-humour of his Royal Highness, however, during the ordeal appealed to the better instincts of the people and won their hearts. No wonder was it that when the Royal train started from Pittsburgh for Harrisburg the Militia band played, and the people sang the beautiful Canadian song, "Jamais je ne t' oublierai."

The journey to Harrisburg was made by the Pennsylvania Central Railway, the track of which runs up and down the awe-inspiring gorges of the Alleghany Mountains. Mr. Andrew Carnegie, the celebrated Scoto-American millionaire, who was then only superintendent of the Pittsburgh Iron and Steel Works, accompanied the Prince in the train, and advised his Royal Highness to make the run on the engine-plate in order to see the grand panorama to the best advantage. "The Prince," said Mr. Carnegie long afterwards, "took the chances, for he was full of daring and spirit, and joined me on the engine-plate till the train reached Altoona, when he returned to his saloon." A day was spent at Harrisburg, and Washington was reached on October 3.

THE HOME AND BURIAL-PLACE OF WASHINGTON

Visiting Mount Vernon on October 5, Britain's future ruler stood bareheaded at the foot of Washington's coffin, and, before leaving, planted a chestnut by the side of the tomb.

A certain degree of ceremonial was observed from the first in the capital city of the great American Republic to which his Royal Highness had been officially invited, as has already been explained, by the President of the United States. There was, therefore, a great assemblage at the railway station waiting the arrival of the Royal train, but every care had been taken to keep the crowd within bounds by railing off a reserved space, which only privileged persons were allowed to occupy. General Cass, Secretary of State, who was accompanied by Mr. James Buchanan and Mr. James Buchanan Henry, nephews of the President, was on the platform, and received his Royal Highness as he stepped from his saloon. Lord Lyons introduced the Prince to General Cass, who, on behalf of the President of the United States, welcomed his Royal Highness to Washington. A few other introductions were made, and, without further ceremony, the party entered the President's carriages and drove to the White House. The route was lined with scores of thousands of brilliantly-dressed citizens, male and female, young and old, who cheered the Royal cortege to the echo.

The Prince and President meet

Just inside the portal of the stately Executive mansion, the venerable and dignified President greeted the arrival of his Royal guest, and when the Prince alighted from his carriage, Mr. Buchanan, with quiet dignity, stepped forward and shook him by the hand, with a frank and tender cordiality which everyone who witnessed it admitted to be touching in its simplicity and worthy of an historic meeting between the heir of the greatest monarchy and the Chief Magistrate of the greatest Republic in the world. The President at once led his Royal guest to the Blue Drawing-room, where he introduced Miss Lane, his niece, who did the honours as hostess, and Mrs. Ellis, niece

of the late Vice-President King. In the evening there was a State dinner, at which the high officers of State and their wives were present.

On October 4, after a visit of inspection, under the guidance of the President, to the Capitol, there was a levee by the President in honour of his Royal Highness. The President did not remain in any special place in the handsome State apartment, or take a prominent part in the reception at all. People passed on, gazed at the Prince, shook hands, bowed to him and the President, and were then marshalled out. In fact, it seemed less a reception than a mixed deputation, from which ladies were not excluded. There was a total absence of formality or restriction either as to dress or persons of any kind, and yet, as a rule, says a contemporary writer, "there was a quiet decorum in manner which, considering that all who chose to come might do so, would have done honour to any general assemblage in any capital in Europe . . . On the whole, I could not help feeling that it showed well for the American people." After luncheon there was a visit to the Patent Office, where there is a uniform worn by Washington, and

Washington warmly Welcomes the Prince

down the Potomac a dozen miles or so till opposite a conspicuous headland. There the yacht anchored, and the guests were rowed ashore in cutters. That in which the President and his niece were seated was steered by the Prince. When the boats touched land, the visitors stepped ashore on to Virginian territory, at the foot of Mount Vernon. A footpath, winding through clustering trees and thick underwood, led up to the home and burial-place of Washington. The relics of the Father of his Country, the key of the Bastille, and the portrait of Lafayette, were inspected. Washington's old armchair in which he used to sit, with the little desk on one side, on which he wrote and answered despatches, was brought out in order that the Prince of Wales might be honoured by sitting on it. The room in which Washington died is upstairs, but no one was allowed to enter it.

A rough, broken foothpath, through mazy wilds, led to what seemed to be the ruins of a cemetery. In front of a red brick wall, a few white marble columns, hemmed in by rusty iron railings, stand like sentries of the dead. Further round is a hollow, arched gateway, shut in by double iron gates. Within this gloomy recess are two white

THE FUTURE KING EDWARD SHOOTING ON THE PRAIRIES OF THE FAR WEST

After the fatigue and excitement of the Canadian tour, it was felt that a rest was desirable, and, after entering the territory of the United States, the Prince of Wales, accompanied by several members of his party, spent a few refreshing days in the open prairie of Illinois State, enjoying excellent sport.

where also is the old hand printing-press used by Benjamin Franklin. In the afternoon the Prince and his immediate friends freed themselves for a spell from the shackles of State, and visited the Gymnasium with Miss Lane, and the pair played a game of "ten pins" against Mr. Secretary Thompson and the Duke of Newcastle, and won; but in a single his Royal Highness had to lower his colours to Miss Lane, with the laughing comment that it was only another instance of the skill of America. The President entertained the Diplomatic Corps, and other officials, in the evening, after which Miss Lane held a reception. Then the Prince, escorting Miss Lane to the south balcony, while the numerous guests secured other coignes of vantage, witnessed a brilliant display of fireworks in front of the White House, which was watched also by scores of the inhabitants of Washington and of the towns, near and far, of the States of Virginia and Maryland.

The most interesting incident of the stay at the seat of Government occurred on October 5. The Royal party, accompanied by the President, his Cabinet, and the Diplomatic Corps, repaired to the dockyard and embarked on board the Government yacht Harriet Lane, and steamed

marble coffin-shaped sarcophagi, which reflect the wan and ghastly light over the little vault. That to the left bears the inscription, "Martha, Consort of Washington"; on the other is simply cut, in massive, heavy letters, the one word, "Washington." The correspondent of the "Times" wrote of the scene:

"Beyond this there is nothing, and nothing else is needed. . . . There is no pomp of woe about the spot . . . Before this humble tomb the Prince and President and all the party stood uncovered. It is easy moralising on this visit, for there is something grandly suggestive of historical retribution in the reverential awe of the Prince of Wales, the great-grandson of George III., standing bareheaded at the foot of the coffin of Washington. What may not history bring forth? The descendants of a regenerated line of Hapsburgs may yet do honour to the tomb of Garibaldi! For a few moments the party stood mute and motionless, and the Prince then proceeded to plant a chestnut by the side of the tomb. It seemed when the Royal youth closed in the earth around the little germ that he was burying the last faint traces of discord between us and our great

At the Tomb of George Washington

NEW YORK'S HOMAGE TO THE FUTURE KING EDWARD: THE FAMOUS BALL AT THE ACADEMY OF MUSIC

On the conclusion of his Canadian tour, the future ruler of the British Empire journeyed south to the United States, meeting in every place visited with the most generous welcome. The enthusiasm of New York was extraordinary, and revealed itself in many ways. At the ball given in the Prince's honour at the Academy of Music a brilliant scene was witnessed, the ladies' costumes being "recklessly magnificent." Only diamonds were permitted to be worn, and these were in such profusion that the "floor and the galleries sparkled like dew-laden banks of flowers in bright sunlight." Dancing was just about to begin when the flooring suddenly sank, but a regiment of carpenters, immediately summoned, soon nailed down a new flooring. In the above picture the Prince is seen opening the ball by dancing with the wife of the Governor of New York.

brethren in the West. May it be so, and may no American in the time hereafter think of the tomb of Washington without remembering the friendly visitor who planted the tree in whose grateful shadow it reposes. May the act live in the memories of both nations green as the offering that records it, and Britons recollect that in this graceful rite of homage to the memory of one whom we must now strive to claim our descendant, the Prince did honour to himself and his nation." The simple ceremony over, the party made their way back to the Harriet Lane, and on the return voyage to Washington a Royal salute was fired from the Arsenal.

Farewells at the White House

The Prince, with the rest of the Royal party, took leave of President Buchanan on Saturday morning, October 6. There were most sincere expressions of regret on both sides that the friendly visit had been so brief. The chiefs of the Administration also assembled at the White House to bid the visitors farewell. As the carriages containing the Royal party passed the Arsenal on their way to the dockyard, a salute of twenty-one guns was fired, and a similar honour was paid from the battery in the Navy Yard when his Royal Highness and suite embarked on the Government yacht which conveyed them down the Potomac River to Acquia Creek.

THE WHITE HOUSE AT THE TIME OF KING EDWARD'S VISIT

A special train was waiting to carry them to Richmond, where the reception of the Royal party was exuberant to excess. There were no police arrangements, and it was with the utmost difficulty that the carriages could get through the mobs on their way to the Ballard Hotel, where accommodation had been engaged for the visitors. Throughout the evening every room and stairway in the hotel were crowded with people striving and huddling to try and get a peep into the apartment where his Royal Highness was sitting. The same unseemly curiosity was endured on the Sunday, when the Royal party attended Divine Service at St. Paul's Church, and afterwards, when he went to pay a visit of courtesy to Mr. Letcher, Governor of the State, at the Capitol, which contains Houdon's great statue of Washington. One concession was, however, made to the Prince's susceptibilities. A great sale of slaves, which was to have taken place that Sunday, was postponed.

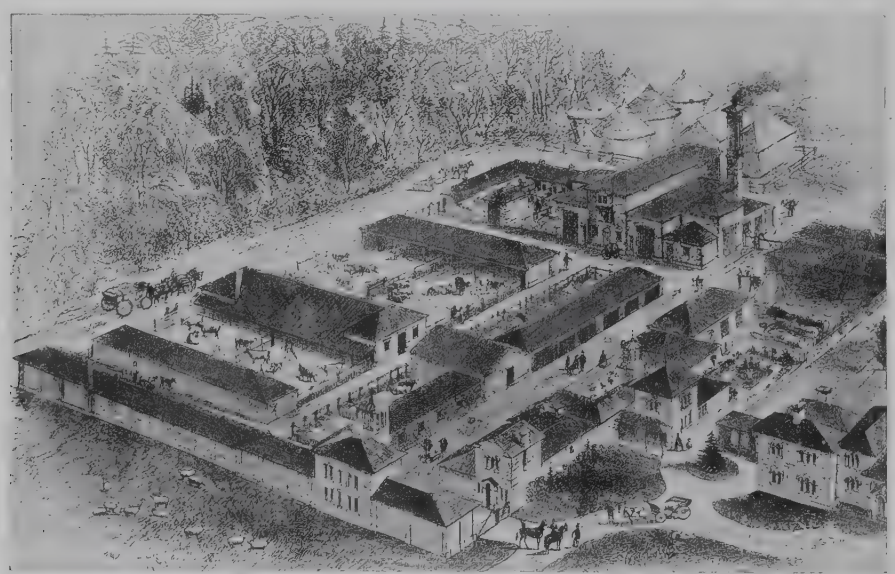
On Monday, October 8, the Royal party left Richmond for Baltimore, where the Prince received a great welcome from the civic authorities, and a military corps ensured admirable order. Next day the Prince drove with the Mayor through the city, visited some of the public buildings, and in the afternoon left for Philadelphia. In this, the second city in wealth and importance of the United States, there was a great concourse to see the Prince, but the welcome may be aptly described as one of orderly, decorous enthusiasm, befitting the city of "Brotherly Love." On October 9 the Prince and suite visited most of the principal public buildings, but special attention was given to Independence Hall, where the first American Congress assembled, from which was issued the Declaration of Independence; where the Convention met to frame the Constitution of the Republic; and where the Congress held its usual sessions down to the year 1797. In the evening there was a gala performance at the Opera House, at which the Prince heard for the first time the great *diva*, Adelina Patti; and he was so charmed with her performance in selections from "Martha" and "Traviata" that he asked to be presented to her, in order that he might congratulate her on her triumph. But there was a twofold, gratifying honour paid to the Prince. When he and his suite entered the auditorium, the audience spontaneously rose, and the members of the opera company, accompanied by the orchestra, sang the National Anthem with ringing ardour; and again at the close, when the Prince was about to quit the building, the whole audience sprang to their feet, and cheered with remarkable fervency. It was in this city that the incognito was, in fact, dropped, as it had really been in practice for some time before. It was no longer a question of Baron Renfrew, but of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

The Prince and his suite travelled from Philadelphia by water and rail to Ambay, where once more they embarked on the yacht Harriet Lane for conveyance to New York. General Winifield Scott, U.S.A., received his Royal Highness as he stepped on board, on the part of the military of New York, and Mr. Peter Cooper, as representing the Citizen's Reception Committee. Passing the several forts on the river, salutes were fired, while numerous double-decked steamers and boats of every description, crowded with spectators, formed a picturesque escort. On the approach to New York, the air was torn with the shrill screams of steam whistles and the brazen clang of countless bells. All around Castle Garden the flags of England and America were intertwined, and at the landing-stage the Mayor of New York, Mr. Fernando Wood, together with the aldermen and members of the Corporation, advanced to receive his Royal Highness. The Mayor, addressing the Prince, said: "Your Royal Highness, as chief magistrate of this city, I welcome you here. In this welcome I represent the entire population without exception." The Prince said: "It affords me sincere pleasure to accept your hospitality, which I have no doubt will be worthy of the great city of New York."

The members of the Corporation and General Sandford were presented to his Royal Highness, who then retired to the Castle Garden, and changed his morning dress for the scarlet uniform of a colonel of the British Army. The Duke of Newcastle wore his lord-lieutenant's uniform, and General Bruce, Colonel Grey, and Major Teesdale also assumed their full uniform, orders, and medals. The horses which had been ridden by the party in Canada had been purchased by the city of New York, and were there at their disposal—rather a pretty compliment. The "Times" correspondent thus described the scene: "Accompanied by the principal American officers, the party issued from Castle Garden towards the Battery. A long, deep, tremendous, sustained cheer greeted the Prince, who sat his horse as only a young Englishman can, and received his homage of welcome with the easy grace of one to the manner born. Certainly, as he cantered down to the Battery, his horse rearing at the tumult of cheers

How New York Received the Prince

around, he looked even worthy of the great welcome that awaited him, and more than that it would be difficult to say." In the Battery were drawn up in successive lines five brigades of the New York Militia, mustering in all between 6,000 and 7,000 men. Taken as a type of Volunteers of the country, they were certainly splendid specimens. The inspection and review over, his Royal Highness entered a magnificent barouche specially built for the occasion at a cost of a thousand dollars, drawn by six coal-black horses. On the Prince's right was Mayor Wood, and facing them were the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Lyons. Other carriages followed, containing the Prince's suite, members of the Corporation, and high-placed officials. Starting from the Battery, a progress was made through the principal streets of the city amid the acclamations of hundreds of thousands of brightly dressed citizens; but it was in the famous Broadway that the enthusiasm reached its climax. Viewed from the City Park, where there was a march past of the regiments from the Battery, the Broadway appeared one long vista of lofty palaces thronged from base to summit with thousands of people. It was seven o'clock, and dark, before the Royal procession reached the Fifth Avenue Hotel—a larger and handsomer building than Buckingham Palace, and constructed entirely inside and out of pure white marble. Here a magnificent suite of rooms had been prepared by the city for the reception of the Prince and his entourage, and around it for hours vast crowds collected, and cheered with might and main. Later in the evening the Prince was serenaded by the Caledonian Club.



THE PRINCE CONSORT'S MODEL FARM AT WINDSOR

Republican Cheers for the Royal Guest

On the following day the Royal party visited Astor Library, the Cooper Institute, and the University of New York; in the last-mentioned received an address from Principal Ferris, and heard a lecture on the electric telegraph by Professor Morse, whose name will be ever associated with his invention of the electric telegraph alphabet of dots and dashes. In the evening the Prince and party were entertained to a grand ball in the Academy of Music by the "Upper Ten Thousand" of New York, or, rather, 3,000 of them who were able to secure tickets. As much as £150 was offered for admission before the dancing began, and offered in vain. The ballroom was as brilliant a picture as any of the Royal party had witnessed. The ladies' costumes were recklessly magnificent. Only diamonds were permitted to be worn, and these were in such profusion that the floor and the galleries sparkled like dew-laden banks of flowers in bright sunlight.

The Prince and his suite arrived at half-past ten o'clock, and were received by the orchestra playing "God Save the Queen," and then conducted by the chairman of the committee to a dais reserved for the guests. The band had just struck the opening bars of the quadrille, with which his Royal Highness was to inaugurate the ball, when the flooring in front of the reserved circle gave way, and sank three feet. Fortunately, no one was injured, as the fall was so slight; and, what was more astonishing, there was no panic. The New Yorkers were determined not to be balked of their ball. A regiment of carpenters were summoned without loss of time; a new flooring was nailed down, to the music of the orchestra; and the Prince and other guests spent the time, while repairs were going on, in an informal conversazione in the supper-room. The work was done with marvellous quickness, so quickly, indeed, that one of the men was overlooked and nailed down for a brief space under the new floor! The Prince opened the ball a little after midnight by dancing the quadrille with the wife of the Governor of New York as his partner. His Royal Highness won golden opinions by leaving the reserved circle, and dancing with Miss Roosevelt, among others, over the very spot where the accident had occurred, and he took the irrepressible curiosity of both dancers and wall-flowers with the utmost good-humour, and danced right through the programme till 5 a.m.

Saturday, October 13, was devoted to sightseeing, and to making a private call of two hours on the veteran campaigner, General Winifield Scott. On returning to his hotel, an incident occurred which was magnified by the Yellow Press into an "Outrage on the Prince of Wales," "Attempted Assassination of the Prince." The real fact was that a very drunken English sailor persisted in blocking up the door of the hotel and uttering all sorts of vague, maudlin threats against "Albert Edward." The police accordingly removed him, and the poor fellow died two nights afterwards in the lock-up from delirium tremens, brought on, it was proved, by more than three weeks' incessant intoxication. In the evening the Prince viewed from a balcony in front of the hotel a grand torchlight procession of 6,000 firemen. All their engines, burnished like gold, were hung with flowers, and the men were attired in red tunics, and brazen helmets, each with a torch, while the lamps of the engines were illuminated with limelights.

The Firemen's Pretty Compliment

The effect as the procession marched down Fifth Avenue was as if a river of flame were approaching. When the column—which took an hour and a half in passing, and was several miles in length—passed the Royal balcony, deafening cheers rent the air, and the men lighting Roman candles, thousands of variegated balls of fire went whirling up in all directions. The effect of this was really wonderful. The Prince was charmed with the pretty compliment, and he acknowledged the cheers of each company as it passed with unconcealed delight.

On Sunday the Royal party attended Divine Service at Trinity, or the Mother Church, and the event was the occasion of an imposing ecclesiastical function. Three bishops, Drs. Potter, Odenheimer, and Talbot, and thirty-two clergymen were present. The sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Wintoup, and during the service prayers were offered up for her Majesty Queen Victoria, the Prince Consort, and Albert Edward Prince of Wales—the first time such a petition had been made for English Royalty in this historic church since Dr. Inglis had been driven from it because he persisted in praying for George III.

The departure of the Prince and the suite from New York on Monday, October 15, was witnessed by the same immense crowd who had welcomed their arrival, and who gave their parting guest a magnificent send-off. "They cheered as Republicans seldom or ever cheered Royalty before."

The Duke of Newcastle in his last letter written to Queen Victoria from America described "the most wonderful and gratifying success of the visit to the United States. . . . He certainly never ventured to hope for anything approaching the scene which occurred in New York—a scene such as probably was never witnessed before—the enthusiasm of much more than half a million of people worked up almost to madness, and yet self-restrained within bounds of the most perfect courtesy by the passage through their streets of a foreign Prince, not coming to celebrate a new-born alliance or to share in the glories of a joint campaign, but solely as a private visitor and as exhibiting indirectly only the friendly feeling of the country to which he belonged. Two causes have produced this remarkable result—the one a real warm affection for England, which has been growing in the hearts of the great mass of the natives of the United States and which only required the genial influence of such an event as this to force into a vigorous expansion; and the second is the very remarkable love for her Majesty personally which pervades all classes of this country, and which has acted like a spell upon them when they found her Majesty's son actually among them. There can be no doubt that the most important results will ensue from this happy event, and such as the ablest diplomatist could not have brought about in a quarter of a century. The Duke of Newcastle does not doubt that the feelings of amity between the two countries will, in spite of the alien element which is so strong in this land, be such for some time to come as to have an important bearing upon those events which it is too probable will soon arise in Europe." The Duke added that "the President's hospitality was in thoroughly good taste, and most agreeable to all concerned. There is no doubt that pleasant impressions have been left on both sides. The old gentleman was quite touching at parting, and promised to write to your Majesty."

America's Affection for England

On the Far-famed Hudson River

When the Royal party left New York, the ultimate destination was West Point, but incidentally, the trip being made by the Government yacht Harriet Lane, it enabled the Prince and his suite to obtain a view of the far-famed scenery of the Hudson River, which a poetic enthusiast has described as a stream "flowing through the gorgeous visions of fairyland." At the landing-place of the great military academy of the United States, the Royal party were received by Colonel Delafield, the commandant, and the chief officers of the institution. A company of dragoons formed an escort to the commandant's quarters, where the staff officers were presented to his Royal Highness. After an informal review of the cadets, 300 in number, the Prince and party had time to enjoy and drive about the superb scenery of the neighbourhood. Next morning, October 16, they joined the steamer Daniel Drew, "the fastest steamer in the world, for she could run her twenty-two miles an hour," and sailed up the Hudson, past the Catskill Mountains, Sunnyside, the home of Washington Irving, and Sleepy Hollow, the scene of his weird story of "The Headless Man." Twenty miles below Albany the Daniel Drew met the steamer Young America, with the Mayor and Corporation of the legislative capital of the State of New York, who had come down to escort his Royal Highness to their city, which, on arrival, they found beautifully decorated, and scores of thousands of Albanians on the wharves to cheer. Two regiments of Militia turned out as an escort to the Prince during his drive to the Capitol, where he was received by Governor Morgan. There was the usual drive round the town and environs, and a State dinner was given by the Governor at his private residence.

KING EDWARD'S EARLY INTEREST IN AGRICULTURE: AT THE SMITHFIELD CLUB CATTLE SHOW

Inheriting from his father a deep interest in agricultural pursuits, King Edward was ever ready to lend his patronage to their promotion. In the above illustration he is seen at the Smithfield Club Cattle Show in 1863, at which time he had already become a member of the club as well as a governor of the Royal Agricultural Society.

On the following morning the Prince and suite took the cars for Boston, and all the stations along the road were crowded with eager visitors who had been waiting for many hours, simply to see the train whirling past, and to cheer as if they had been favoured with a personal interview. The train stopped at Springfield and Worcester for a few minutes, and the Prince came out on the platform of the car and bowed his acknowledgments of the storm of enthusiasm evoked from the multitudes for a mere passing

glance of his Royal Highness. Boston, with its traditions of culture, gave the Prince and Royal party a reception which was as earnestly cordial as could be desired. Indeed, it was only inferior to that of New York by the limitation of the number of inhabitants. The Royal train stopped at the suburban station of Longwood, where Mr. Lincoln, Mayor, and a few leading citizens received his Royal Highness. Open carriages had been provided for the processional passage through the beautifully decorated streets to the Revere House, specially reserved for his Royal Highness. The Boston Lancers and Light Dragoons formed a picturesque escort to the Prince's carriage, and the greeting of the huge crowds could not have been exceeded in fervour, and at the same time admirable order. Next day was, on the recommendation of the Mayor, observed as a general holiday, and the Prince and party had a busy, interesting, if also a fatiguing time of it. Early in the morning his Royal Highness was pleased to receive Mr. Ralph Farnham, a veteran of 105 years, who had fought through the greater part of the War of Independence, and was the last survivor of the Battle of Bunker's Hill. The Prince had a long conversation with the veteran, who was accompanied by his daughter, seventy years of age. The Royal party was then driven to the State House, where Governor Banks formally welcomed his Royal Highness to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in a cordial speech. Then came a review of the Militia, some companies of which were in the quaint uniform of a hundred years ago, on the historic Common, the beautiful central park of Boston. The vast multitudes were delighted when the Prince and the military members of his suite arrived in full uniform of the British Army. The review was a great success, and the return to the State House was made the occasion of an ovation from all Boston on holiday, which was moving in its happiness. In the afternoon the Royal party repaired to the Music Hall, a magnificent building decorated with regal magnificence in honour of the Prince, a conspicuous feature being the flags of England and America intertwined. After a musical festival in which 1,200 juvenile choristers took part, a new version of the English National Anthem, written for the occasion by Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, was sung by the children.

Busy Days at Boston

THE PRINCE CONSORT

One of the latest portraits of King Edward's father, taken a short time before his lamented death in 1861.

In a remarkable letter (quoted by Sir Theodore Martin in his "Life of the Prince Consort"), written by Charles Sumner from Boston on October 23, to Mr. Evelyn Denison, then Speaker of the House of Commons, referring to "the uprising of the people in Boston" to welcome the Prince, occurs this striking sentence: "I doubt if any description can give you an adequate idea of its extent and earnestness. . . . I remarked to Dr. Acland that it 'seemed as if a young heir long absent was returning to take possession.' 'It is more than that,' said he, affected almost to tears. For the Duke of Newcastle, who had so grave a responsibility in the whole visit, it is a great triumph. I took the liberty of remarking to him that he was carrying home an unwritten treaty of amity and alliance between two great nations."

There was the inevitable ball in the evening in the Opera House, quite as grand as that at New York, and without any disturbing element.

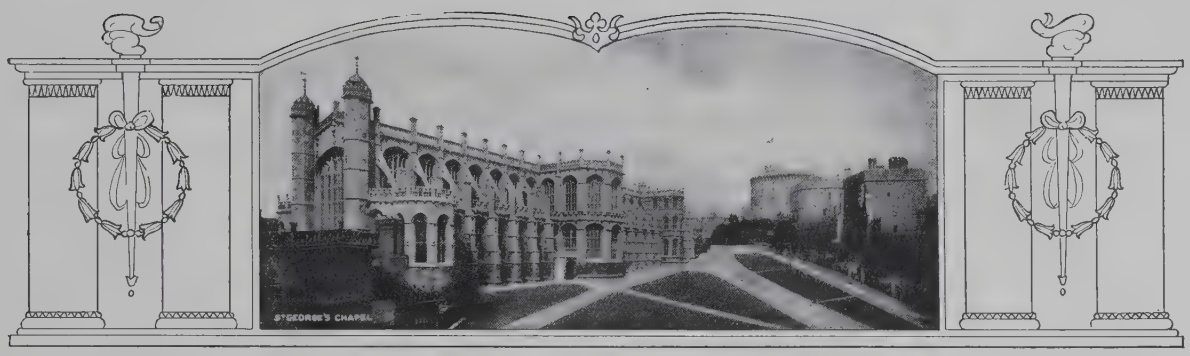
On Friday, October 19, the Royal party visited Mount Auburn Cemetery, famous in early American history, and the Prince planted two trees. Then on to Harvard University, where his Royal Highness and suite had a very spirited reception from the professors of the different faculties and the students. Afterwards the Prince had pleasant interviews with Longfellow, the poet, Emerson, the philosopher and friend of Carlyle, and Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, the "Autocrat of the Breakfast Table"; and the drive back to Boston was through Cambridge Town and by Bunker's Hill.

The "wander tour" had now been completed. It only remained to journey to Portland, where it had been arranged the Royal squadron was to rendezvous on October 20, and receive his Royal Highness. Accordingly, on the morning of that date the Royal party bade farewell with every demonstration of esteem and affection to their kind hosts of the city of Boston. The arrival of the special train at Portland was announced by a salute of thirty-three guns from the men-of-war in the harbour, and the Royal party were received by Mayor Howard, the members of the City Council, and other distinguished gentlemen. Carriages were in waiting, and there was an informal procession through the city down to the harbour. "Crowds thronged the streets leading to the wharf; the hill overlooking it was black with people, the ships in the bay were dressed with colours. There were great shouting, cheering, and waving of handkerchiefs as his Royal Highness stepped into the Hero's barge, and one long-shouted 'Farewell' seemed to fill the air as the boat shoved off from American soil, and the first Prince of Wales who had ever visited the United States quitted the shore with the love and good wishes of all its people."

The home-bound squadron consisted of the Hero, Ariadne, and Flying Fish. The last, a small, slow sloop, was speedily left behind, and the battleship and frigate went on together, eventually casting anchor inside the breakwater at Plymouth on November 15, after a voyage of twenty-six days. A special train conveyed the Heir Apparent to Windsor, where his reception by his parents and brothers and sisters, after his memorable triumphant sojourn in the great Western Continent, may well be imagined.

The Duke of Newcastle received the distinction of an extra Knight of the Order of the Garter, as an acknowledgment of her Majesty's appreciation of the most successful and gratifying manner in which his Grace had rendered services during an event of the greatest importance, and attended with considerable difficulties. Upwards of three hundred addresses were presented to the Prince of Wales during the tour, to more than one hundred of which he delivered replies. These were arranged and printed for private circulation by the Duke of Newcastle.

Honour to the Duke of Newcastle



CHAPTER XXI

THE PASSING OF KING EDWARD'S FATHER

Reviewing the Prince's Labours for the National Welfare and the Widespread Grief at his Death, and Showing the Reflection of his High Character and his Lofty Ideals in the Life of his Illustrious Son

MUCH of the success of the Prince of Wales's travels in Canada and the United States was due to the foresight and thoughtfulness with which his father had organised the tour. The voyage was part of a scheme for drawing together England and her colonies and America, of which the Prince Consort was the chief author. Prince Albert, like his great son, was a noble peace-maker, but the English people scarcely recognised his full worth until he was beyond the reach of their praise. He was struck down suddenly in the prime of life, and at a moment of grave national peril. When, close on midnight on Saturday, December 14, 1861, the great bell of St. Paul's began to toll heavily there were few persons who divined for whom it was tolling. Even the Prince of Wales thought that his father was only suffering from a feverish cold. He arrived in great haste at Windsor on the fatal day, just in time to kneel with his stricken mother by the bedside of the dying Prince, and kiss his hand.

On a cold, stormy morning, three weeks before, the Prince Consort had gone to Madingley Hall to direct his son's studies at Cambridge, and he had returned to Windsor feeling very unwell. Rest and care were necessary, but it was a time of great national anxiety, and the Prince had to work very hard to prevent an outburst of popular passion on both sides of the Atlantic from hurrying England and the United States into war. Only three months after the Prince of Wales came back from the New World as the herald of closer, friendlier relations between all the English-speaking races, the Northern and Southern States of America were torn apart over the question of slavery, and Great Britain was involved in the struggle. A warship of the Northern States had stopped the English mail steamer Trent, and forcibly captured two envoys from the Southern States who were sailing in it. This high-handed, illegal proceeding made the English people exceedingly angry, and on November 30, 1861, Palmerston's Cabinet prepared a very peremptory despatch to Washington, and submitted it to Queen Victoria. It was then that the Prince Consort interfered. "Albert did not approve," wrote the Queen in her diary; and she went on to say that, though the Prince was so weak that he could scarcely hold a pen, he wrote out a memorandum in the Queen's name, suggesting that the despatch should be redrafted in a far more friendly tone, so as to make President Lincoln's task of offering an apology as easy as possible. "Everything," said the American Ambassador when he received the despatch, "depends on the wording of it." Happily it was couched in the very language of the Prince Consort's memorandum, and the danger of war was thus averted.

A CHARACTERISTIC PORTRAIT OF THE PRINCE CONSORT
From a photograph by Mayall.

This was the last and the greatest political action of the Prince Consort, who has sometimes been very unjustly censured for interfering in matters of government. How could a man of any nobility of soul refrain from interfering when he saw this great nation plunging blindly into an unnecessary and terrible war which would have had a profound and disastrous effect on the future of the whole world? Would he not give his life to prevent it? This was what the Prince, in fact, did. The arduous exertions of mind and body which he made for the cause of peace, at a time when he was so ill and outworn that he had not slept for a fortnight, exhausted all his reserves of strength. His mind began to wander on December 6, and the Queen asked the physicians what he was suffering from. "Great worry and far too hard and long work," they replied. On December 12 congestion of the lungs set in, and on the night of the following day the noble Prince slowly and calmly passed away.

The Queen had retired to an adjoining room to give way to her grief, and Princess Alice begged her to return. When her Majesty entered the sick-room, she saw why she had been summoned. Though the appearance of the Prince had strangely altered, his breathing, which had been so troubled, was now gentle; but when the Queen took his hand, she found that it was already cold. She knelt by her Consort's side, the Prince of Wales knelt at the foot of the bed with the Princess Helena, and Princess Alice bowed down close by. The physicians, equerries, and attendants remained at some distance from the bedside. A grief too deep for tears held the mourners silent and motionless. As the Castle clock chimed the third quarter after ten, the fine, manly face of the Prince recovered its serenity and beauty; he drew a long but quiet breath, and his soul went out to that world beyond the reach of the senses in which all high and generous aspirations find their end and their fulfilment.

The Queen's Bereavement

The Queen had borne herself with wonderful courage during the illness of her Consort, but she came out of the death-chamber a numbed, despairing, distracted woman. Life had brought to her the highest, rarest combination of felicities. So many considerations of national importance attach to the negotiations of Royal alliances that it is not often that persons of supreme rank can marry wholly for love; and in the rare cases in which they have been able to follow the dictates of their heart, their marriage has not always been a perennial source of happiness to themselves, and a large and continual benefit to their people. But by the grace of God, Queen Victoria had found in her high-minded, large-souled Consort all that a sweet, pure, gentle woman, who was also the ruler of a mighty race of freemen, could desire. Her felicity was extraordinary, and so was the misery of soul that followed. "My life as a happy one is ended," she wrote to the King of the Belgians. "The world is gone for me. If I must live on (and I will do nothing to make me worse than I am) it is henceforth for our poor fatherless children—for my unhappy country. But, oh! to see our pure, happy, quiet domestic life, which alone enabled me to bear my much disliked position, cut off at forty-two is too awful, too cruel!" A few days afterwards she wrote to Lord Canning: "To lose one's partner in life is, as Lord Canning knows, like losing half of one's body and soul—torn forcibly away. But to the Queen—to a poor, helpless woman, it is not that only—it is the stay, support, and comfort which is lost! To the Queen it is like death in life! Great and small, nothing was done without his advice and help, and she feels alone in the wide world, with many helpless children to look to her, and the whole nation to look to her—now when she barely can struggle with her wretched existence! Her misery—her utter despair—she cannot describe. She lived but for her husband!"

The grief that the Queen and her older children felt quickly spread through the land. There was no man, and especially no woman, so dead of imagination, so cold of heart, as not to sympathise with their widowed Queen and fatherless Princes. And some national remorse mingled with the national sorrow, for, by reason of his foreign birth, the Prince Consort had been rather jealously regarded by the English. Yet, in spite of the prejudice under which he laboured, he had gradually won, first the esteem, and then the liking, of our slow-minded but retentive race.

THE LAST DRAWING ROOM ATTENDED BY PRINCE ALBERT WITH QUEEN VICTORIA, AT ST. JAMES'S PALACE IN 1861

From the picture by Jerry Barrett.

The Prince was buried in the most profound and deserved grief evinced by any nation within the memory of any man then living. Indeed, there were a depth and a sincerity in the manifestations of national sorrow and national respect far greater than any shown on the death of any monarch of the Stuart or Brunswick line. Owing in no little measure to the wise direction of her husband, Queen Victoria had established the English monarchy upon a broader, surer, more democratic basis than it had had since the age of Queen Elizabeth; and with a generous instinct, the people in a wonderful accord, yet without any concerted movement, spent the day of the funeral, December 23, 1861, as a day of mourning. Shops in London were closed in the most remote thoroughfares, and in every private house the blinds were drawn down. The crowds that thronged the city generally wore some mark of mourning, and services were held in all the churches and most of the chapels. No one could go abroad and note the expression worn by every countenance without feeling impressed by the air of sadness that pervaded the streets, and by the effort made by each citizen to

London's Day of Mourning

The hearse approaching St. George's Chapel

Outside St. George's Chapel on the arrival of the funeral cortege

THE FUNERAL OF ALBERT THE GOOD: SCENES IN THE MOURNFUL PROCESSION AT WINDSOR

repress all symptoms of holiday enjoyment, and to show by his demeanour his deep sense of the calamity which had befallen the nation.

A still more remarkable sign of respect was that the people refrained from crowding to Windsor, on learning that the Prince had expressed a wish to be buried in a quiet and private manner. The funeral was, therefore, carried out with little of the pomp and pageantry of a State ceremonial. The day was still and gloomy as befitted the mournful occasion, and the town of Windsor was bleak and deserted, the inhabitants remaining indoors behind their drawn blinds. But in the great quadrangle of the Castle all the chief men of the State had assembled to do honour to the obsequies of the Consort of their Queen. At twelve o'clock the sad procession of mourning coaches moved from under the Norman Gateway, and wound down to the door of the Chapel Royal.

The Funeral at Windsor

KING EDWARD AT HIS FATHER'S FUNERAL: THE PROCESSION IN THE NAVE OF ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL

There the Prince of Wales, the chief mourner, waited the arrival of the slowly moving hearse. Young, inexperienced, and suddenly deprived at the critical moment in his career of the wise and loving father who had directed his every step in life, he yet carried himself with remarkable fortitude. His loss was even greater than that of the Queen, and he was of an age to be keenly aware of it. His travels had opened his mind to the extraordinary responsibilities that rested on the shoulders of the ruler of an Empire far greater than that of ancient Rome; but he could not take, in the prospect of his vast power and his vast possessions, the careless pride of a Roman Emperor. His father had rightly made it one of the chief aims of his life to enlarge and vivify in him the conscience of the high and difficult duties awaiting him. Now, unhappily, Prince Albert had passed away, leaving the more important part of his son's training undone. He had shown him what was the task of his life, but he had not had time to teach him how to perform it. The Queen was ill and exhausted with grief, and she intended, if she recovered, to live as much as possible in retirement. She had already a great and varied knowledge of men and matters of State, gathered with the help and guidance of her prudent and enlightened husband. But her heir would have to go out in the world alone, and purchase wisdom by the hard and long process of personal experience.

As he stood at the door of the chapel there was a strange pallor on his young face that told of anxious nights passed in sad meditation. His eyes were red with weeping, yet he met the coffin, containing the remains of the man he had ever loved more than any other, without breaking down. But now and then in the chapel, as he remained motionless beside his dead father, he gave way to irrepressible tears. While he was doing his utmost to restrain his feelings, it could be seen from the working of his features that the effort was too violent for long endurance. Little Prince Arthur, who stood close to him, could not check or hide his grief, and his face streamed with tears. It was on this melancholy and strange occasion that the future King Edward first showed in public that eager, touching kindness of heart which was the most winning of all his traits of character. Unconscious of the throng of spectators, and forgetful of his own deeper sorrow, he turned to Prince Arthur—who was then but a child of eleven years of age — and soothed and comforted him, and for a few minutes both of them seemed to bear up better. But as the procession moved forward, and the long, sorrowful wail of the dirge went echoing through the gloom of the ancient chapel, the little boy again began to sob as if his very heart were breaking. This time the Prince of Wales was unable to solace him, for he, too, was weeping. Everybody present was deeply moved, and the dean's voice shook as he read the solemn, mournful service. When the last ceremonial was ended there was an unearthly silence, and as the winter wind moaned hoarsely against the casements, the quick, sharp rattle of the troops outside reversing arms was plainly heard. Then came the muffled toll of the bell, the boom of the minute guns, and the coffin slowly sank into the grave.

There was more than mourning at this pathetic moment. The Prince of Wales hid his face in his hands, and, losing at last all control of himself, broke out into deep sobs. Coming forward, he stood with clasped hands looking down into the grave; but bursting again into a wild fit of weeping, he covered his eyes, and the Lord Chamberlain gently led him away.

When all was over, and the last of the long, lingering train of mourners had departed, the attendants descended with lights to the entrance of the grave, and moved the bier along the passage leading to the Royal vault. But the body of the noble Prince was not left in its dark and narrow resting-place until some dear memorials of love and regret were laid upon the coffin. Late in the day a messenger brought from Osborne to Windsor three little wreaths and a bouquet. The wreaths

Tributes of Love and of Sorrow

were simple chaplets of moss and violets from the children; the bouquet of violets, with a white camellia in the centre, was made by the heart-broken wife. These tributes were sorrowfully placed above the mortal remains of Albert the Good, and, after this final act of graceful care, the entrance to the vault was closed. On December 18, 1862, the coffin was removed to the mausoleum at Frogmore, built by the Queen for its reception.

Left without the support and guidance of his father, the young Prince set before himself the duty of walking in his footsteps. From this dark period right on to the close of his own noble career, that remained the highest aspiration of his life, and from it he derived many of those gifts which made him one of the most popular of kings in the history of England. In order clearly to estimate the inspiration which King Edward the Peacemaker obtained from following the example of Albert the Good, the example which the father set the son must be considered.

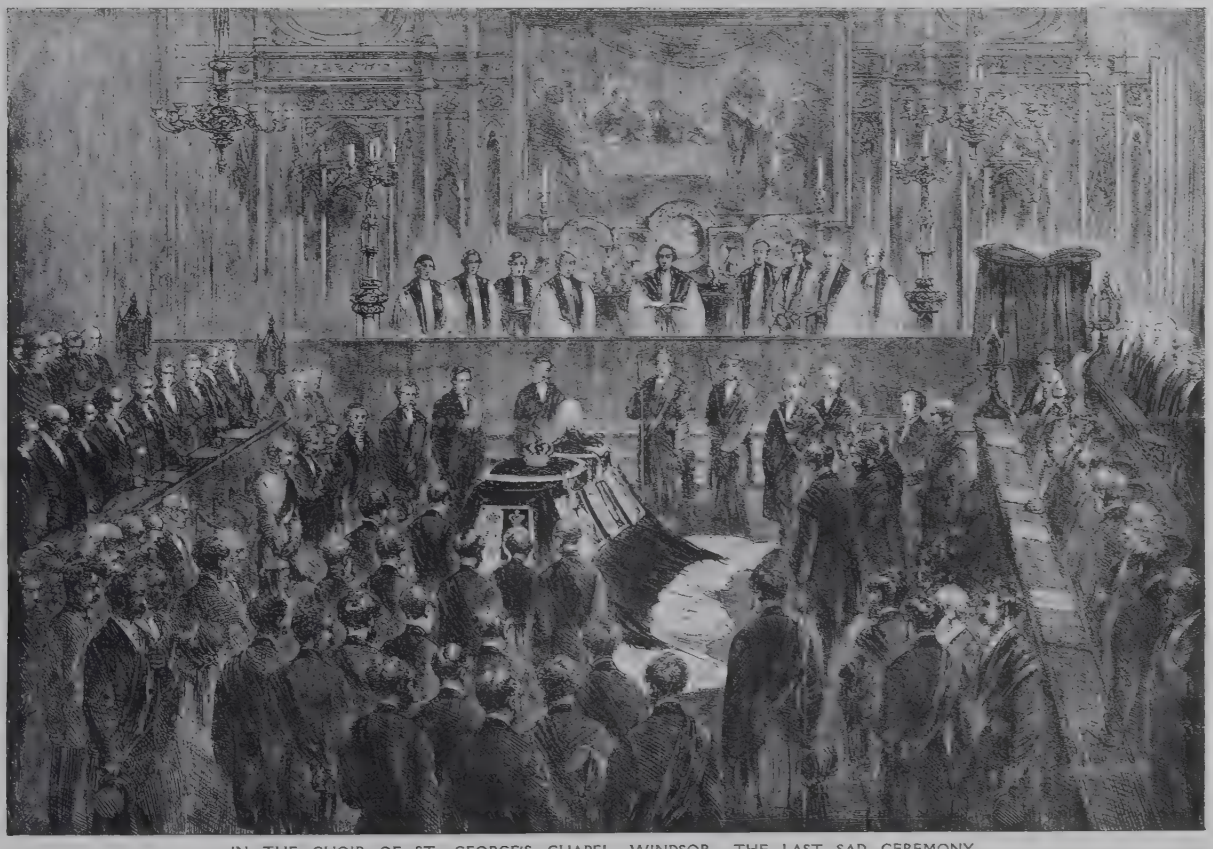
In regard to the deeper issues of both foreign and domestic policy, the Prince Consort was by far the clearest-sighted statesman of his time in England. Unfortunately, he was cut off at a time when he was still only able, by reason of the prejudice that he had to encounter, to indicate vaguely the outline of his policy.

England's Debt to Prince Albert

It must be remembered that he had been only twenty-two years in England. During the first half of this period he was little more than a learner—learning the nation's ways, learning its temper, studying its points of weakness and its points of strength. He had, undoubtedly, much to teach the nation in turn, but before he could do so he had to make his mark in the country. Towards the middle of the century he felt at last firm ground beneath his feet, and striking out the idea of the Great Exhibition, he executed it magnificently, in the face of much coldness and opposition. By its success he gained an immense accession of popularity. Englishmen began to discover that the Consort of their Queen had a will and a mind of his own, and that they had much to learn from him. But even when he was in a position to teach his lesson, he had to use in its inculcation great caution, greater tact, and extraordinary patience; for the lesson was one which he had imported from Germany, and the spirit of it was not then altogether agreeable to the genius of the English race. In some respects he was the precursor of Matthew Arnold, Huxley, and Ruskin. He saw with that clear definition which only a foreign point of view can give the defects of the English mind of the mid-Victorian era. Entangled in the vast web of the industrial civilisation which it was laboriously fashioning, it was gradually sinking into an intellectual apathy. By accepting work, and the money won by work, as ends in themselves, it tended to regard things of the mind as idle hobbies, art as an empty distraction, music as a mere noise, and science as a puzzling nuisance. Prince Albert, on the other hand, was an example of that balance of mind which some of the best intellects in Germany attained in the middle of the nineteenth century. He loved and cherished everything which adorned, enlarged, and spiritualised human life; he haunted the studios of famous artists, he delighted in the society of men of learning, and he took a passionate pleasure in music of the finest sort. All these tastes he ardently desired to revive and spread through every class of men in the Empire.

The Prince Consort as a Statesman

But knowledge was the thing which he wished, above all, to propagate—the knowledge of principles, of ideas, of theory—the kinds of knowledge which Germany was then beginning to use so patiently, so quietly, but with the



IN THE CHOIR OF ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR: THE LAST SAD CEREMONY

IN MEMORY OF ALBERT THE GOOD

The Statue at Balmoral

Equestrian Statue in front of St. George's Hall, Liverpool

At the Framingham College

The Monument at Perth

The Stately Memorial in Hyde Park, London

In Peel Park, Salford

At Sydney, New South Wales

At Windsor Castle

Manchester's Memorial

EXAMPLES OF THE NUMEROUS PUBLIC MEMORIALS IN HONOUR OF THE PRINCE CONSORT

promise of tremendous results. King Edward said in 1887, at the opening of the Imperial Institute:

"I have on more than one occasion expressed my own views, founded upon those so often enunciated by my lamented father, that it is of the greatest importance to do everything within our power to advance the knowledge as well as the practical skill of the productive classes of the Empire. The advantages we have enjoyed in the competition of the world by the possession of fuel, combined with large mineral resources, and by the maritime habits of our people, are now becoming of less importance, as trained intellect has in other countries been more and more applied to productive industry."

Prince Albert's Social Policy

Is this a commonplace truth now? It was, unhappily, regarded as a useless, impracticable, and expensive fancy when it was put forward by Prince Albert sixty years ago. It was part of his great social policy to raise the working classes to a position of intellectual power, by giving them opportunities to secure an understanding of the principles, as well as the practice, of the work in which they were engaged. This was one of his chief purposes in organising the Great Exhibition. In his view, a system of popular education of a really thorough sort was urgently needed to fit the working classes of England for the important part which they would soon have to play in the industrial and political affairs of their country, and in the world at large. Deep and keen as were the feelings of the Prince in regard to the terrible problems of poverty, he examined the matter with eyes unclouded with sentiment. While fostering, like the Queen, every movement that tended to alleviate the sufferings of the poor and mitigate the social disadvantages under which the multitude of unskilled labourers lived, he sought himself, not for a palliation of this disease in the body politic, but for a radical cure for it. This radical cure he found in the idea of a thorough technical system of education, and all that that idea denotes—the spirit of independence and self-help which grows in a man as his higher capabilities are elicited and employed; the leisure and the passion for the things of the mind which intellectual power procures and fosters; and the habit of thrift and simplicity of life, which, joined with a cultivated sense of "the joy in widest commonalty spread" by great poets and prose writers, great painters and musicians, makes a man in any rank of life strong and lissome of mind, and magnanimous in deed.

THE MOURNING QUEEN

Queen Victoria in widow's dress, taken a short time after the death of her beloved husband.

Such was the high, and yet not impracticable, ideal of a domestic policy which, thrown off in outline by Prince Albert, was continually drawn out in greater detail by King Edward. In order to perceive how wide and profound was the influence exercised in this matter by the father on the son, one has only to compare their public speeches, and then turn to the meagre records of the slight interest shown by the predecessors of Queen Victoria in the fundamental social problems of their age. The Queen herself was, no doubt, as sweet, good, and kind in her girlhood as she was in later life; but it was not until she married that her feeling for the personal welfare of her people acquired definition and direction, through the knowledge and the effort of mind brought to bear on it by her husband. It was Prince Albert's intellectual view of the problems of our industrial civilisation that was the real source of inspiration, and from it, as he has continually proclaimed, King Edward derived all his ideas of social reform.

"In laying this great national question before you," said King Edward some years ago, "I have followed the example of my father, by offering to place myself at the head of a great social movement."

In the early part of the nineteenth century the English people would have smiled, and perhaps laughed outright, if they had heard the matter of the teaching of music—for it was of this that King Edward was speaking—referred to as "a great social movement." The revolution of the national taste in regard to this, the most spiritual of the arts, is in a very large degree due to the continuous propaganda of Prince Albert and King Edward. And this indeed was what the King went on to point out. "To the efforts of my father," he said, "whose name will always be remembered with gratitude for the powerful influence he exercised on the intellectual advancement of the country, might be traced in great measure the important place which music now holds in the estimation of all classes. To raise the people you must purify their emotions and cultivate their imaginations; to satisfy the natural craving for excitement you must substitute an innocent and healthy mode for acting on the passions, for the fierce thirst for drink and eager pursuit of other unworthy objects. Music acts directly on the emotions, and it cannot be abused, for no excess in music is injurious."

This is one of the most eloquent things that King Edward ever uttered. One can see from the fine, profound thought underlying the feeling with which it was spoken that it was an expression of a long brooding love for that divine art which has only come in modern times to its full perfection. "Three centuries ago," his Majesty sadly remarked on the same occasion, "England occupied a higher place in the musical world than she does at the present time. We have now no national music, nothing indicative of national life or national feeling." This was undoubtedly true in 1882—the date of the speech in question—and if, as seems likely, England is now in the way to recover the position in music which she lost in the sixteenth century, the chief credit for this striking achievement must be given to Prince Albert and King Edward. Never, in the history of any art, has Royal patronage so rapidly provoked the sleeping genius of a race into activity.

King Edward a Patron of Music

A deep and earnest love of science and art, based on an impassioned sense of their importance as factors in the progress of mankind, commonly goes with a deep and

KING EDWARD AT THE TIME OF HIS MARRIAGE

QUEEN ALEXANDRA AT THE TIME OF HER MARRIAGE

earnest love of peace. The maintenance of the peace of the world was the one object in the foreign policy of the Prince Consort, to which, as has been seen, he was ready to sacrifice his life. It was his love of peace which made him turn from the battle-plain of Europe, where Prussia and Austria and France were dressing themselves for a struggle for dominion, to the New World, and send his son there as a message of amity between the English-speaking races. Speaking of Prince Albert's action in preventing hostilities between our country and the United States during the American Civil War, a distinguished American historian, Dr. Draper, says: "One illustrious man there was in England, who saw that the great interests of the future would be better observed by a sincere friendship with America than by the transitory alliances of Europe. He recognised the bonds of race." There can be no doubt that if the Prince Consort had lived another ten years, the work which his son afterwards carried out would have been rendered much easier. Magnificent as were the efforts of King Edward the Peacemaker, he had to strike out his own policy in this matter, with nothing except the spirit of his father's large, but unachieved, scheme for the pacification of the world to inspire him. Queen Victoria was, perhaps, somewhat too entangled by the natural feelings of a woman for family ties and dynastic bonds to break away from the traditional policy of the early Hanoverians. Prince Albert, however, put England's interest, and the interests of the world's peace, above everything else, and it was by following his example that King Edward won the rarest and the most glorious title that a king can attain—the title of Peacemaker.

Edward the Peacemaker

In summing up this estimation of the part played by the Prince Consort in moulding the character and furnishing the mind of King Edward, the exquisite personal traits which the son clearly inherited from the father must not be overlooked. Everything concurred to develop in Prince Albert an extraordinary fineness and delicacy of tact. Married at an early age to the beloved Queen of a headstrong, sturdy, critical race of freemen, who were violently suspicious of any foreign influence being brought to bear upon them, the Prince had to calculate every word and every action with an extreme regard to their susceptibilities. Vital though the importance was of some of the plans of reform which he wished them to adopt, he could effect nothing by force; he had to win his way by persuasion and charm of manner. Were these not the very qualities by means of which his son endeared himself to his people, and won the regard of foreign races, and achieved a series of splendid triumphs in the difficult field of international politics? It is not, indeed, extravagant to say that the chief thing that distinguished King Edward from nearly every other ruler in the world was the easy and yet exquisite tact of mind and the familiar and yet distinguished grace of manner which in many ways constituted the most valuable of all the legacies which Prince Albert left to his son.

There were many smaller points of similarity between "the noble Father of our Kings to be" and his eldest boy. Even in matters of farming and stock-breeding, for instance, King Edward followed the example and the methods of Prince Albert, and the passionate love of sport which the Prince Consort was inclined to repress, out of consideration for his young and rather timid wife, became one of the master passions of his heir. But here we must consider only the larger points of resemblance, and they are, as has been seen, of high importance. The day after the funeral of her husband, Queen Victoria said to the King of the Belgians: "I am anxious to repeat one thing, and that one is, my firm resolve, my irrevocable decision—namely, that his wishes, his plans, about everything, his views about everything, are to be my law." King Edward must often have made the same vow, for it is impossible to survey clearly the whole course of his career without perceiving at every important point deep traces of the influence of the actions and general example of Albert the Good.

The Influence of Albert the Good

A HIGHLAND TRIBUTE TO KING EDWARD'S FATHER: THE PRINCE CONSORT'S CAIRN, OVERLOOKING THE DEE NEAR ABERGELDIE

CHAPTER XXII

KING EDWARD'S FIRST TOUR IN THE EAST

Being a Description of his Journey through the Wonderful Land of the Pharaohs, and of his Ever-memorable Visit to the Scenes of Biblical History in the Year 1862

THE visit to Egypt and the Holy Land formed part of the scheme of education originally drawn up by the Prince Consort to be carried out in the case of the Prince of Wales. Indeed, some time before his death, the Prince Consort fixed in his own mind that the director of the grand tour to the East should be Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, then Regius Professor of Church History at Oxford, afterwards Dean of Westminster, and author of a learned work on "Sinai and Palestine," based on his researches during a prolonged visit to those countries in 1855. The choice was approved by Jowett, Maurice, Charles Kingsley, and other learned divines, and, after some hesitation, Dr. Stanley agreed to undertake the onerous duty. In the train of the young Prince, besides General Bruce, his governor, Colonel Keppel and Major Teesdale, equerries, were the Hon. Robert Meade, of the Foreign Office, and Dr. Minter, the Prince's physician.

Start of the Eastern Tour

It was agreed that the Prince and his suite should travel overland, and pay some visits on the Continent, that Dr. Stanley should make his way to the East via Malta, and that the rendezvous should be Alexandria.

The Prince took leave of Queen Victoria on February 6, 1862, at Osborne, crossed the same evening from Dover to Ostend, whence he travelled to Darmstadt, to pay a brief visit to the Grand Ducal family on account of the betrothal of Prince Louis to the Princess Alice.

From that city the Prince of Wales, accompanied by Prince Louis, went on to Munich, where a stay of two days was made to enable him to visit the galleries and museums for which that city is famous, and to breakfast with the King of Bavaria. Thence the party proceeded to Vienna, where the Prince had several meetings with the Austrian Emperor and some of the Grand Dukes; but, owing to his being in mourning for his Royal father, State ceremonials were dispensed with.

From Vienna the route was continued to Trieste, where the Empress of Austria was then resident, and upon whom the Prince made a call. At this Adriatic port the Prince and his suite joined the Royal yacht Osborne, and made a cruise down the Dalmatian coast, landing at several picturesque spots, to Corfu, where a few days were spent.

A course was then set for Alexandria, which was reached late on February 28, where the Prince's party were joined by Dr. Stanley. When the Royal traveller landed on March 1 he was received with a salute of twenty-one guns, which the Viceroy Said insisted on being fired, on the ground that otherwise the natives would have misconstrued the omission of Royal honours. Train was at once taken to the Palace of Kasr-en-Nil, in the suburb of the capital of Egypt. There the Viceroy met the Prince and his suite, and during a brief interview showed them every attention. Then they drove in carriages to the palace placed at the disposal of the Royal party. A few days were spent in Cairo to enable the Prince to receive and return State visits from and to the Viceroy, and to inspect the sights of the wonderful city, the native bazaars, the mosques, and the citadel. Dr. Stanley, writing home, said:

"There was a ride through the streets on donkeys, much to the horror of the old Turkish Pasha, the Viceroy's Chamberlain, who thought it not *convenable*, and educed to the contrary the example of the Comte de Chambord. But in vain. His Royal Highness rode on a donkey called 'Captain Snooks,' I had 'Tom Sayers,' someone else 'Bill Thomson.' We rode round the streets. The rush of Oriental imagery seemed to me as remarkable as ever. Beautiful open carriages were provided to take us to the English church on Sunday. But no carriages could penetrate the intricate and narrow lanes of the Coptic quarter, and so we defiled on foot through these filthy passages. It was a remarkable proof of the Prince's quickness of memory and kindness of attention that in church he recognised Crichton (afterwards Lord Erne), of whose arrival in Egypt he had not heard a word, as having once played tennis with him at Oxford. He immediately on coming out said to me, 'Was not that Crichton? Stop for him,' begged me to call him, and spoke to him for some minutes. That is certainly a most useful and king-like quality."

The voyage up the Nile was commenced on March 4, in the Viceroy's steam-yacht. The first stopping-place was Djizeh, where the Egyptian ruler met the Prince and his suite, and provided for them horses and carriages, dromedaries and asses. The Prince chose a dromedary, and the mixed cavalcade set out through the rich cultivated fields and palm-groves of the Nile bank, and then into the desert amid the gathering darkness, to the immediate neighbourhood of the Sphinx and the Great Pyramids, where a camp of splendidly furnished tents had been fixed for them by direction of Said Pasha. There was no time to do more than have a glimpse in the starlight of the most mysterious and wonderful work of man, the Sphinx, and to *feel* the presence, as it were, of the Pyramids. Stanley thus wrote of the ascent of the great Pyramid of Cheops on March 6:

Viewing the Great Pyramids

"General Bruce and I slept in the same tent. At break of day Keppel opened the tent-curtain and announced

that the Prince was already off for the Pyramids. We got up and rushed off as fast as we could. We all reached the base of the great Pyramid from different directions, and in the dim twilight I stumbled over someone as I was setting foot on the first step. It was the Prince. We were so early that the Arabs had not collected, and, instead of the superfluous help that most travellers find, there were not enough to furnish one apiece. I had secured one little Bedouin boy, whom I offered to the Prince; but he resolutely refused, and began the ascent himself. I became somewhat uneasy, for the stones, though manageable enough with assistance of the Arabs, were so smooth in certain places that a single false step would have tumbled his Royal Highness down to the bottom! My boy kept asking, Where is the governor? What; that little chap! Why, he go up alone!' At last I insisted on the boy going alongside of the Prince, and, though he still went on without help, the Arab could have given him a helping hand in case of need. And so we all came to the top. The sun had just risen, and the view, but for the mist over Cairo, was glorious, although no doubt far inferior to the view at sunset. We sat there for about half an hour, and then came down."

Ascent of the Great Pyramid

A daylight inspection of the Sphinx and a glimpse at the tombs near by was made, and then the party, in caravan order, returned to the banks of the Nile, where they were met by Mr. Colquhoun, British Consul-General, and Habib Effendi, of the Egyptian Foreign Office, who had been appointed by the Viceroy to act as attaché during the Egyptian stay.

The flotilla which began the voyage up the Nile consisted of Mr. Colquhoun's dahabieh, two Government steamers, and the Viceroy's saloon barge for the special use of the Prince. As a result of the experience gained in the long days spent on the historic river, Dr. Stanley wrote: "It is impossible not to like the Prince, and to be constantly with him brings out his astonishing memory of names and persons. I am more and more struck by the amiable and endearing qualities of the Prince. His Royal Highness himself laid down a rule that there was to be no shooting to-day (Sunday), and though he was sorely tempted as we passed a flock of cranes and geese seated on the bank in most inviting crowds, he rigidly conformed to it. A crocodile was allowed to be a legitimate exception, but none appeared. He sat alone on the deck with me talking in the frankest manner for an hour in the afternoon, and made the most reasonable and proper remarks on the due observance of Sunday in England."

The first sight of an Egyptian temple was obtained at Esneh, and the great portico was illuminated in a wonderful manner by torchlight; but the flotilla passed on to Assuan, which was reached on March 12, from which an expedition was made to the First Cataract of the Nile, and to the island of Philæ, with its wonderful temples and the burial-place of Osiris—"a most unearthly, strikingly wild, beautiful spot."

On the return journey the great Temple of Edfu was inspected, and on the morning of Saturday, March 15, the party reached Luxor, which, with Karnak, formed the ancient Thebes, where the Prince met his uncle, the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, who was making an expedition into the heart of Africa. On the following day the party proceeded, escorted by numerous Bedouin guards, headed by their Sheik on a white camel, and Fadal Pasha, Governor of Upper Egypt, on a white ass. In a home letter, Dr. Stanley wrote: "The Prince had suggested what had already occurred to me, and was arranged with General Bruce, that our service at Thebes should be in some tomb or temple. Accordingly, I chose a corner of the great hall of Karnak, read the Psalms of the day, and preached on the two verses about Egypt which they contain—(Psalm lxxx. 8): 'Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt'; (Psalm lxxxi. 10): 'I am the Lord thy God which brought thee out of the land of Egypt.' It was, I must say, a strange scene. In the furthest arches of that vast cathedral were herded together the horses, dromedaries, asses, and their attendants. In the shade of two of the gigantic pillars, seated on a mass of broken stone, were ourselves, two or three stray travellers, and the servants in the background. The Prince expressed great pleasure at the sermon, and begged to have a copy of it. It was on the good and evil of the old Egyptian religions."

After a brief stay at Assiût to witness a Jereed, or display of horsemanship and spear-throwing, by Arab tribesmen, which much interested the Prince, and at Beni-Hassan and Memphis to inspect the ruins, the Royal party reached Cairo on Sunday, March 23, after an absence of fourteen days. Here news was received by Dr. Stanley of the death of his mother. It was an almost overwhelming grief to him, but he determined to remain at his post by the side of the Prince, according to his mother's earnest dying wish. Before leaving Egypt for Palestine an interesting excursion was made to the shores of Arabia. On March 25 the Prince and suite took train from Cairo to Suez, where he was received by Omar Bey, the Governor, and conducted to a steamer for a trip to the Arabian coast of the Gulf of Suez. The immediate objective was Ain Mousseh, near the celebrated "Wells of Moses." The steamer's boats could not get within fifty yards of dry land, and the Prince and party enjoyed the fun of tucking up their trousers and wading ashore. Here there were horses, which were mounted, and the pilgrims rode gleefully to

Sad News for Dr. Stanley

THE VICEROY OF EGYPT WELCOMING THE HEIR TO THE BRITISH THRONE AT CAIRO

The capital of Egypt was one of the earliest places visited by the future King Edward in the course of his Eastern tour in 1862. Heartily received by Said Pasha, the Viceroy, the young Prince and his suite had a palace placed at their disposal, and spent several days inspecting the sights of the wonderful city of Cairo.

EN ROUTE FOR THE GREAT PYRAMIDS: THE ROYAL PARTY LEAVING THE ENCAMPMENT AT DJIZEH

Sailing up the Nile in the Viceroy's steam-yacht, the Prince and party landed at Djizeh, where the Egyptian ruler met them with horses and carriages, dromedaries and asses. Selecting a dromedary, the Prince mounted it, and the cavalcade set out for the Great Pyramids, travelling into the desert through the rich cultivated fields and palm-groves of the Nile bank.

the legendary wells. A return was made to Cairo on March 27, and the Prince and his suite left immediately by train for Alexandria, where a few remaining antiquities were inspected. They embarked the same night, amid the thunders of salutes from the shore batteries, on board the Royal yacht Osborne.

From the land of the Pharaohs the Royal pilgrim and his devoted friends and attendants turned their faces towards the Promised Land; but, unlike the Israelites of old who wandered many years to their goal by desert ways, the modern seekers after Canaan found their path over the waste of waters. A couple of days' sail brought the yacht to Jaffa Roads, but the Royal party did not go ashore until Monday, March 31. The exit from Jaffa was by the Jerusalem Gate, near to which was the house of Simon the Tanner and Dorcas of the charitable heart. The road then passed through the famous plain of Sharon, the perfume of whose roses has scented the ages, by Lydda, where St. Peter cured Æneas of the palsy, and where the Crusaders built a church and dedicated it to St. George. That church was destroyed by Saladin, but restored by Richard of the Lion Heart, and still remained a monument of interest to Richard's kingly successor. At Jimza, the Gimzo of the Old Testament, the Royal party entered the hill country of Judæa, the scene of so many battles from the days of Joshua and the Amorites, and in later ages between the Saracen and the Crusader. There tents were pitched and the night spent. Next morning, after climbing to the summit of Beth-Horon Pass, a view was obtained of Neby Samwil, the birthplace of Samuel and Gibeon; and in the distance a first glimpse of the Holy City. It was at this spot that Richard of the Lion Heart hid his face in his sleeve and said, "Ah! Lord God, if I am not thought worthy to win back the Holy Sepulchre, I am not worthy to see it."

In Sight of the Holy City

At the news of the approach of the Prince of Wales, the Turkish Governor of Jerusalem, Surraya Pasha, with an escort of Turkish cavalry, whose spears and pennons glittered in the sun, joined the Royal party; but soon, says Stanley, the cavalcade increased. The English clergy, groups of ragged Jews, Franciscan monks, Greek priests collected, with here and there, under trunks of trees, children singing hymns, these groups at last becoming a crowd.

And so the Prince came to Jerusalem by the Jaffa Gate, and gratified the Pasha and the motley crowds by riding through the city. The Royal party, however, afterwards went out by the Damascus Gate, and set up camp on the northern slopes of the hills there. During the next few days, under the personal guidance of Dr. Stanley, the Prince and his suite made excursions to the Mount of Olives, the ancient church, now a mosque, built over the site of the Room of the Last Supper, to the reputed house of Caiaphas, the Garden of Gethsemane, the Calvary Church on Mount Calvary, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the chamber adjoining the Tomb of David, into which—with the exception of the Duke of Brabant, the Prince's cousin—no Christian had been permitted to enter since the time of the Crusades. A visit was also paid to the English Missionary School and Church, and to the English burial-ground.

The Prince on Sacred Ground

Of the route to Bethany, an hour's distance from Jerusalem, Dr. Stanley wrote: "Late in the afternoon we reached Bethany. I then took my place close to the Prince. Everyone else fell back by design or accident, and at the head of the cavalcade we moved on towards the famous view. This was the one half-hour which throughout the journey I determined to have alone with the Prince, and I succeeded. I pointed out each stage of the triumphal entry, the fig-trees, the stones, the first sight of Jerusalem, the scene of the acclamations, the palms, the olive branches; the second sight where 'He beheld the city, and wept over

it.' The whole cavalcade passed on that long ledge. It was as impressive to me and as authentic as ever. . . . I turned round to call the attention of the rest of the party, and as I turned I saw and bade the Prince look round too—the only detail which could have been worth noting on such an occasion—a flock of white sheep and black goats feeding on the mountain side, the groundwork of the great parable, delivered also from this hillside, on the Day of Judgment. The cavalcade moved on again, and I fell to the rear, feeling that I had at least done my best. How often I felt as if my tongue clove to the roof of my mouth. By the Valley of Jehosaphat we returned, and so the day closed."

THE ROYAL PARTY RIDING TO THE GREAT TEMPLE OF EDFU

A visit to Hebron and the Tombs of the Patriarchs, which was made on Monday, April 7, was "a triumph for the diplomacy of General Bruce," writes the biographer of the Dean of Westminster. Hebron occupies a prominent place in the history of the Hebrews. It was the site of the Cave of Machpelah, which Abraham bought of Ephron the Hittite for a burial-place, in which he interred Sarah, his wife, in which he himself was laid, and in which also Isaac and Rebecca and Jacob and Leah were entombed. It was the capital of the Sweet Singer of Israel until Jerusalem was taken. The cave and its traditions were well known to the early Christians. A Byzantine church was built over it, and its walls now form part of the Mohammedan mosque erected at the time of the Saracen conquest of Palestine. Since 1187, no European or Christian, except three in disguise, had entered the sacred precincts. The question was to obtain sanction for an inspection of this remarkable place. Application was made to the authorities at Constantinople for a firman, but all they did was to send to the Governor of Jerusalem, Surraya Pasha, a recommendatory letter, leaving it to his judgment to give the "open sesame." It was now with the Pasha that General Bruce had to deal, and he could not prevail with the old Moslem to grant the requisite permission, partly because of his religious scruples, and partly from real fear for the Prince's safety should there be an outbreak of religious fanaticism. General Bruce took a high hand, left the Pasha's palace in Jerusalem with an assumption of dudgeon, and departed with the Prince and his suite for Bethlehem. The Pasha soon became thoroughly alarmed at the displeasure, as he conceived it, of the heir to the Sovereign whose Government had always defended the Caliphate, and who himself might in course of time become the ruler of more followers of the Prophet than the Sultan himself. Accordingly, he rode after the Royal party, overtook them at Bethlehem, and gave the assurance that the Prince's wish would be gratified, but that he must be accompanied by only one member of his suite.

In the Tombs of the Patriarchs

The site of David's city was taken possession of on April 7, by soldiery quite other than those with whom David made his conquest, and lined the approach to the Sanctuary of Abraham, the "Father of the Faithful," the "Friend of God," and the Patriarchs. "In the narrow streets hardly a face was visible in the houses," wrote Dr. Stanley; "only a solitary figure of a guard standing on every housetop, evidently to secure that no stones should be thrown down. In short, it was a complete military occupation. At last we reached the corner of the great Jewish enclosure. At the summit of a short flight of stairs of huge polished stones, we turned into the actual building of the mosque. In the recess on the right is the Shrine of Abraham; in the recess on the left that of Sarah, each guarded by silver gates. The Shrine of Sarah we were requested not to enter, as being that of a woman. A pall lay over it. The Shrine of Abraham, after a momentary hesitation, was thrown open. The guardians groaned aloud, but their chief turned to us with the remark: 'The Prince of any other nation should have passed over my dead body sooner than enter; but to the eldest son of the Queen of England we are willing to accord even this privilege.' He stepped in before us and offered an ejaculatory prayer to the dead Patriarch: 'Oh, Friend of God, forgive this intrusion!' We then entered. The chamber is cased in marble. The so-called tomb consists of a coffin-like structure about six feet high. Fictitious as the actual structure was, it was not impossible to feel a thrill of unusual emotion at standing on such a spot." Even the favoured son of the Queen of England was not allowed to enter the Tomb of Rebecca, or any other of the Matriarchs, and he was barred entrance to that of Isaac, "because Isaac was proverbially jealous, and it was exceedingly dangerous to exasperate him. When Ibrahim Pasha of Egypt (the conqueror of Palestine twenty years before) had endeavoured to enter, he had been driven back by Isaac, and fell back thunderstruck." The gates of Jacob's tomb were opened with a deep groan. Near the Shrine of Abraham there was a small circular hole which is the entrance to the real Cave of Machpelah, where it is supposed the body of at least one member of the Patriarchal family lies, partly to allow the sacred air to escape from the cave and perfume the mosque, and partly to allow the descent of a lighted lamp which the custodians say the dead saint likes to have at night. There are the tombs of Joseph and his wife and of Judah outside the mosque; and in the town are also shown the tomb of Abner and Jesse.

Stanley's Debt to the Prince

When the Prince and Dr. Stanley returned to the encampment, pitched outside the town, after their successful pilgrimage, the latter went up to General Bruce and congratulated him on the successful diplomacy by which he had secured the unheard-of entrance to the tombs, and learned for the first time that "the Prince from the first had made my entrance an indispensable condition of his going at all." Stanley thereupon went to the Prince to thank him, and express how, but for him, he should never have had this great opportunity. "Well," said the Prince, with touching and almost reproachful simplicity, "high station, you see,

has, after all, some merits, some advantages." "Yes, sir," Stanley replied. "And I hope that you will always make as good a use of it."

From Hebron a return was made to Jerusalem, and then, arrangements having been completed for the northern journey, the Royal party started on April 10 from the Holy City, camped at Bethel, and on the following day proceeded by way of Shiloh to Nablus, on the eve of the Samaritan Passover. After visiting Jacob's Well, the whole party ascended Mount Gerizim to witness the only direct vestige of the Hebrew Passover celebrated by the remnant of the ancient sect who had "no dealings with the Jews." The whole Samaritan community, amounting to 152, were encamped in tents, to which the women were confined, on a level space a few hundred yards below the summit of the mountain. At three-quarters of an hour before sunset the prayers began. Presently there suddenly appeared among the worshippers six sheep guarded by youths in white garments. It was like a pastoral scene in a play. "The sun, which had hitherto burnished up the Mediterranean Sea in the distance, now sank very nearly to the further western ridge. The recitation of prayers became more vehement; indeed, it was, I believe," says Dr. Stanley, "the recitation from the early chapters of Exodus. The sheep were driven more closely together, still perfectly playful. The sun touched the ridge. The youths burst into a wild chant, drew their long, bright knives, and brandished them in the air. In a moment the sheep were thrown on their backs, and the long knives were drawn across their throats. The six forms lay lifeless on the ground—the only Jewish sacrifice that remains in the world. In the blood the young men dipped their fingers, and marked the foreheads and noses of all the children; not the doors of the tents, nor the faces of the grown-up.

Witnessing the Hebrew Passover

There was a wildness about it which was extremely striking, and carried one back beyond any other institution to those ancient days."

The next process was that of fleecing and roasting the slaughtered animals—the former in a trough, and the latter in a trench filled with burning faggots covered with wet earth. So much had the Prince and his suite seen, and they descended to the plain to the repose of their tents. Not so Dr. Stanley. He remained the night on the mountain with his servant, and saw the rites through.

Palm Sunday, April 13, was spent at Nablus, from which on the following day the Royal party descended from the hills of Samaria to the plains of Esdraëlon and Megiddo, and encamped on the 15th at the foot of Mount Carmel. Next morning they marched to Acre, famous in ancient as well as modern history. Here the Prince was received with much pomp by the Governor, the long, sandy beach being lined with Turkish troops. Thence the progress was once more inland to the hills of Galilee. At Nazareth, where Dr. Stanley had timed the party to arrive on Good Friday, the scenes of Christ's early life were visited, and the day was made one of solemn rest, Dr. Stanley, in his expressive sermon, making eloquent reference to the hill town.

On the Saturday, during the ride to Tiberias, the party came to the encampment of a famous Bedouin, Agyle Aga, who had protected the Christians during the massacres of 1860. This Arab chief, with all the lordly grace of his race, invited the Prince and his suite to a repast cooked and served in the true style of the desert. "I looked at everything," says Stanley, "with a view to Abraham and to Jael, and have now a far better notion of both than I had before. Agyle Aga was much gratified by the Prince's visit, kissed his foot in his stirrup, and offered him two mares. It was Easter eve. The Prince and I rode alone over the hills. He made the best proposals for the Communion the next day, and spoke much of our dear mother (Mary Stanley, Mrs. Vaughan), and his father. 'It will be a sad Easter for me,' he said. 'Yes,' I said, 'and a sad one for me. But I am sure that if your father and my mother could look down upon us they would be well satisfied that we should both be at this time in this place.' Suddenly we reached the ledge of the cliffs, and the whole view of the lake burst upon us. He quite screamed with surprise and pleasure, so unexpected was it and so beautiful. It was, indeed, that view of which I am always afraid to speak, lest the glory of the recollection should tempt me to exaggerate its real character. But on that evening, the setting sun throwing its soft light over the descent, the stormy clouds climbing to and fro, it was truly grand; and when we found our tent fixed at the bottom of the hill by the old walls of Tiberias on the very edge of the lake, General Bruce came up to me and said, 'You have indeed done well for to-morrow.' From the

Guests of an Arab Chief

LEAVING THE HALL OF COLUMNS, KARNAK, ON THE RETURN JOURNEY TO LUXOR

After inspecting the great Temple of Edfu, the Prince and his suite, escorted by numerous Bedouin guides, proceeded to Luxor, which, with Karnak, formed the ancient Thebes. In this illustration they are seen emerging from the famous Hall of Columns at Karnak.

THE ENTRY INTO BEIRUT, WHERE THE PRINCE AND PARTY WERE ENTHUSIASTICALLY RECEIVED

Reaching Beirut on the evening of May 5, the future King Edward and his suite encamped in a pine-grove close to the city. There the Turkish authorities and the representatives of the British colony met the Royal party, and what amounted to a State entry was made into the ancient seaport.

moment that it had become possible that we should be here on Easter Day, I had fixed my heart upon it, and when Easter Day broke I went out early to look at the view. The eastern hills were dark, the sun behind a bank of clouds poured down its fairest rays on the calm lake, and the western tops were tinged with golden light. At ten we had our service in the great tent. We were all there; I selected what I thought the most essential part of the service for Easter Day. I preached on John xxi., taking the chapter through piece by piece. It was certainly a very solemn occasion, and I am thankful we had it there, and not in Jerusalem amid the clatter of contending churches. After a long, quiet morning we strolled into the filthy town, and then, glad to escape from it, walked along the shore to the hot springs, and then far away to the hill immediately overhanging the exit of the Jordan. Altogether it was to me the climax of the tour to have had our Good Friday service at Nazareth, and our Easter Communion on the shores of the Sea of Galilee."

Easter Service by the Sea of Galilee

On Monday, April 21, the Royal party explored the northern shores of the lake, and then mounted to Safed, where the camp was made for the night, going on next morning to Kadesh, the Holy Place of the great tribe of Naphtali, the birthplace of Barak, and close by the scene of the murder of Sisera. The rest of the week was spent in crossing the plain of Abel-Beth-Maachah to the celebrated Crusader fortress of Belfort, and in exploring the banks of the wild and mysterious river, the Litany. Here it may be well to give an outline of the description given by Dr. Stanley of a typical day's journey of the Royal party in the Syrian desert, in the hill country of Judæa, Galilee, or by the sacred shores of Jordan: "I will begin with the evening. You must imagine us winding down some hillside. In front is usually his Royal Highness in his white robe, with his gun by his side. Close by him, also in a white burnous, is the interpreter, Noel Moore, who must always be with him as we approach any town, to be prepared for the arrival of some petty governor coming out to meet us and falling on his knees to kiss the Prince's stirrup." Then follows a description of the different members of the entourage: "Around or before or behind, but usually as we approach the encampment, scampering over everybody in violent haste to be close to his Royal Highness, the long array of fifty mounted spearmen, their red pennons flashing through the rocks and pickets as they descend. They have been with us all the way from Jaffa. We descend, and the servants gallop to the front in order to make the most of their time before we reach the tents. We find the tents just pitched, usually on some grassy platform by a running brook. Tea and coffee come round to us. By this time the sun has set, and, if there is nothing to be seen, some sleep, others exchange visits till seven, when all gather in a large tent for dinner, a substantial but not luxurious meal, in this respect a great and beneficial contrast to the Nile. Dinner ended, we adjourn to another tent, where now and then we have stories, and on one or two nights a really animated discussion. Occasionally there are guests. At break of day sleepers are called, breakfast at seven, at eight to horse, and ride over hill and valley till noon, when a halt is made for luncheon and rest for two hours. And so, General Bruce giving the signal, the party somewhat reluctantly rises, and toil on through the afternoon till evening."

In this fashion Damascus, "the Pearl of the East," was approached. The Governor-General of Syria, whose headquarters were in the "city of many rivers," accompanied by lesser dignitaries, came out with a great cavalcade to meet the Prince, and escort him into Damascus as a precaution, because of the fanaticism roused during the Christian massacres of 1860, not yet entirely died down. However, there was no outward expression of Moslem hate of the "Frank Sultan," and the Prince immensely enjoyed the visit to this one of the most wonderful, as well as one of the most ancient, cities in the world.

"The Pearl of the East"

From Damascus the Royal party once more turned their footsteps westward, visited Baalbec, with the wonderful ruins of the "Temple of the Sun," and then pushed on to Beirut, where they arrived on May 5, in the evening, and

camped outside the city in a pine-grove. Here the Prince was met by the Turkish authorities and the representatives of the British colony, and entertained right royally. Afterwards he made what amounted to a State entry into the ancient seaport, where squadrons representative of the English, French, and Turkish navies greeted him with a Royal salute. The fête lasted so late that the Prince slept at the British Consulate, and next day, embarking on the Royal yacht Osborne, made an excursion southward to Tyre and Sidon. The Osborne then steamed northward, and a stop was made at Lycus, or Dog Island.

Tripoli was reached on May 10, and the Royal party landed in order to make the ascent of the Lebanon range, so intimately associated with Biblical geography and history. They rode up the hills, and encamped in the village of Ehden for a couple of days, and from this hamlet a pilgrimage was made to the Cedar Grove.

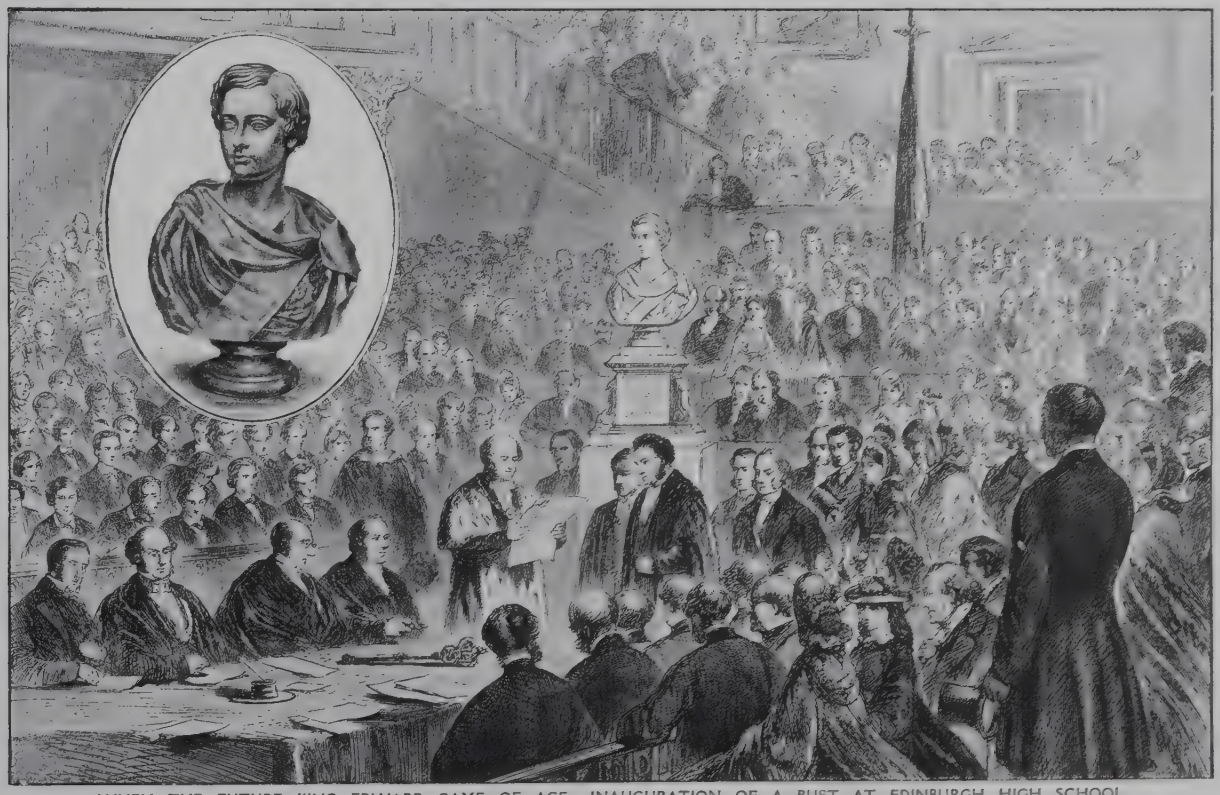
Returning to Tripoli, the Osborne steamed to the island of Ruad, to enable the Prince to see the ruins of Ardad, believed to be the most ancient monuments of Syria; and then, setting a course to the Archipelago of Asia Minor, the yacht, on May 15, touched at Rhodes, where the Prince landed and explored the excavations of one of the tombs of Camirus. Next day the party touched at Santorin to see the extinct volcano, and at Atiparos to view the classic grotto. On the 17th the Osborne came to Patmos, and the Grotto of St. John the Divine was explored with, on the same day, Ephesus on the mainland.

Syria's Ancient Monuments

Entering the Dardanelles, the Osborne was escorted by two English men-of-war and a Turkish frigate. On arriving at the Golden Horn the Prince dropped his incognito of Baron Renfrew, and was received with a Royal salute. The Grand Vizier and other dignitaries came out to the anchorage in State barges to welcome the Prince in the name of the Sultan, and the Prince, accompanied by the British Ambassador, was rowed in a State galley to the Yildiz Kiosk, where he was received by his Imperial Majesty with all State ceremonies, and then driven in an elegant carriage to the British Embassy. All the usual show places in and around Constantinople were visited by the Prince, including St. Sophia and other mosques, the Old Seraglio, the Armoury, and the Treasury. There was a gorgeous State banquet given by the Sultan, and there were also less formal breakfast parties during the week spent in the capital of the Turkish Empire. At one of these functions the Sultan presented the Prince with a narghileh set with diamonds said to be worth £3,000.

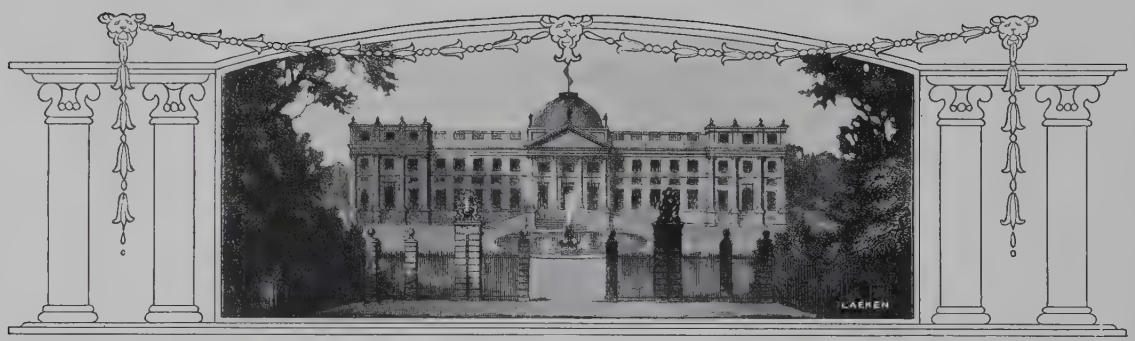
End of the Eastern Tour

From Constantinople the Osborne sailed for Athens, where only a brief stay was made, and so also at the island of Cephalonia; and the Eastern tour may be said to have terminated at Marseilles. From there a special train took his Royal Highness and suite to Paris on June 12, where he was received by Earl Cowley, British Ambassador, and with whom he stayed at the Embassy. The next day the Prince paid a private visit to the Emperor and Empress of the French at Fontainebleau. On June 14 the Royal party left Paris, and, travelling by Boulogne and Folkestone, reached Windsor the same evening, after an absence of more than five months. The one cloud that darkened the last few weeks of the Eastern tour was the serious illness of General Bruce. At Constantinople a fever, the seeds of which it was thought had been caught on the Upper Jordan, developed with great severity, and for several days his condition caused alarm. After leaving that city he improved during the voyage across the Mediterranean. On reaching London, however, on June 14, he was taken directly to the apartments of his sister at St. James's Palace, where he became worse, and died on the evening of the 27th, to the unfeigned regret of Queen Victoria, the Prince of Wales, and Dr. Stanley, who attended him to the end with tender affection.



WHEN THE FUTURE KING EDWARD CAME OF AGE: INAUGURATION OF A BUST AT EDINBURGH HIGH SCHOOL

The coming of age of the future King Edward was generally observed in a quiet way throughout Scotland, as in other parts of the Queen's realms, but in Edinburgh the rejoicings were of a warmer character, though neither so loud nor so general as they would have been under happier circumstances. On November 17, 1861, a fine bust of the young Prince, as a memorial of his visit to Edinburgh in 1859 and of his connection with the High School, was presented to the municipal patrons of the school, the inaugural ceremony being witnessed by a large and distinguished assemblage.



CHAPTER XXIII

KING EDWARD'S COMING OF AGE

Describing the Royal Courtship, the Negotiations for the Prince's Marriage with Princess Alexandra of Denmark, and the National Interest in the Royal Engagement

THE aim of the Prince Consort in sketching out in every detail the education of the Prince of Wales was to inculcate in him a high ideal of duty. Shortly before his death the Prince Consort bought a statuette of the youthful King Edward VI., with the intention of presenting it to his son on the attainment of his twenty-first birthday. The statue, beautifully carved in marble, represented the young king with the Royal sceptre in his hand pointing to a Bible open at the passage from 2 Chronicles xxxiv. 1–2: "Josiah was eight years old when he began to reign, and he reigned in Jerusalem one and thirty years. And he did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, and walked in the ways of David, his father, and declined neither to the right hand nor to the left." With something of the same line of thought a few months before his death, the Prince Consort wrote to his Royal son: "To dominate statesmen and to guide affairs were the object and boast of your mother's predecessors. In proportion as they represent and identify the Crown with interests and forces will those who reign after her make their throne the seat of loyalty and power. I hope my son will remember that truth in his turn."

The love marriage of his sister, Princess Alice, to Prince Louis of Hesse, heir presumptive to the Grand Duchy of Hesse-Darmstadt, less than a month after the Prince of Wales returned from his tour in the East, quickened rumours that had been afloat for some time as to the choice of a bride for the Prince and a mother of the kings to be. As a matter of fact, four years before, about the time that the future ruler of these realms attained his legal majority, the "Times" created considerable interest by printing a paragraph with the prominent heading, "The Prince of Wales and His Destined Bride." The announcement ran: "To all present appearances our future monarch's choice of a wife is positively limited to exactly seven ladies of the blood-royal, unless, indeed, he selects a consort much older than himself: (1) Princess Alexandrina, daughter of Prince Albert of Prussia; (2) Princess Anna of Hesse-Darmstadt, niece of the Grand Duke of Hesse, and of the Empress of Russia; (3) Princess Augusta of Holstein-Glücksburg; (4) Duchess Wilhelmina of Wurtemberg; (5) Princess Alexandra, daughter of Prince Christian of Denmark; (6) Princess Mary of Saxe-Altenburg; (7) Princess Catharine of Oldenburg, sister of the Grand Duchess Nicholas of Russia."

KING EDWARD AT THE AGE OF TWENTY-ONE
From a photograph by Southwell Brothers.

Whether the Prince of Wales had ever seen any of the Princesses thus mentioned is hard to say, but at any rate he had not met the Royal lady who was destined to be the wife of his heart and the dear sharer of his triumphs and his sorrows. However, in the autumn of 1861 the Prince of Wales went over to Germany, says Sir Theodore Martin in his "Life of Prince Consort," ostensibly with the view of being a spectator of the German Army manœuvres in the Rhenish Provinces, but it had been secretly arranged that he should there meet the Princess Alexandra of Denmark, who was then on a visit to Germany.

The story of the Princess Alexandra's early life, and of the preliminary negotiations which took place in the beginning of 1861 for a possible alliance between her Royal Highness and the Prince of Wales are told in another chapter. Legends are sure to arise over the love affairs of such illustrious personages. It is said that immediately before going down from Cambridge the Prince had seen a photograph of the Princess, and had been struck with her beauty and winsome expression. On his return to Windsor for the Long Vacation he expressed to his parents a desire to meet the handsome young Princess. Queen Victoria and Prince Albert were more than pleased, as they had been in communication with King Leopold of Belgium, ever a friendly adviser of Queen Victoria, who had reported everything good of the Princess, of her parents, of her home life, and upbringing. It was arranged that when the Prince had finished his military course of instruction at the Curragh of Kildare he should witness the Prussian manœuvres on the Rhine. Accordingly about mid-September, 1861, he left England and travelled to Cologne, where he met his brother-in-law, the Crown Prince of Prussia, and his wife, the Princess Royal of England, with whom a visit was paid to the famous Cathedral and museums of that city. The Royal party then travelled up the Rhine Valley, stopping at various historic scenes, till Coblenz was reached, which was close to the field of the military manœuvres.

Simultaneously with the departure of the Prince of

Wales from England, as such things will occur, the Princess Alexandra, accompanied by her Royal parents, left Copenhagen on a visit to relatives at Rumpenheim, and the latter thought that their daughter would improve her artistic tastes and knowledge of history by an inspection of the old castles of the Rhine. It happened fortuitously that on September 24, in the ancient Cathedral of Speier, the capital of the Rheinish Palatinate, the Prince and Princess actually met in front of the High Altar, a spot of happy augury for a not-distant wedding. Next day the two parties agreed to join at Heidelberg. What more romantic surroundings could there be for nourishing an affection which had begun at first sight than the exploration of the ruins of the old castle, which had been the scene of so many repetitions of the old, old story, or the enjoyment from the terraces of the Schloss of the exquisite scenery of the valley of the Neckar with all its varied tints and flickering shadows?

The high-spirited and handsome youth of nineteen, with the easy and polished manners acquired in the purest Court in the world, by much travel and intercourse with the best intellects of the century, was captivated by the sweetly vivacious and beautiful girl of seventeen, and she no less by him. "We hear of nothing," wrote the Prince Consort in his diary of September 30, "but excellent accounts of the Princess Alexandra. The young people seem to have taken a warm liking to each other." And when the Prince of Wales returned to England, Prince Albert wrote to Baron Stockmar, "He has come back greatly pleased with his interview with the Princess at Speier." "Although the secret of the meeting," said Sir Theodore Martin, "had got wind in both Germany and England, much to the Prince Consort's annoyance, it was attended with the happiest results," and the projected alliance was commented upon by the English and Danish newspapers with approving warmth.

KING EDWARD TAKING THE OATHS AS A MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS

The event pictured above took place on February 5, 1863, in the presence of a crowded attendance of Peers. Wearing the scarlet and ermine robes of a duke over the uniform of a general in the Army, the young Prince took the oaths and assumed his seat as a Peer of the Realm, the Peers standing throughout the ceremony.

Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort felt that there was no particular reason for hastening the union, albeit both favoured early marriages. Moreover, the scheme of education for the Prince had not yet been fully carried out. Then within three months came the untimely death of the Prince Consort, followed by the prolonged tour of the Prince of Wales in Egypt and the Holy Land.

Arranging the Royal Marriage

In August, 1862, Queen Victoria resolved to pay a visit to her beloved Consort's native place and the scenes of his youth. Travelling incognito as Duchess of Lancaster, and attired in the deepest mourning, her Majesty broke the journey to Coburg at Brussels, in order to visit her uncle, King Leopold I., and at the same time meet, by arrangement, Prince and Princess Christian and the Princess Alexandra, who were then staying at Ostend. The reason of this visit had been anticipated a few days before in the Official Journal of Copenhagen, which stated, "We are informed that Prince Christian has just received an autograph letter from Queen Victoria in which her Majesty formally solicits the hand of the Princess Alexandra for the Prince of Wales."

At the Palace Laeken the family gathering, so to speak, finally settled the details of the prospective marriage. Queen Victoria was charmed with the Princess, took her to her heart, and induced Prince Christian to promise to bring the future bride on a visit to England later in the year. Next day her Majesty left for Coburg, where she made her headquarters at the Palace of Reinhardtsbrunn, placed at her disposal by the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, and stayed for about six weeks.

Meanwhile, all being clear for further meetings between the Prince and Princess without too much ceremony, the former crossed from Woolwich to Ostend in the Royal yacht Osborne. When the vessel came to anchor Prince Christian and his two sons, Christian and Frederick, went on board and warmly greeted the Royal suitor. The Prince was then taken to the mansion in which Prince Christian and family were residing, and there the Royal pair of lovers met after a twelve months' separation, the Prince of Wales later going on to his grand-uncle's palace at Laeken as King Leopold's guest.

The Prince was no stranger in Brussels, and met with a magnificent reception, there being lively anticipation on the part of the populace as to the real meaning of the visit. Again, when on the following day Prince and Princess Christian, with Princess Alexandra, came over from Ostend to Brussels they were received with military honours, and greeted by a popular ovation. The formal betrothal took place on September 9 in the Palace of Laeken, followed by a brilliant reception. The Royal lovers were left as much as possible to themselves, and a thrilling week was spent in sightseeing in Brussels and the neighbourhood, including the field of Waterloo, the beautiful woods of Flanders, and the Abbey Villers, the happy pair being greeted with frantic enthusiasm as if they had been members of the Belgian Royal Family. There was also a great military review as well as a Court banquet in honour of the betrothal.

When the Royal guests from Denmark and the Prince of Wales took leave of their kingly host, they travelled together as far as Cologne, from which place Prince and Princess Christian and Princess Alexandra went on to Rumpenheim, while the Prince of Wales journeyed to Coburg, where he joined his Royal mother, the Princess Royal, and the Crown Prince of Prussia.

It now became possible for Queen Victoria to take the nation into her confidence, and announce the projected alliance between the English and Danish Royal Houses,

and the following communication appeared "by authority" in all the newspapers of the United Kingdom: "The Prince of Wales's marriage to the Princess Alexandra of Denmark has been privately settled at Brussels. It is one based entirely upon mutual affection and the personal merits of the young Princess, and is in no way connected with political considerations. The revered Prince Consort, whose sole object was the education and welfare of his children, had been long convinced that this was a most desirable marriage. The knowledge of this is at once a source of deep gratification to the Queen, and will be most satisfactory to the country." Her Majesty knew her people well, and this announcement was read and commented upon throughout the kingdom with the utmost enthusiasm. A prominent publicist wrote of it: "England is already knit to Denmark by ties of blood and race and by many a stirring incident in our rough island story. Canute the Dane was one of the greatest of our pre-Norman monarchs, and the Danish occupation left deep marks on English soil. In more recent times a Danish Princess came to us as the bride of the first of our Stuart monarchs, and our present Royal dynasty has sent two fair Princesses to Denmark as brides of its Kings. When the Princess Alexandra comes to us she will find a home prepared for her in our hearts; we are already her willing captives and subjects. The first Danish conquest came with fire and sword; this one comes with the mightier power of love."

A Popular Announcement

The feeling of joyful approval was no less strong throughout Denmark, as was manifested when the Princess returned to Copenhagen from her momentous visit to Ostend and Brussels. The city by the Sound was gaily decorated in her honour. On her appearance at the opera the whole audience sprang to their feet and gave her a right royal greeting.

When Queen Victoria departed from Coburg to England she went only with her immediate personal suite. The rest of the family party, comprising the Prince of Wales and the Crown Prince and Princess of Prussia, determined to make a holiday tour, travelling incognito, to the South of France and Italy. They spent some time in Rome, the educational visit to which city by the Prince of Wales, in 1859, had been abruptly cut short by the outbreak of the war between France and Italy and Austria, in the Quadrilateral, and eventually ended in a united Italy. From the Eternal City the Royal party went on to Naples, where they joined the Osborne. On board that splendid yacht the Prince and his eldest sister and brother-in-law celebrated in a quiet way his coming of age—that is, his attainment of his twenty-first birthday. His legal majority at eighteen had been quietly observed, as already described, in a purely private way. There had been at one time a pretty general intention of making this anniversary the occasion of festivity according to old English practice, but in deference to the wishes of Queen Victoria, whose desire was that the official period of mourning for the late Prince Consort should not be broken, that design was abandoned. But there was no reason why some little notice should not be taken of that most important event in the life history of the heir to the greatest Empire in the world, especially as he was, if not at sea, on the water in one of the Imperial ships. So, according to the "Times" correspondent, "at eight o'clock in the morning of November 9, 1862, all the British vessels of war dressed, except the Osborne, each mast of which, however, was surmounted by a crown of evergreens. No salutes were fired, the incognito of the Prince being observed, and obviously respect being paid to the wishes and feelings of her Majesty." In the evening, according to the same authority, the Crown Prince and Princess of Prussia gave a small dinner on board the yacht, at which General Knollys, who shortly before had been appointed Comptroller of the Prince of Wales's household, proposed the health of his Royal Highness in a brief, happy speech. The toast was honoured with enthusiasm by the whole company standing, and before resuming her seat the Princess Royal, who had been placed, of course, next her Royal brother, kissed him affectionately. Rockets sent up from the Royal yacht announced to the British shipping in the port and bay that the toast had been proposed, and immediately the men-of-war and the merchant vessels were ablaze with blue lights, rockets screamed skywards, and the hearty cheers of British

Celebrating the Coming of Age

SANDRINGHAM AS IT WAS ON FIRST COMING INTO THE POSSESSION OF KING EDWARD IN 1862

KING EDWARD'S FIRST LEVEE· AN INTERESTING CEREMONY AT ST. JAMES'S PALACE. FEBRUARY 25, 1863

sailors, the like of which, as Queen Victoria had said long years before, could not be equalled in all the world, could be distinctly heard across the blue waters of the bay, as these same sailors drank to the long life and happiness of their future King.

About a week before this event Queen Victoria summoned a meeting of the Privy Council, at which she was pleased to preside, the result of which appeared in the "London Gazette."

"At the Court of Osborne House, Isle of Wight, November 1, 1862.

"Present the Queen's most Excellent Majesty.

"Her Majesty in Council was this day pleased to declare her consent to the contract of marriage between his Royal Highness Albert Edward Prince of Wales, Duke of Saxony, etc., and her Royal Highness Princess Alexandra Caroline Marie Charlotte Louisa Julia, daughter of Prince Christian of Denmark, which consent her Majesty has also caused to be signified under the Great Seal."

Just a week later, Prince Christian, according to the promise given at Laeken, brought over his daughter, Princess Alexandra, to England on a visit to Queen Victoria. They joined H.M.S. Eagle at Calais and sailed direct for the Isle of Wight. At the Royal landing-place they were met by the Princess Helena and Prince Leopold, who drove with them to Osborne House, where Queen Victoria received them in private. Prince Christian remained only a day at Osborne, and on his way to London, where he was provided with apartments in Buckingham Palace, he called at Brighton, where then resided the Duchess of Teck, so long affectionately known as Princess Mary of Cambridge, who thus wrote in her diary, of date November 9, 1862: "The Prince of Wales—God bless him!—attains his majority (21) to-day. After lunch we watched anxiously for the expected and longed-for arrival of dear Christian, who was on his way back to Copenhagen, having established Alix at Osborne. At half-past three we had the happiness of welcoming him, and for upwards of three hours sat talking over the *verlobung* (betrothal) of Alix and Bertie. We had much to hear and discuss, and while fully sharing his happiness at the marriage we could enter into his feeling at leaving Alix thus for the first time. We dined at eight o'clock, a party of five, and toasted the dear Prince in champagne."

Princess Alexandra in England

During the first period of the visit to Osborne her Majesty desired to be as much as possible in the company of her future daughter-in-law, and to place her at her ease, not only in her new surroundings but after the trial of the first separation from her Royal father. Accordingly they spent many hours every day in each other's society, and in driving to all the pretty spots of the beautiful island. Later, the Princess Alice of Hesse joined the family circle at Osborne, and, with the Princess Helena, the trio of young people became the warmest of friends. The Court removed to Windsor in mid-November, where the circle was joined by Princess Mary of Cambridge, whose happy disposition is shown in the following entry in her diary, of date November 21: "We reached Windsor about 12, and were shown into our old Lancaster Tower room, where we were presently joined by darling Alix—too overjoyed at the meeting to speak—dear Alice and Louis. After a while Alix took me to her room. . . . I then returned to the others, and we went with Alice to see her room in the Devil's Tower, where Louis was being sketched. Here the poor dear Queen joined us, and remained with us for some time. We lunched without her Majesty, and Beatrice came in afterwards. Went into Alix's room again, and played to her 'En Souvenir de Rumpenheim.' Afterwards accompanied her into the State Rooms, Mama, Alice, Louis and Helena being also of the party. On our return, Mama and I were summoned to the Queen's closet, and I had a nice little talk with her, ending with tea. We were hurried off shortly

Queen Victoria and Her Future Daughter

before five, Alix, Alice, and the others rushing after us to bid us good-bye."

Princess Alexandra had determined to purchase all her trousseau in London, of British manufactured goods, except what was made for her in Denmark, and in that important duty, so dear to the heart of girl and bride, she was amply assisted by the Duchess of Cambridge and the Princess Mary. Only two friendly calls were paid by Princess Alexandra during this memorable visit to historic Windsor. The first was to accompany Queen Victoria to Kew Cottage, then occupied by the Duchess of Cambridge and the Princess Mary, and the other to Claremont to be introduced by Queen Victoria to Queen Marie Amélie of France. Princess Alexandra also took part in her first ceremonial, rather a sad one. It was the planting by Queen Victoria of a memorial oak to the Prince Consort in Windsor Great Park at the spot where Prince Albert had left off shooting on his last day's sport in the great woodland preserves. Accompanying the Princess were the Prince and Princess of Hesse, Princess Louise, Prince Leopold, and Count Gleichen, and all were in deep mourning.

A Memorial of the Prince Consort

When the ante-nuptial visit came to an end, Prince Christian arrived at Windsor and escorted his Royal daughter back to Copenhagen, the Channel being crossed in the Admiralty steamer Vivid. By arrangement the Prince of Wales had timed his return from his Italian trip so as to meet his betrothed and her family at Lille, from which town he accompanied them to Hamburg. There the Princess continued her journey homeward to Denmark, while the Prince came on to England, being received at Dover with considerable ceremonial. Immediately afterwards the "London Gazette" published a list of his household—"Earl Grey, Groom of the Stole; Earl of Mount Edgecumbe and Lord Arthur Hervey, Lords of the Bedchamber; General Knollys, Comptroller and Treasurer; the Hon. Robert Henry Maude and Mr. Charles Linley Wood, Grooms of the Bedchamber; Major Teesdale, Captain G. H. Grey, and Lieut.-Colonel Keppel, Equerries; and Mr. Herbert W. Fisher, Private Secretary."

KING EDWARD ABOUT THE TIME OF HIS COMING OF AGE
From a photograph by Mayall.

The first anniversary of the Prince Consort's death (December 14), as well as the day preceding, were spent in strict seclusion at Windsor, Dr. Stanley conducting Divine Service before the Queen, the Prince of Wales, and other members of the Royal Family. Three days later, the Royal Mausoleum at Frogmore was consecrated by the Bishop of Oxford in the presence of the Queen and Royal Family.

Queen Victoria having determined to lighten the burden of the State and ceremonial functions, which was oppressive to her Majesty in her still acutely felt grief, that duty was thrown on to the shoulders of the Prince of Wales. The opening of Parliament by Royal Commission, on February 5, 1863, was made the occasion of such great ceremonial as had not been witnessed since before the Prince Consort's lamented death, and it excited corresponding public interest. The Royal Commissioners, in addition to the Lord Chancellor, were the Duke of Argyll, the Earl of St. Germains, Viscount Sydney, and Lord Stanley of Alderley, and all were clothed in official robes, and took their seats at the foot of the Throne. At two o'clock the Royal Speech was read by the Lord Chancellor, and in it mention was made of the approaching marriage of the Prince of Wales and Princess Alexandra of Denmark. Then an adjournment was made till four o'clock. It was known that the Prince of Wales was about to take the oaths and seat as a Peer of the Realm, and that by a happy coincidence the new Archbishops of Canterbury and York, Drs. Longley and Magee, were to perform a similar function. There was consequently a crowded attendance of Peers in the "Gilded Chamber" in their robes, with the bishops in their lawn. In the side galleries nearest the Throne were the Duchess of Cambridge and Princess Mary of Cambridge, and beyond rows of lesser peeresses in splendid costumes and glittering jewels. The Corps Diplomatique were fully represented, and their gorgeous uniforms added to the scheme of brilliant colour, illuminated by the glowing lights streaming through the painted windows. On the steps near the Throne were Ministers and Privy Councillors from the House of Commons, while the Commoners' own special gallery was completely filled. At a quarter to four o'clock the Lord Chancellor, attired in black silk Court dress, full wig, and three-cornered hat, entered the House, preceded by the Great Seal, and took his seat on the Woolsack. Prayers having been read by the Bishop of Worcester, a procession of Peers, headed by Sir Augustus Clifford, Usher of the Black Rod, and Sir Charles Young, in his robes as Garter King-at-Arms, emerged from the Prince's Chamber, and advanced slowly and solemnly up the floor of the House. Then came the Prince of Wales, preceded by an equerry bearing a coronet upon an embroidered crimson cushion. His Royal Highness was accompanied by the Duke of Cambridge, the Duke of Argyll, the Earl of Derby, Earl Granville, Lord Kingsdown, and Earl Spencer, in their robes, by Lord Willoughby D'Eresby, Hereditary Grand Chamberlain, and Lord Edward Howard, who represented the infant Duke of Norfolk, Hereditary Earl Marshal.

The Prince of Wales wore the scarlet and ermine robes of a duke over the uniform of a general in the Army, and was decorated with the ribbon of the Order of the Garter, the insignia of the Golden Fleece, and the Star of India. As he entered the House, the Peers rose as a body, and remained standing throughout the subsequent ceremony, the Lord Chancellor alone being seated, covered with the official headgear. The Prince, having bowed his acknowledgments to the magnificent assembly, advanced to the Woolsack, and placed his Patent and Writ of Summons in the hands of the Lord Chancellor. He then returned to the table, when the oaths were administered to him by Sir J. Shaw-Lefevre, the Clerk of Parliaments. The titles under which the Prince was sworn were—Duke of Cornwall, Duke of Rothesay, Earl of Chester, Earl of Carrick, and Lord of the Isles. The Roll of Peers having been signed, the procession was re-formed, and moved with dignified steps round the Woolsack, and his Royal Highness took his seat upon the gilded chair, on the right-hand side of the Throne, specially appropriated to the Prince of Wales on State occasions. While thus seated he placed his cocked and feathered general officer's

The Prince of Wales in the House of Lords

THE ANCIENT CATHEDRAL OF SPEIER, IN WHICH KING EDWARD AND QUEEN ALEXANDRA FIRST MET EACH OTHER

A romantic interest attaches to this fine old Cathedral, for it was here, on September 24, 1861, that the future King Edward and Queen Alexandra first met each other. Standing in front of the High Altar, they were introduced and shook hands for the first time, and on both sides it was a case of "love at first sight." When the engagement of the Royal lovers was announced by Queen Victoria about a year later, it aroused enthusiasm throughout the kingdom.

hat upon his head, and surveyed the brilliant spectacle before him for a few minutes with a truly regal bearing, which commanded the admiration of the whole assemblage. Then he rose and uncovered his head, and walking to the Woolsack, shook hands with the Lord Chancellor, that high functionary bowing and raising his hat. The Prince, followed by all the Peers and preceded by the officials, left the House in processional order by the exit to the right of the Throne.

At five o'clock the ordinary business of the House was begun with the debate on the Address in reply to the Queen's Speech, to which the Prince and Duke of Cambridge, who had meanwhile resumed the dress of private gentlemen and sat on the cross benches, listened to the end.

One of the first proceedings of the Parliamentary session was to make provision for an establishment for the Prince and Princess of Wales upon their approaching marriage. By constitutional practice, a message from the Sovereign was communicated in the usual form to both Houses In the House of Commons an address was at once carried assuring Queen Victoria of the prompt and willing consideration of her request, and two days afterwards the Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston, in proposing the necessary resolutions, referred to the fact that in 1795, on a similar occasion, the sum granted to the Prince of Wales amounted to £138,000 a year, including a sum set apart for the payment of his debts, but that it was neither the desire of her Majesty nor the Government that the present application should reach that amount. In former reigns the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall had been paid over to the Crown, but in the present reign these revenues had been accumulated and set apart for the Prince of Wales should he come of age. Part of the accumulated funds had been invested in the purchase of the Sandringham estate, and, after all deductions, the actual probable income of the Duchy of Cornwall amounted to about £60,000 a year. The Government thought that £100,000 a year would not be disproportionate to the exalted station of the Prince of Wales, and therefore he proposed that the House should grant £40,000 a year in addition out of the Consolidated Fund; that a separate allowance of £10,000 a year should be made to the Princess of Wales, making a total annual charge on the Consolidated Fund of £50,000. Further, the Prime Minister proposed that a jointure of £30,000 should be secured to the Princess

THE ROYAL LOVERS ON THE EVE OF THEIR MARRIAGE

From a picture of the future King Edward and Queen Alexandra taken just before their marriage, in 1863.

of Wales in the event of her surviving her husband. It may be here stated that the financial provisions with reference to a separate allowance to the Princess of Wales, and the sum in lieu of dower in the event of her becoming a widow, had previously been made the subject of a treaty between Queen Victoria and the King of Denmark, signed at Copenhagen by the plenipotentiaries of these two Sovereigns on January 15, 1863, and ratified on February 4 following.

The resolutions, and the Bill founded upon them, were carried *nem. con.*, and received not only the Royal assent, but the whole-hearted approval of the entire nation, which looked forward with the intensest interest and loyal emotion to the forthcoming nuptials of the Royal pair. It should also be added that the people of Denmark raised a popular subscription to provide a native dowry for their beloved Princess. This amounted to 100,000 kröner, or about £5,500 sterling, and Princess Alexandra, out of gratitude for the beautiful gift, employed it as a trust fund for dowering six Danish maidens of the poorer classes.

Queen Victoria fixed Tuesday, March 10, 1863, for the celebration of the marriage, and preparations were at once begun, not only in every corner of the United Kingdom, but throughout the British Empire in every quarter of the globe, however remote, to honour it by festivities on an unparalleled scale. It was arranged that the Princess Alexandra should arrive in England and make a public entry into the capital three days before the marriage. In anticipation, there was a Royal visit to the City on the occasion of the presentation of the Freedom of the Fishmongers' Company to the Prince of Wales. At the entrance to the splendid hall of the company, which was magnificently decorated, was a guard of honour of eighteen watermen, all winners of the Dogget's Badge, and in reply to the presentation of the Certificate of Freedom, which was superbly engrossed and enclosed in a massive gold casket, the Prince made a very neat and happy response to the congratulations on his approaching marriage "to a young Princess who hopes so soon to adopt the proud title of Englishwoman, and to prove herself a comfort to the Queen in her affliction."

Honouring the Prince of Wales

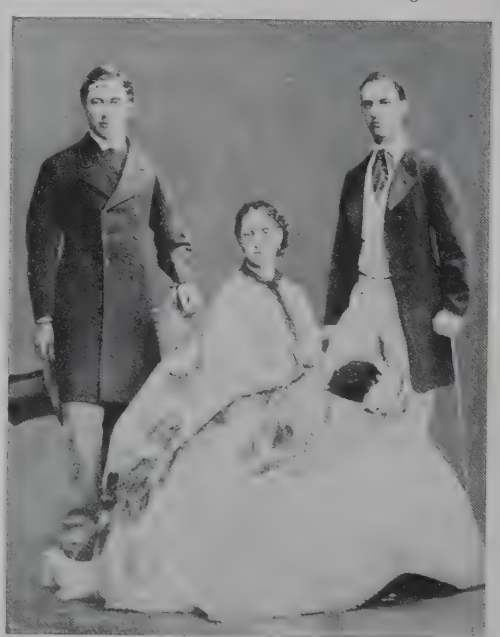
On the other side of the North Sea preparations were also made for signalising the new union of England and Denmark. A grand ball took place at the British Legation, and there were receptions almost innumerable from deputations of every class of the population, offering simple or priceless marriage presents, or pretty dainties to add to the trousseau. The most valued of what may be called the family presents was an oil painting of her brothers and sisters in a group, given to the Princess Alexandra by her great-uncle and aunt, the hereditary Prince and Princess Ferdinand of Denmark; but this, with many other precious gifts, was lost at sea by an unfortunate shipwreck.

At three o'clock in the afternoon of February 26, the Princess Alexandra set forth on the journey of her life from the Güle Palace, Copenhagen, the home of happy years. Accompanied by her parents and eldest brother, Prince Frederic, and escorted by the Danish Life Guards, of which her father was colonel, she sat in an open carriage; while in a second carriage were the Princess's younger brothers and sisters. All along the route from the palace to the railway station the roadway was strewn with flowers. Thousands occupied the houses from window casements to the crested roofs, and the cheers were acknowledged with smiles through tears by the Princess. At the railway station, which was prettily decorated, the Ministers of the Crown and all the State and city dignitaries received the Royal party, and the Chief President of Copenhagen delivered a touching farewell address, to which Prince Christian replied, "Be assured my daughter will never forget the dear city of her birth," and the Princess bowed her thanks. At every railway station on the line the citizens and civic and military authorities gathered to cheer; and at Körsor, where the Royal party embarked for Kiel, there were great illuminations pointed with picturesque oratory. The Governor of Zealand declared: "This is a moment of great importance to the Danish people. Your Royal Highness is about to leave your beloved country, where your many virtues have caused you to be loved and reverenced by us all. You are about to be united to a Prince who is heir to a great throne and a glorious future, and of whom all have formed the highest expectations. This alliance is one which is in accordance with your Royal Highness's affection, and promises happiness to you and to your native country. For ourselves, we have only to express our hope that you will keep Denmark in your memory, and occasionally give us a friendly thought."

Denmark's Farewell to the Princess

But the Burgomaster of Körsor was even more eloquent. "With the permission of your Royal Highness, I desire," he said, "to wish long life to your affianced bridegroom. The Royal House of England, of which you are about to become a member, is one of the most exalted in Europe, and the people of Great Britain, whose shouts of welcome, louder than our farewell greeting can be, will soon reach your ears, is the greatest nation in the world, while Denmark is, as our own poet has admitted, but a small, poor country. But, and we say it with just pride, for all its insignificance we have been important enough for the son of England to come to us for a bride. Fully conscious of the value of the pearl we give away, we send greetings to our kindred, the great English people, and to the Prince, the chosen of your heart. We pray that the happiness we have found in your Royal Highness may be preserved for many, many years, an ornament to the throne of Great Britain, and a support to the liberty of the people. Long live the Prince of Wales."

Next day the Danish steamer Slesvig conveyed the Royal party across the Sound to Kiel, whence there was a veritable triumphal progress through North Central Europe, a stay being made at Hamburg, Hanover, where they were the guests of the King of Hanover; at Cologne, where they were met by the Crown Prince and Princess of Prussia and Prince Louis of Hesse; then on to Brussels, which was reached on March 2, where both State and popular welcome was given to the bride and her Royal relatives by King Leopold and his Belgian subjects.



THE FUTURE KING EDWARD AND HIS BRIDE

This interesting group shows King Edward and Queen Alexandra soon after their marriage, together with the Queen's brother, the King of the Greeks.

From a photograph by Southwell Brothers.

THE ROYAL WEDDING, ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR, MARCH 10, 1863

CHAPTER XXIV

THE COMING OF THE PRINCESS

An Account of Princess Alexandra's Departure from Denmark, of England's Welcome to the Royal Bride, and Her Triumphal Progress through the City of London

ON the morning of March 5, 1863, the Royal party, accompanied by the English Ministers and the Grand Marshal of the Belgian Court, left Brussels for Antwerp, where they embarked on board the Royal English yacht Victoria and Albert. Sailing down the Scheldt into the North Sea, the yacht picked up off Flushing the escorting British squadron of ironclads under the command of Rear-Admiral Smart, K.H., which united with the Dutch Navy in a display of fireworks after dark. As the barometer was falling rapidly, indicating an approaching storm, a course was at once set for the English coast, and the Victoria and Albert, with her stately attendant ships of war, anchored quite unexpectedly in Margate Roads late in the evening of the 5th. Next morning the Corporation of the popular seaside resort went on board the Victoria and Albert, presenting the first address of welcome and congratulation received by the Royal bride from the civic authorities of England. This brief ceremony over, the fleet weighed anchor, and sailed for the Nore, where the ships under the command of Vice-Admiral Sir W. Hope Johnstone, K.C.B., gave them a thunderous salutation of guns; but the gale and rain, so long threatening and escaped in mid-ocean by the seamanlike foresight of Admiral Smart, made it impossible to carry out an elaborate scheme of illuminations at Sheerness, although they did not extinguish the bonfires on the beach or the blue lights which outlined the word "Welcome," in letters ten feet high, exposed on the sea wall.

The night of storm was followed by a morn of fair calm—the ever-to-be-remembered Saturday, March 7. The Victoria and Albert steamed up the river, escorted by the Warrior, Captain George Tryon, and, saluted by the shore and floating batteries at the mouth of the Thames. Gravesend was reached at noon. Here the yacht and her Royal passengers were hailed with salutes and manned yards by the warships Emerald, Captain Cumming, and Racoon, Captain Count Gleichen. Princess Alexandra, attired in a simple white dress and standing by the side of her mother on the main deck of the Victoria and Albert, was greeted with joyous cheers from scores of thousands of her future subjects on shore and in hundreds of small craft which steamed or were paddled round the Royal yacht as soon as she came to anchor. The Princess retired to her cabin and changed her white dress for a gown of mauve Irish poplin, a purple velvet mantle edged with sable, and a white bonnet wreathed with rosebuds.

THE LADY MAYORESS OF LONDON PRESENTING A BOUQUET OF FLOWERS TO PRINCESS ALEXANDRA AT THE MANSION HOUSE

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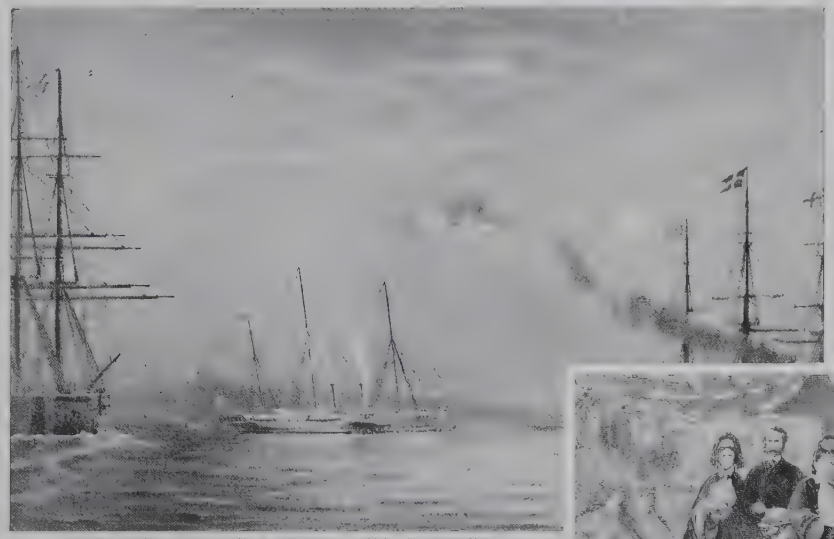
Well timed, a few minutes thereafter a special train from Windsor brought the Prince of Wales to Gravesend, and the Prince, who wore a simple morning suit, entered a carriage in company with Earl Sydney, drove to the pier, and was immediately rowed on board the Royal yacht. "The Princess Alexandra,"



THE ROYAL YACHT ARRIVING OFF GRAVESEND

THE RECEPTION AT THE NORE

OFF MARGATE, WHERE THE PRINCESS RECEIVED THE FIRST ADDRESS OF WELCOME

THE PRINCESS AT THE BRICKLAYERS' ARMS STATION, SOUTHWARK

The central picture shows the landing of Princess Alexandra at Gravesend, the "Maids of Kent" strewing flowers in her path

THE ARRIVAL OF THE PRINCESS ALEXANDRA IN ENGLAND: SCENES IN THE ENTHUSIASTIC DEMONSTRATIONS OF WELCOME

says a contemporary writer, "met him at the door of the state-room, and advanced a few steps, smiling and blushing. The Prince took his beautiful bride by the hand, and then, drawing her towards him, welcomed her with a hearty true lover's kiss. This spontaneous greeting was one of the touches of nature which makes the whole world kin, and was witnessed by many people in the boats around the Royal yacht, who at the sight broke forth into loud and sympathetic cheers, which were taken up by the crowds on shore, the ladies waving their handkerchiefs, and even little children cheering shrilly and clapping their tiny hands." The Prince, leading his lovely bride, entered the cabin, and bade his future Royal relatives of Denmark a most cordial welcome to England. Family greetings over, a move was made for shore. First came the Prince of Wales, with his timidly blushing bride on his arm, followed by the Princess's parents, brothers and sisters, with the attendant English and Danish suites in succession, while the warships fired a Royal salute as the Royal party landed at the pier. From this point to the reception-room at the pier-head sixty fair maids of Kent, dressed in white tartan skirts adorned with white rosettes of Coventry ribbon, red bornous cloaks, straw hats, garlanded with oak-leaves and acorns, with white satin shoes, strewed the pathway with violets, primroses, and sprigs of myrtle. In the reception-room Mrs. Sams, the wife of the Mayor of Gravesend, presented the Princess with a bouquet holder filled with choice flowers, and the Recorder read an address of welcome and congratulation from the Corporation. The procession from this point to the railway station consisted of six carriages, each drawn by four horses, the Prince and Princess, with the parents of the latter, being, of course, in the first. The line of route was ornamented with triumphal arches, flags and flowers. The Royal Marines contributed a guard of honour, the Kentish Volunteer regiments lined the roadway, and the eager, many-tongued crowd cheered to their hearts' content and the evident delight of bride and bridegroom.

QUEEN ALEXANDRA IN HER BRIDAL DRESS
From a photograph by Mayall.

A run of forty minutes brought the special saloon train to the Bricklayers' Arms Station, Southwark, which had been elaborately and tastefully decorated. The appearance of the train was the signal for prolonged manifestations of the common joy, which were continued without interruption for a long spring day. The official welcome was made by the Duke of Cambridge, the Crown Prince of Prussia, the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, the Count of Flanders, Sir George Grey (Home Secretary), the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London, Sir Richard Mayne, Mr. Layard, and others, and when the Prince and Princess stepped on to the platform the Hon. Mrs. Byng presented the Princess with another bouquet. The Royal party and suite were conducted to a magnificently decorated reception-room, where a dainty *déjeuner* was served.

Official Welcome to the Princess

At exactly two o'clock the Duke of Cambridge gave the signal for the most memorable joyous progress ever witnessed by the capital of the British or any other Empire. At the exit from the station there was a guard of honour of a battalion of the Guards and another of the 60th Rifles, and the Royal cortége consisted of six carriages, each drawn by four horses, while the mounted escorts were formed by squadrons of the Royal Horse Guards Blue and the Life Guards.

The Procession Through London

Heading the procession were the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London, in their gorgeous State coaches, and members of the City companies. Then came the Royal carriages. In the first three were the members of the English and Danish suites; in the fourth, Prince Waldemar and Prince William of Denmark; in the fifth, Prince Frederic and Princesses Dagmar and Thyra; in the sixth and last were Princess Alexandra on the right of the back seat, with her Royal mother on her left, and on the front seat the Prince of Wales and Prince Christian. It was on this carriage that eager and glittering eyes were fixed, and from start to finish of this wondrous progress its occupants, but especially the radiant bride, were hailed with tumultuous cheers. The elegant and easy grace, together with that ineffably sweet smile radiating her beautiful and girlish face, with which the Princess responded, won at once and for ever the heart of the British multitude, as their whole-souled salutations stormed and captured hers.

Volumes would be required to describe the decorations with which London was lavishly adorned. Only at one or two points need these be specially noted. The first was London Bridge, on the parapets of which were statues of the Kings of Denmark from earliest times. Affixed to the Venetian masts, thirty feet high, were Danish standards, which in turn were surmounted by gilt figures of ravens and elephants, castle on back—the Danish national emblems. At the approach to the bridge were pedestals with statues representing "Fame," surrounded by Danish warriors holding the Danebrog, or National flag, while there were also a hundred tripods burning incense. At the north end was a magnificent triumphal arch, seventy feet high, and in the front, facing the Borough, were the united arms of Denmark and England and medallions of the Prince of Wales and Princess Alexandra. In the pediment, in gilt letters, were the lines, slightly adapted, from Shakespeare's "Tempest":

> Honour, riches, marriage, blessing,
> Long continuance and increasing;
> Hourly joys be still upon you,
> England showers her blessings on you.

LONDON BRIDGE, WITH STATUES OF ALL THE KINGS OF DENMARK ON ITS PARAPETS

THE CHEERING CROWDS IN FRONT OF THE MANSION HOUSE

THE TRIUMPHAL ARCH AT OLD TEMPLE BAR

THE PROCESSION PASSING THE NATIONAL GALLERY

LONDON'S WELCOME TO THE FUTURE QUEEN: SCENES IN THE CITY ON THE ARRIVAL OF PRprincess ALEXANDRA, MARCH 7, 1863

A centre-piece in gold and colours represented Britannia surrounded by sea gods and goddesses, escorting the Princess to the shores of England; and a portrait of Queen Victoria showed her in widow's dress supported by figures representing "Wisdom" and "Strength." The final ornament was a colossal group of Britannia and prancing horses modelled in plaster.

So great was the crush that the cordon of military, including the Honourable Artillery Company and the London Rifle Brigade, was repeatedly broken, and approaching the Bank of England a man got mixed up with the wheels of Princess Alexandra's carriage, and there was a slight danger of its being overturned. Naturally, the timid Princess, with nerves wrought to tension-point by the thunderous welcome, trembled a moment, but was gallantly and tenderly reassured by the Prince of Wales, and the incident was immediately forgotten when a halt was made in front of the Mansion House, the portico of which had been turned into a splendidly decorated balcony, from which the Lady Mayoress, supported by eight elegantly attired young girls, presented the Princess with yet another bouquet.

In St. Paul's Churchyard were stands for 10,000 people, affording an impressive spectacle. The procession made its slow way down Ludgate Hill, along Fleet Street, to Old Temple Bar, which had been converted into a triumphal arch, covered with a tent of cloth of gold. At the crown of the arch were medallions of the Prince and Princess, and over the central window a statue of Hymen; while at the corners were tripods from which the smoke of incense ascended, perfuming the air.

Here the City authorities yielded their Royal charge to the care of the Duke of Buccleuch, the High Steward and other dignitaries of the City of Westminster; and the triumphal progress was continued along the Strand. In Pall Mall the clubs were handsomely emblazoned, and the Prince pointed out to his fiancée Marlborough House, which was to be their future town residence. And so into Piccadilly, where special greetings were given by the Prime Minister and Lady Palmerston from Cambridge House, and from the occupants of the mansions of the Comte de Flahault, the Duke of Cambridge, the Duke of Wellington, and Lord Willoughby d'Eresby, Hereditary Lord Great Chamberlain.

QUEEN VICTORIA'S WEDDING GIFT

In name of herself and of the late Prince Consort, Queen Victoria presented to the bride and bridegroom a massive centre-piece in silver, of which the above is an illustration.

Within Hyde Park were drawn up 17,000 troops, representing more than 100 corps of Volunteers. Emerging from the Park at the Marble Arch, the procession passed along Edgware Road to the Great Western Railway station at Paddington, which was reached at ten minutes past five o'clock, having taken three hours and ten minutes to accomplish the journey from Southwark, or an hour more than originally arranged for. Greetings and addresses had to be cut short, and the special train, driven by the Earl of Caithness, started almost immediately for Slough, where the Royal party were received on behalf of Queen Victoria by the Princes Arthur and Leopold, the Crown Prince of Prussia, and Prince Louis of Hesse.

The Arrival at Windsor

Six o'clock had struck long past when the special ran into Windsor. It was now pitch dark, and rain fell heavily. The untoward change in the weather spoiled the illuminations in the town, but could not altogether obscure those of the Royal Castle, every window of which blazed forth its rays of light across the valley of the Thames. Eton College, where it had been intended to stop and receive addresses, had to be passed by, but not before the lads gave the bride and bridegroom three times three cheers. At last, Princess Alexandra, worn and weary with happiness and excitement, was folded into the motherly arms of Queen Victoria, and greeted by her future sisters, Princesses Louise and Beatrice. And so the long day had its blessed end.

Sir George Grey, Home Secretary, two days afterwards, addressed, by command of her Majesty, a letter to the Lord Mayor expressing her Majesty's "deep sense of the universal feeling of loyalty and attachment to the Queen and the Royal Family, displayed in so gratifying a manner on the arrival of the Princess Alexandra in London, and the conspicuous part taken by the City of London in the reception of the Princess. Her Majesty very highly appreciates the unanimity, sincerity, and earnestness which marked the loyal demonstration . . . and the heart-felt welcome given the Princess by the vast number of people assembled along the whole route by which her Royal Highness passed through the metropolis."

The Eve of the Marriage

Never was soothing of Sabbath quiet and Sabbath rest more needed and more appreciated by Princess Alexandra than on the day succeeding her signal reception at the hands of her future heart-bound subjects. In the private chapel of the stately home of the long and brilliant line of English monarchs, the Bishop of Oxford, courtly prelate and eloquent divine, conducted service, and there were present Queen Victoria, the Prince of Wales, Princess Alexandra, the Princess Royal, and her majestic husband, the Crown Prince of Prussia, Princess Helena, Princess Alice and her husband, Prince Louis of Hesse, Princesses Louise and Beatrice, Prince and Princess Christian, the Princesses Dagmar and Thyra, and Princes William and Frederic of Denmark, and the noblemen and ladies in attendance. The text of Dr. Wilberforce's sermon was: "Rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep." The Lord Bishop made happy but duly restrained reference to the forthcoming event, so important to the welfare not only of the august personages who were to be the leading figures in it, but to the welfare of the people of the Empire. There was a Court dinner in the evening, but Queen Victoria, with that never-failing consideration for all she loved, refrained from mingling in the subdued gaiety in her still fresh widow's weeds. Later, however, she held a reception.

Monday morning was restfully spent, but early in the afternoon the Lord Mayor and the members of the Corporation of the City of London came down to Windsor in all the glory of their equipages and gorgeous robes, and presented to the bride-elect the City's marriage gift of a magnificent diamond necklace and earrings, valued at £10,000. The gift was delightfully and graciously accepted, the Princess rewarding the generous representative donors with smiles and simple phrases of thanks which sealed more closely, if that were possible, the devotion exhibited by the people of the greatest city in the world on her arrival within its civic bounds.

In the evening a State dinner was served in St. George's Hall. Then followed an evening party, and later a grand display of fireworks in the Home Park, to which the public were admitted. Select guests witnessed the display from the Castle terrace, and her Majesty's Royal party and their suites enjoyed the spectacle, which continued till near midnight, from the windows of the State apartments.

ETON'S BOISTEROUS WELCOME TO THE FAIR PRINCESS: THE FUTURE KING AND QUEEN PASSING THE FAMOUS SCHOOL.

It had been intended that the masters and students of Royal Eton College should have some share in welcoming the Princess Alexandra to England on March 7, but the delay in the triumphal march through the streets of London, together with the darkness and the rain, made it advisable to reach Windsor without further interruption. Eton College, where it had been arranged to stop and receive addresses, had, therefore, to be passed by. To counteract the disappointment thus caused, however, the Princess Alexandra, accompanied by the Prince of Wales, on the Monday following—the day preceding the marriage—drove in an open carriage past the celebrated collegiate institution, where enthusiastic cheers were given and smilingly acknowledged by the fair Princess.

CHAPTER XXV

THE ROYAL WEDDING

A Full Account of the Stately Ceremony in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and the National Rejoicings at the Celebration of the Historic Event

THE union of the Prince of Wales and the Princess Alexandra of Denmark was solemnised in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, on the forenoon of March 10, 1863, a union to which was happily applied the title of the third Danish Order "La Parfaite Alliance." The most brilliant weather auspices prevailed—a bright sun and a clear, though frosty sky. It was made the occasion of a stately and also a popular demonstration quite as remarkable in its way as that of the progress through London three days before. Lines of galleries were erected from the gates of Windsor Castle to the entrance to St. George's Chapel, from which thousands of loyal spectators in gala costumes witnessed the marriage procession, or, rather, series of processions. Everything that is most resplendent in English life in its most stately setting was there—the pomp of equipage, magnificent uniforms, rich dresses of ladies of high degree, the frank and healthy interest of the Commoners of England in a ceremony which appeals to their own best feelings and is the foundation on which the moral grandeur of Great Britain is built. And the rising generation of the nation had its share in the great event, for, to their great delight, the children of the Queen's schools had a place of observation along the park front of the Castle.

THE ROYAL BRIDE AND BRIDEGROOM

The first procession, which started from the Castle gates at 11.30, consisted of five carriages, containing ladies and gentlemen in waiting on foreign princes, including the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, and two carriages containing the Princes and Princesses, the brothers and sisters of the bride-elect, who were most cordially cheered, and who acknowledged with evident pleasure the shouts of the bystanders. The second cortége, which left at a quarter to twelve, consisted of eleven carriages, the occupants of which were members of the English Royal family and the Queen's household. All the Princes and Princesses were greeted with the warmth of British voices and hands as being the nation's very own. Perhaps the most fervent were reserved for the Princess Royal (Crown Princess of Prussia), who in no formal, but in quite a real, sense represented Queen Victoria, by circumstances debarred from appearing publicly in the procession. The Princess was much touched by the demonstration, and repeatedly rose from her seat in the carriage in acknowledgment of the acclamations.

Then came the procession of the bridegroom, which left punctually at

SIR JOHN TENNIEL'S CARTOON IN "PUNCH," ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE REJOICINGS AT HOME AND ABROAD
By permission of Messrs Bradbury, Agnew & Co., proprietors of "Punch."

12 o'clock, and was made up of six carriages, five of which contained the Prince of Wales's household and equerries, with those of the groomsmen. In the sixth carriage were the reigning Grand Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha and the Crown Prince of Prussia, "supporters," and the bridegroom.

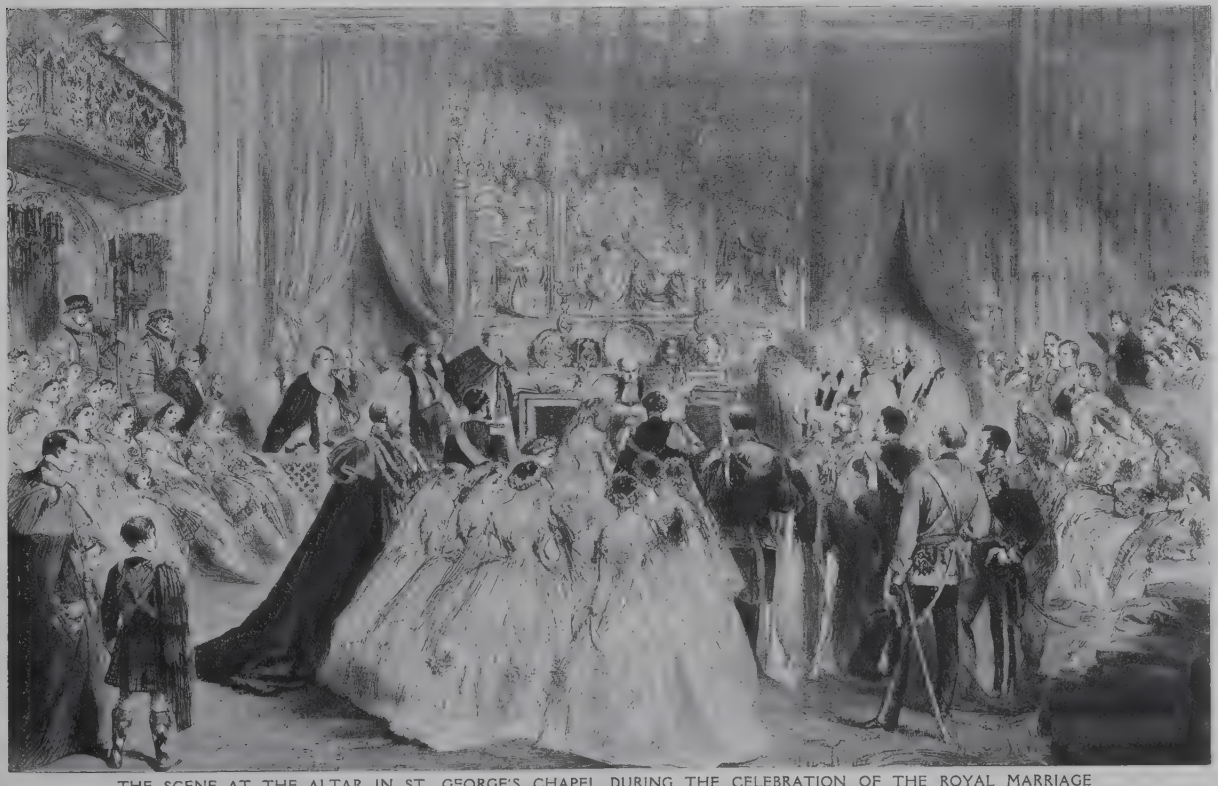
At a quarter-past twelve the procession of the bride, shorter than any of its predecessors, but more interesting to the vast assemblage which had waited hours to see it, filed out of the Castle gates. It consisted of only four carriages. In the first was the equerry to the Duke of Cambridge, the groom in waiting to the Queen, the gentleman of the bedchamber to the King of Denmark, and the adjutant to Prince Christian of Denmark. In the second were Countess Reventlow, lady in attendance on the bride; General Hon. C. Grey, equerry to the Queen, in attendance upon the bride; and Viscount Castlerosse, the Vice-Chamberlain. In the third were the chamberlain to the King of Denmark; Madame d'Oxholm, grande maitresse of the Court of the King of Denmark, in attendance on the bride; and the Danish Minister. In the fourth were the Duke of Cambridge, Prince Christian of Denmark, and the bride. When this carriage appeared the enthusiasm of the multitude was redoubled, especially when it was evident that through all her winning and charming acknowledgments of the greeting there were faint traces of agitation.

KING EDWARD AND QUEEN ALEXANDRA IN 1863

In St. George's Chapel, the stateliest example of perpendicular Gothic in the world, now brilliant with the thousand-hued uniforms of princes, ambassadors, the nobility and chivalry of Great Britain and Continental Europe, and resplendent with the beauty and brilliant robes of the ladies of a score of Courts, the momentous ceremony was about to be enacted. In the archway leading into the nave a heavy drapery of purple silk patterned with gold screened the interior of a temporary hall, where the guests of the Queen were received and her Majesty's great officers of State and Royal household assembled to form in order of procession; and through the rifts and openings now and then in the veil could be seen clouds of drapery and waving plumes. "On a sudden—far remote, indeed—are heard from the world beyond the walls the dulled bars of 'God Save the Queen,' and as they are yet sounding nearer and nearer the purple curtain is drawn back, and there enters the nave the procession of the Royal guests." To continue the quotation from the description in the "Times": "The representative of the

PREPARATIONS FOR THE HISTORIC CEREMONY: MARSHALLING THE PROCESSION OF THE BRIDE

glories of Khalso, the descendant of the Lion of Lahore, is resplendent in gold kinkob, with collar of pearls and sheen of yellow satin, and it is strange to see him here among the fair-haired Norsemen and Teutons whose boldest adventures had never led them within half a world's circumference of the land we have made our own. But, without offence to the distinguished throng, it may be said that it is in the nature of the day that the greatest attention is attracted by the young sisters and brothers of the bride, who are received with such deference as could be shown to them by the assemblage." The last of the procession of the Queen's guests, in which marched Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar, who fought in the British ranks at Inkerman, is closed by Colonel Seymour, groom in waiting to the Queen. They all pass into the chapel—a blaze of Danish and Prussian, Belgian and German green and blue, picked out with English



THE SCENE AT THE ALTAR IN ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL DURING THE CELEBRATION OF THE ROYAL MARRIAGE

THE MARRIAGE OF KING EDWARD AND QUEEN ALEXANDRA IN ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR, MARCH 10, 1863

From the painting by W. P. Frith, R.A., in the Royal collection.

scarlet; and as the last of them melt away into the glow of the inner building the bars of 'God Save the Queen' sound yet louder and nearer, and the cheers of the people come through the stone and glass and stir up the nave."

It was just 12 o'clock. The music ceased. Then on a sudden the purple curtain was drawn, the trumpets blared forth a silvery peal to the roll of the kettle-drums, and facing to the chapel, two and two, followed by pursuivants and heralds in tabards of office, covered with gold devices, they marched slowly up the nave towards the chapel. They headed here the great procession of the Royal family and of the Queen's household in magnificent array—the princes, noblemen, and gentlemen in splendid uniforms, the princesses and ladies bearing the trains of their regal costumes, and the whole escorted by the corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms and a company of the quaint Yeomen of the Guard.

The Royal Family in Procession

"The effect of this procession, slow in pace, brightly coloured and greatly resplendent, was in itself very beautiful. But there was something more—something which rank and youth, which gold and jewels and rich attire cannot give. The pulses of the gazers beat more quickly, and softly too, as they see the children of the house endeared to the nation by the virtues of the Queen and by her sorrows; the sedate, kindly Princess Mary of Cambridge, bowing with natural stateliness; the young Princesses of England, with that frank, simple, gentle girlhood, bowing in return to the lowly salutations of ladies and gentlemen right and left, and gliding noiselessly in before the young Princes who, in the garb of Old Gaul, walk side by side with placid composure in the interval between their sisters and the Princess Helena; the fair daughter who had been given to the young Prince of Hesse; and the Crown Princess of Prussia, leading by the hand his little Royal Highness Prince William, whose tiny gait was revealed fully by the Highland costume in which he was dressed." Princes and Princesses, Ministers, Knights of the Garter, all gather to their places. The choir is reached, and the trumpeters blow lustily from their upraised throats the exultant strains of Beethoven's Triumphal March.

QUEEN ALEXANDRA IN HER BRIDAL ROBES

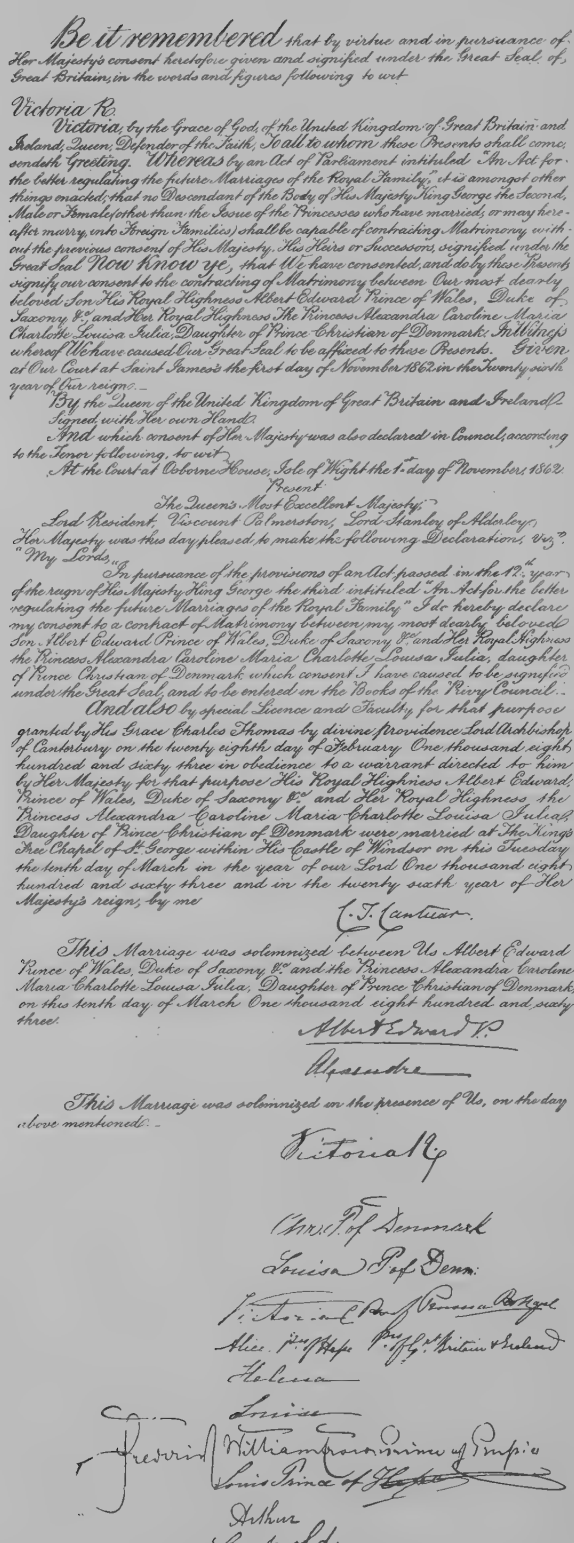
KING EDWARD AS HE APPEARED AT HIS MARRIAGE

At a quarter to 12 o'clock the procession of the bridegroom appeared, consisting of the noblemen and gentlemen of his household, followed by the bridegroom himself, his Royal supporters, and their equerries and great officers. The Prince of Wales, whose mantle and decorations of the Garter concealed his uniform as a general, and to which were attached the Orders of the Golden Fleece and the Star of India, advanced with serene dignity. Every eye speaks its blessing, every head pays its willing homage as he passes along, returning the reverence of the onlookers with zealous observance and courtesy. The chapel is reached, the drums and trumpets cease, and the March from "Athalie" takes up the joyous strain.

Again the curtain closes, and at half-past 12 again the drums and trumpets sound. The curtain is withdrawn to admit the procession of the bride. First came the heralds and master of the ceremonies, the members of the Danish Legation, the Lord Chamberlain and Vice-Chamberlain of the Queen's household; then the Princess Alexandra, supported by her father and the Duke of Cambridge. The train of the bride is borne by eight unmarried daughters of the leading members of the nobility: Lady Victoria Scott, daughter of the Duke of Buccleuch; Lady Elma Bruce, daughter of the Earl of Elgin; Lady Emily Villiers, daughter of the Earl of Clarendon; Lady Feodore Wellesley, daughter of the Earl of Cowley; Lady Diana Beauclerk, daughter of the Duke of St. Albans; Lady Victoria Howard, daughter of the Earl of Suffolk; Lady Agneta Yorke, daughter of the Earl of Hardwicke; Lady Eleanor Hare, daughter of Earl Listowel.

Queen Victoria in the Royal Pew

Considerable alterations had been made in the choir to fit it for the ceremonial and the accommodation of the largest possible number of spectators. Above the altar on the left, jutting out from the wall, was the Royal pew, covered with quaint carving and curious heraldic emblazonments.



Be it remembered that by virtue and in pursuance of Her Majesty's consent heretofore given and signified under the Great Seal of Great Britain, in the words and figures following to wit

Victoria R.

Victoria, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, To all to whom these Presents shall come, sendeth Greeting. *Whereas* by an Act of Parliament intituled "An Act for the better regulating the future Marriages of the Royal Family," it is amongst other things enacted, that no Descendant of the Body of His Majesty King George the Second, Male or Female (other than the Issue of the Princesses who have married, or may hereafter marry, into Foreign Families) shall be capable of contracting Matrimony without the previous consent of His Majesty, His Heirs or Successors, signified under the Great Seal. *Now know ye*, that We have consented, and do by these Presents signify our consent to the contracting of Matrimony between Our most dearly beloved Son His Royal Highness Albert Edward Prince of Wales, Duke of Saxony &c. and Her Royal Highness the Princess Alexandra Caroline Maria Charlotte Louisa Julia, Daughter of Prince Christian of Denmark. In Witness whereof We have caused Our Great Seal to be affixed to these Presents. Given at Our Court at Saint James's the first day of November 1862 in the Twenty sixth year of Our reign.

By the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland

Signed with Her own Hand.

And which consent of Her Majesty was also declared in Council, according to the Tenor following, to wit

At the Court at Osborne House, Isle of Wight the 1st day of November 1862.

Present

The Queen's Most Excellent Majesty

Lord President, Viscount Palmerston, Lord Stanley of Alderley

Her Majesty was this day pleased, to make the following Declarations, viz.

"My Lords,

"In pursuance of the provisions of an Act passed in the 12th year of the reign of His Majesty King George the third intituled "An Act for the better regulating the future Marriages of the Royal Family" I do hereby declare my consent to a contract of Matrimony between my most dearly beloved Son Albert Edward Prince of Wales, Duke of Saxony &c. and Her Royal Highness the Princess Alexandra Caroline Maria Charlotte Louisa Julia, daughter of Prince Christian of Denmark which consent I have caused to be signified under the Great Seal, and to be entered on the Books of the Privy Council.

And also by special Licence and Faculty for that purpose granted by His Grace Charles Thomas by divine providence Lord Archbishop of Canterbury on the twenty eighth day of February One thousand eight hundred and sixty three in obedience to a warrant directed to him by Her Majesty for that purpose His Royal Highness Albert Edward Prince of Wales, Duke of Saxony &c. and Her Royal Highness the Princess Alexandra Caroline Maria Charlotte Louisa Julia Daughter of Prince Christian of Denmark were married at the Kings Free Chapel of St. George within His Castle of Windsor on this Tuesday the tenth day of March in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and sixty three and in the twenty sixth year of Her Majesty's reign, by me

C. T. Cantuar.

This Marriage was solemnized between Us Albert Edward Prince of Wales, Duke of Saxony &c. and the Princess Alexandra Caroline Maria Charlotte Louisa Julia, Daughter of Prince Christian of Denmark on this tenth day of March One thousand eight hundred and sixty three.

Albert Edward P.

Alexandra

This Marriage was solemnized in the presence of Us, on the day above mentioned.

Victoria R.

Christian Prof Denmark

Louisa Prof Denm:

Alice

Helena

Louise

Arthur

Leopold.

THE MARRIAGE ATTESTATION DEED

The document here reproduced in part is of great historic value, setting forth as it does the Attestation Deed of the Royal marriage. Attached to it are the signatures of King Edward, Queen Alexandra, Queen Victoria, and many other Royal and official personages.

The window-sills were draped with massive folds of purple and velvet, fringed richly with bullion lace. The floor was raised, so that her Majesty could see and be seen by all throughout the ceremony. The altar was arrayed with gold Communion plate. The stalls of the Knights of the Garter and the spaces in front were covered with purple velvet. The wives of the Knights sat behind their stalls, all in the richest of Court dresses. Beside the Knights of the Garter, who wore their stately robes and decorations, and among whom was Lord Palmerston, Prime Minister, were the Lord Chancellor in State robes, and carrying the Great Seal, and the Speaker of the House of Commons, also in State robes. At a quarter to twelve the Archbishop of Canterbury entered, with the Bishop of London and many prelates and deans, and they knelt in prayer for a brief space. The Diplomatic Corps formed clusters of gold and colour, challenging in brilliancy the Knights of the Garter. "It is, in truth, a scene of stately pomp and Royal circumstance, where the noblest by birth and intellect, the greatest and most revered in power are all assembled within the narrow precincts of this grand old choir, like the treasures of the nation in their carved oak caskets."

Brilliant Scene in the Chapel

Her Majesty appears in the pew, attended by the Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, brother of the late Prince Consort. She wears the plainest and simplest of widow's weeds—a widow's cap, a black dress, with white collar and cuffs, and black silk gloves, and is attended by her ladies-in-waiting. Then come the processions from the nave already described. All the congregation, including her Majesty, rises while places are being taken to right and left of the altar or on the dais. Beethoven's Wedding March is played, and the glorious notes of hope born of love and youth sweep upwards to the groined roof, linger round pillars and cornices, and are echoed in the hearts of the whole assembly. Even the iridescent lights from the painted windows seemed to make music.

As the *haut pas* is reached by the Prince of Wales and his "supporters," the Queen rises, and they bow deeply to her Majesty. The Duke of Saxe-Coburg and the Crown Prince of Prussia retire to the south side of the altar, and the Royal bridegroom, after kneeling a few seconds in prayer, rises and stands in the centre of the dais, facing the Queen. With manly bearing he easily looks round on the splendid scene. Then as the cheers from without penetrate to the choir the Prince turns his head every moment towards the screen separating the choir from the nave. At last, with a great clang of trumpets, the bride appears, and the Prince assuring himself of that fact looks towards his Royal mother till his affianced stands beside him—

> "In gloss of satin and glimmer of pearls,
> Queen and lily and rose in one"—

the fairest and almost the youngest of all her lovely train that bloomed in bright array behind her.

Though not agitated, the Princess appeared nervous; she was supported on the right and left by her father and by the Duke of Cambridge.

The Bride's Dress and Jewellery

The bridal dress was of "pure white satin, trimmed with bouffants of tulle with Honiton lace, and decked with orange blossoms and myrtle, and having a long train of silver moiré. Her veil was of Honiton lace of exquisite design, the pattern representing the Rose of Denmark and Thistle, and it was surmounted by a wreath of orange blossoms and a coronet of diamonds—the latter the gift of the bridegroom." She also wore an opal and diamond bracelet, the gift of the Queen; a brooch and earrings of diamonds, the gift of the bridegroom; the necklace of diamonds given by the City of London, the diamond bracelet from the ladies of Leeds, and the diamond and opal bracelet from the ladies of Manchester. The bride carried a bouquet of orange blossoms, white roses and orchids, lilies-of-the-valley, and sprigs of myrtle from the

QUEEN ALEXANDRA'S BRIDESMAIDS · THE LADIES WHO ASSISTED IN THE ROYAL CEREMONY

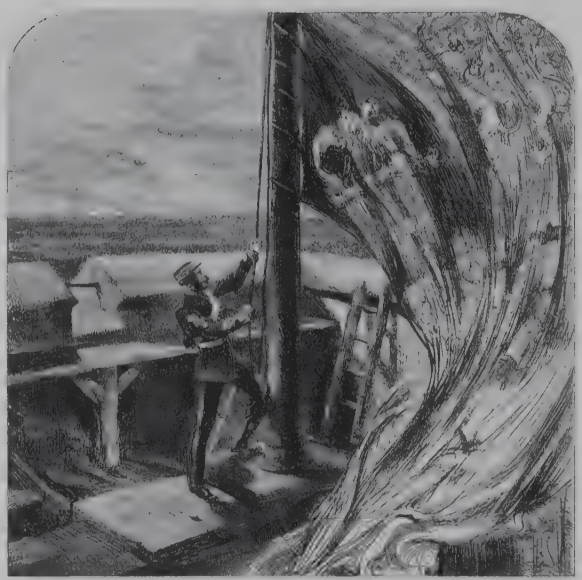
Accompanying the fair young Princess to the altar, and bearing her train, were eight unmarried daughters of Dukes, Marquesses, and Earls, the names of the ladies thus honoured being Lady Victoria Scott, Lady Elma Bruce, Lady Emily Villiers, Lady Feodore Wellesley, Lady Diana Beauclerk, Lady Victoria Howard, Lady Agneta Yorke, and Lady Eleanor Hare.

AFTER THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY: THE SIGNING OF THE ATTESTATION DEED AT WINDSOR CASTLE

famous bush at Osborne—these in the beautiful holder presented by the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh. The wedding-ring was of plain gold, very massive; and the keeper was of gold studded with single stones of beryl, emerald, ruby, turquoise, jacinth, the initial letters spelling the name of "Bertie."

The bridesmaids wore dresses of "white silk covered with tulle, hooked up with blush roses, shamrock, and heather—with leaves to correspond—and long tulle veils." Their ornaments were lockets studded with pink pearls and diamonds, the gift of the bridegroom.

When the bride reached the *haut pas* amid the strains of Handel's March from "Joseph," she bowed to the Queen, and then the choir, amongst whose members was the famous singer, Jenny Lind, broke into the exquisite chorale the music of which had been composed by the late Prince Consort.



HOISTING THE ROYAL STANDARD AT WINDSOR

During the residence of the Sovereign at Windsor, the Royal Standard is hoisted on the Round Tower every morning at sunrise. This interesting ceremony on the morning of King Edward's marriage is illustrated in the above picture, a new standard, prepared for the auspicious occasion, being then used for the first time.

This day, with joyful heart and voice,
To Heaven be raised a nation's prayer;
Almighty Father, deign to grant
Thy blessing to the wedded pair.
So shall no clouds of sorrow dim
The sunshine of their early days;
But happiness, in endless round,
Shall still encompass all their ways.

During the exquisite rendering of this chorale the Queen drew back from the window of the pew, and, after an effort to conceal her emotion, burst into tears. Happily, the bride and bridegroom saw nothing of this touching scene.

As the chant ended, the prelates advanced to the Communion rails, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, in a rich, clear voice, which was heard throughout every part of the pillared edifice, commenced the Marriage Service. The Prince bowed rather than responded to the first of the usual questions, "Wilt thou have this woman to be thy wedded wife?" his utterance being so indistinct. The Princess, to the question, "Wilt thou, Alexandra

THE DEPARTURE OF THE BRIDE AND BRIDEGROOM FROM ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL AFTER THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY

THE START OF THE ROYAL HONEYMOON: THE PRINCE AND PRINCESS OF WALES LEAVING WINDSOR FOR OSBORNE

Caroline Marie, have this man to be thy wedded husband?" replied just audibly. But for the remainder of the service the Prince repeated the formulæ clearly, while the Princess, in her turn, answered almost inaudibly. Her cheeks were suffused with a crimson flush, and she seemed to be very nervous. When the Royal father gave the bride away, the Primate joined their hands together, and the Prince, in a clear, soft voice, repeated deliberately, "With this ring I thee wed," etc. Then followed the rest of the Marriage Service, the choir singing beautifully the 67th Psalm.

The guns in the Long Walk thundered forth that the Royal pair were one; the bands outside played, and the cheering of the vast multitudes could be heard like the sound of distant breakers. When silence was regained in the chapel, the Primate delivered his exhortation, followed by the Benediction, upon which the Queen kneeled and buried her face in her hands. The bride and bridegroom joined hands and bowed to the Queen, which her Majesty acknowledged. Then was formed the "United Procession of the Bride and Bridegroom," the choir singing Beethoven's Hallelujah Chorus from the "Mount of Olives," and the Prince and Princess of Wales left the chapel,

The Guests at Windsor Castle

entered a carriage alone, and, preceded by one containing the Groom of the Stole, the Master of the Horse, the Lord Chamberlain, and the Lord Steward, they set forth on their triumphal return to Windsor Castle, followed by a procession of the Royal guests in ten carriages.

At the grand entrance to the Castle the bride and bridegroom were met by Queen Victoria, and were conducted to the White Room and Green Drawing-room, where the attestation of the marriage took place by the Royal guests, the Church dignitaries, the Lord Chancellor, and other Ministers of the Crown, and the Danish Minister. There were in all twenty-six Royal and Imperial signatures, according to an "Extraordinary Gazette," attached to the attestation of marriage. The wedding breakfast was served in the dining-room to the Royal guests, and in St. George's Hall there was a *déjeuner* to the Diplomatic Corps, the ladies-in-waiting, 400 distinguished members of the aristocracy and holders of official office. At four o'clock the Royal pair left Windsor to spend the honeymoon at Osborne, after taking an affectionate farewell of her Majesty and their other Royal relatives. The cynosure of all eyes, of course, on the route from the Castle to the railway station was the Princess of Wales.

Off on the Honeymoon

Her glorious and vivid beauty seemed to emanate a radiant light of happiness from her all-compelling presence. The "going-away" dress of the Princess was of white silk covered by a mantle of ermine, and her bonnet was white. The carriage was drawn by four cream-coloured horses, and was escorted by cavalry through the streets of Windsor, which were almost blocked by cheering multitudes, amongst whom were boisterously loyal Eton students.

At Reading they were greeted by a crowd of 20,000 exuberant citizens, and at Southampton the Royal pair had to submit with laughing consent to addresses and more ovations. They embarked on the Royal yacht Fairy, which steamed, amid salutes of men-of-war, through a double line of mail steamers, all crowded with spectators, to the Isle of Wight. There were more addresses at Cowes and Ryde, and at last there was rest at Osborne House.

At night there were illuminations and rejoicings not only in the Imperial City of London, but in every city, town, and hamlet of the United Kingdom, and of the Britains beyond the seas. Unhappily, owing to the crush at Ludgate Hill, and near the Mansion House, six persons, four of them women, lost their lives, and a hundred others sustained injuries.

A sympathetic letter was afterwards addressed by the Prince of Wales to the Lord Mayor, expressing his regret that what was meant to be an occasion of rejoicing had been turned into a calamity, and the friends of the victims were subsequently provided for.

CHAPTER XXVI

QUEEN ALEXANDRA AND HER EARLY DAYS

Including the Story of the Royal House of Denmark and the Upbringing and Home Surroundings of Britain's Future Queen

ALEXANDRA CAROLINE MARIE CHARLOTTE LOUISE JULIE—to give to the future consort of the Sovereign of the British Empire her full name—was born at the Gule Palais, at Copenhagen, on December 1, 1844. She was the second child and the eldest daughter of Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glucksburg and his wife Louisa, Princess of Hesse-Cassel. She arrived in the world at a time when the fortunes of her father were hanging doubtfully in the balance. Though both the Prince Christian and the Princess Louisa were members of the Royal House of Denmark, their right to the crown was not only remote, but was complicated by a whole series of intricate questions connected with the past and the future history of Denmark. The family, which was destined to give so many kings and queens to Europe, who were to establish dynasties, not only in their native country, but in Greece and Norway, were, not seventy years ago, possessed of no sovereign rights beyond those attached to their titular possessions. Their accession to the throne of Denmark was a burning question of international politics; it was justified by wisdom and necessity; but in the process of their establishment a European war flared up, and Denmark was deprived of a portion of her territory.

At the time of the marriage of Queen Alexandra's parents, King Christian VIII. was seated on the throne of Denmark. His son, Frederick, who succeeded him, had no children, and with him vanished the Royal line of Oldenburg that had swayed the sceptre of Denmark since the middle of the fifteenth century. The history of the Royal Danish House is a long and honourable one, going back to the year 863. In that year Gorm brought Jutland under his sway, and before 900 had succeeded in uniting every state in Denmark to his dominion. His son, Harold II. ("Blue-tooth") introduced Christianity about the year 972. In 1000 Sven, his grandson, subjugated part of Norway, and in 1014 the greater part of England, where he soon after died. His successor, Canute the Great, in 1016 possessed himself of the whole of England and part of Scotland, and in 1030 of the remainder of Norway. To this monarch Denmark was indebted for her greatness, laws, and internal organisation, and the establishment of Christianity as the religion of the country. His successors, as they did not possess his genius, so they failed to imitate his virtues. England emancipated herself in 1034, and Norway two years later. A new dynasty under the female line mounted the throne in 1047 in the person of Sven Magnus Estritson III., and held the sceptre for four hundred years. On the deposition of Eric VII. this line became extinct. The Danish States met together, through their representatives, and Christian, Count of Oldenburg, was elected king in 1460.

In 1523 the grandson of Christian I., Christian II., sometimes called the "Nero

KING EDWARD AS A COLONEL OF THE 10TH HUSSARS
From a photograph taken by Vernon Heath in 1864

QUEEN ALEXANDRA AT THE TIME OF HER MARRIAGE

From the painting by R. Lauchert

of the North," was forced to flee the country; the crown was transferred to his uncle, Frederick I., Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, whose son, Christian III., united the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein to the crown of Denmark in 1533. It was this union which was eventually responsible for the confusion with regard to the succession of the Danish crown which arose in the middle of the nineteenth century. Christian VIII. was succeeded by his son, Frederick VII. on January 20, 1848, a few weeks before the outbreak of that revolution in Paris which set the whole of Europe aflame. Not only was the Schleswig-Holstein question put to the arbitrament of arms, but the whole constitutional fabric of Denmark was shaken. Since 1665 Denmark had been governed by a Constitution conceived in the most autocratic spirit. On June 5, 1849, Frederick VII. gave to his people a full measure of political liberty. Among the earliest memories of Princess Alexandra must have been the sight of the great national demonstration in honour of the emancipation of the Danish people. She was then a child of five years old, and it was her first lesson in the complex system of a constitutional monarchy, a system of which she was to be one day the noblest and proudest supporter.

Political Liberty for Denmark

To understand fully the intricacies of the Schleswig-Holstein question, it is necessary to go back some thirty years. Until 1820 the various races occupying the duchies which formed part of the Danish monarchy had lived peacefully under one king for several centuries. In this year, however, the harmony was disturbed by the growth of that political ideal which in our own day has come to be known as "Pan-Germanism." In the reign of Christian VIII. the Prince Royal, afterwards Frederick VII., was childless. After two marriages, both of which had proved fruitless, it was clear that no direct heir to the Danish throne was forthcoming. Who was to succeed? In Denmark there was no Salic law to prevent a woman succeeding to the throne; but in the provinces of Schleswig-Holstein there was such a disqualification. The heir to the Danish throne, therefore, was heir only to Denmark proper, and he or she had no claim to the sovereignty over the duchies, which reverted to the Dukes of Augustenburg and Glucksburg. With a view to settling this difficult question, the representatives of the States of Denmark assembled at Roeskilde in 1844, and decided that Denmark, Schleswig-Holstein, and Lauenburg were an indivisible state, and that, according to the Danish constitution, the sovereignty of this united state was hereditary in the female line. On July 8, 1846, a Royal edict was issued to this effect. Immediately the Grand Duke of Oldenburg and the Dukes of Augustenburg and Glucksburg, whose interests were affected, lodged protests in due form against the king's pretensions. In the conflict that ensued Prince Christian, the father of Queen Alexandra, took the side of the Danish King, in spite of the fact that he was the younger brother of the Duke of Glucksburg.

The heir to the Danish throne was Frederick VII.'s aunt, Charlotte, sister of Christian VIII. Charlotte was the mother of Frederick, Landgrave of Hesse, who had married in 1844 the Grand Duchess Alexandra, daughter of the Emperor Nicholas; and hence the Imperial family of Russia had obtained a near interest in the Danish succession. On the other hand, Duke Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg, as the nearest male agnate of the Danish Royal family, entertained hopes of succeeding to Schleswig and Holstein, and united with Prussia in trying to bring those duchies into the German Confederation. German troops marched into Holstein and penetrated into Jutland. Having established themselves there, the King of Prussia set aside the claims of the Duke of Augustenburg, which he had come to support. War for the time, however, was stopped by diplomacy, and the Courts of London, St. Petersburg, and Vienna united to press an armistice on Denmark and Germany

KING EDWARD AND QUEEN ALEXANDRA SHORTLY AFTER THEIR MARRIAGE

From a photograph by Vernon Heath

The armistice was broken by Denmark, supported by Russia and Sweden, and, after considerable strife, the Battle of Frederica, gained by the Danes (July 7, 1849), brought the second campaign to a conclusion on terms favourable to the Danish views. Another armistice was signed in August, whereby it was resolved that Schleswig should be governed by a Danish prince and a German commissioner, with an Englishman as arbitrator. This impossible settlement was confirmed by treaty on July 2, 1850. The war, however, did not cease until after the victory of the Danes at Ysted. On January 6, 1851, the Prussian and Austrian Commissioners met at Kiel with the object of devising some plan which would compel the duchies to submit to these terms. A threat of military assistance compelled them to surrender, and, in the triumph of the King of Denmark, Prince Christian of Glucksburg was summoned to Copenhagen to be nominated there as heir-apparent of the throne of Denmark.

This step, so important to the family of Queen Alexandra, was taken at the instigation of the Powers. A protocol, signed in London on May 8, 1852, by England, France, Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden, embodied the terms of this settlement, by which all the dominions under the sceptre of Denmark were to fall to Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glucksburg and his issue in the male line by his marriage with Louisa, Princess of Hesse. The principle of the integrity of the Danish monarchy was acknowledged by the contracting parties, though the treaty specially stipulated that the rights of the German Confederation with regard to the duchies of Holstein and Lauenberg were not to be affected. The Duke of Augustenburg abandoned his claims to Schleswig

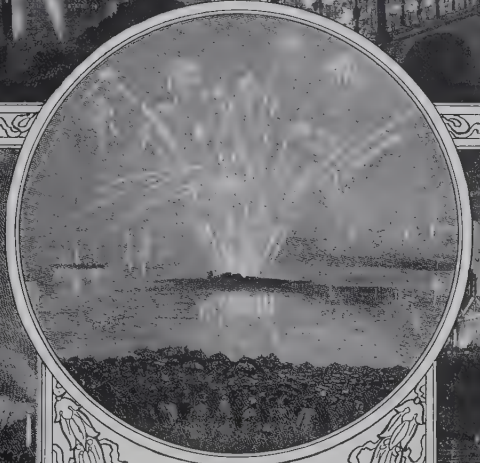
The New Heir to Denmark's Throne

CELEBRATING THE ROYAL MARRIAGE

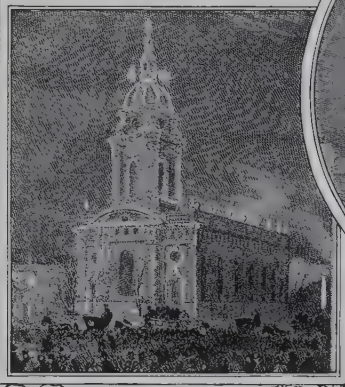
The series of pictures here grouped together has been selected from numerous illustrations of the time, showing how the Royal wedding was made an occasion of national rejoicing, the whole country being ablaze with illuminations in the evening.

Edinburgh, from the Calton Hill

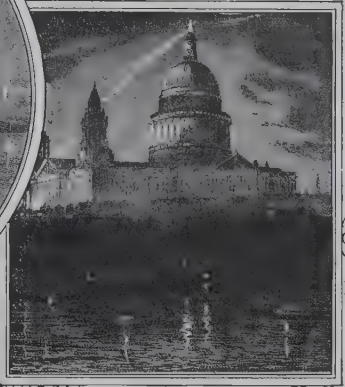
London Bridge



Guernsey, viewed from the West Quay

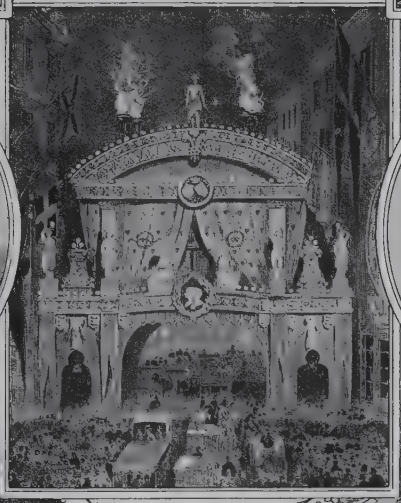


St. Philip's Church, Birmingham



St. Paul's, from the Thames

Worcestershire Beacon bonfire



Illumination of Temple Bar

Preparing Hampstead's bonfire

The scene in Sackville Street, Dublin

Procession along High Street, Exeter

and Holstein for a pecuniary consideration, and, at the same time, Russia renounced her hereditary claims on Holstein. In nominating Prince Christian as heir to the throne, no fewer than nineteen other heirs standing nearer than himself were excluded. Among the Royalties who thus abandoned their claims was Princess Charlotte, the mother of Prince Christian's wife. She withdrew her rights and the rights of her elder daughter in favour of the Princess Louisa, who, in turn, waived them on behalf of her husband. It may be mentioned here that the Treaty of London, by which Prince Christian's authority was established, was subsequently found, eleven years later, to contain certain flaws, which resulted in another war with Germany, and in the final separation of the duchies from the sovereignty of Denmark.

Queen Alexandra's Royal Descent

On both sides the future Queen Alexandra was descended from the Royal House of Denmark, which on several occasions had been united with the Royal House of Great Britain. Both her father and her mother could claim as a great grandparent King Frederick V. of Denmark, who had married Louisa, daughter of George II. Queen Anne had married a Danish consort, and Caroline Matilda, the unfortunate Queen of Christian VII. of Denmark, was a sister of George III. To go still further back, Canute of Denmark had been King of England, the sister of Henry V. had married King Eric, and the Orkney Isles owe their connection with the United Kingdom to the marriage of Princess Margaret, daughter of Christian I., with James III. of Scotland. Before his accession to the throne of England, James I. had married Princess Anne, daughter of Frederick II., who thus became the mother of our unfortunate line of Stuart sovereigns. The two Royal houses, indeed, have been closely united by marriage through centuries of their history, and through Queen Alexandra a long line of sovereigns in the years to come will be able to trace their descent back to the little northern kingdom.

Denmark at the time of the Princess Alexandra's birth was a densely-populated country, peopled by a sober, homely, and industrious nation. Even now the contrast between the scale of living in England and that which pertains in Denmark is very marked. Fifty years ago the contrast was still more striking. No better illustration of this is afforded than by comparing the standard of state which members of the Danish Royal family considered sufficient for their position with the standard necessarily maintained in Royal circles in Great Britain to-day, Prince Christian, before he was called upon to take up the duties of Crown Prince of Denmark, lived with great simplicity in the very modest Gule Palais. His household was ordered with care and strict economy. Lavishness and superfluity were severely discountenanced, and both the Prince and his wife educated their children in all the homely duties which are practised in less exalted circles. There is a story told of Queen Alexandra, which, whether true or not, admirably illustrates the comparative smallness of her father's means. "Only think," she is said to have declared at the time of her marriage, "that my trousseau alone has cost more than my father's whole yearly income." With Prince Christian and his wife strict economy, however, was not only a necessity, but it was looked upon as a virtue, and his family were brought up to value the beautiful rather than the costly, and to eschew tasteless luxury for that which was simple and fine.

Prince Christian and his wife were twenty-five and twenty-four respectively when their first child was born. It was a boy called Frederick, now the King of Denmark. Princess Alexandra was born a year and a half later, and was duly christened in the magnificent silver-gilt font of the Danish Royal House. To anticipate the sequence of events it is as well to give here the names of the rest of the family. George, now King of Greece, was the third child; Dagmar, Dowager Empress of Russia, was born on November 26, 1847; then came Thyra, afterwards Duchess of Cumberland; and lastly, Prince Waldemar, who now occupies the old Gule Palais, with his wife, Princess Marie of Orleans.

The Simple Life of the Princess

The home-life of the Prince's family was charming in its simplicity, and Princess Alexandra early imbibed her qualities of tenderness and gracious kindness from this sweet domestic atmosphere. It was a home in the best sense of the word, and the family were united in the bonds of affection—bonds that were destined never to be loosened. To this day it is characteristic of Queen Alexandra that, no matter how exacting the demands upon her time, she always preserves that strong instinct for home, her children, and her family, which is the mark of a true woman, though not often a virtue which queens can practise. It is seen to-day in the loving care with which she keeps and guards the mementoes of her childhood and of the early days of her own children, valuing them more than all the priceless objects of art with which she is surrounded.

QUEEN ALEXANDRA IN THE FIRST YEAR OF HER MARRIED LIFE
From a photograph by Hills & Saunders

Princess Alexandra, who had been named after her aunt, the wife of the Landgrave of Hesse, was rightly looked upon as the most beautiful member of the family. A description of her at this time presents a picture of a charming little girl. Her large eyes were of deep Scandinavian blue, and her complexion was the wonder and admiration of all who saw her. When she walked with her nurse along the sea promenade which skirts the Sound, within a few hundred yards of the Gule Palais, the people stopped to gaze at the delicate little fairy figure. She was always dressed with perfect taste—a taste for which her mother, the Princess Louisa, was responsible. The Princess is said to have designed all her children's dresses, and in several cases to have made them with her own hands, and the grace

KING EDWARD AND QUEEN ALEXANDRA RIDING IN WINDSOR GREAT PARK IN THE YEAR OF THEIR MARRIAGE
From the painting by Barraud

which has always distinguished the attire of Queen Alexandra is a direct inheritance from the beloved mother whose death, in 1898, was to her so great a loss. The little Princess was frequently seen with her younger sister, the Princess Dagmar, gazing down from the iron balcony outside the drawing-room window of the Gule Palais, watching the life in the streets below. Sometimes, too, they would be seen walking in the lovely gardens of the Rosenborg Slot, some distance from their home; but, wherever they were, both Princess Alexandra and the pretty little Princess Dagmar attracted the attention of all and sundry on account of their beauty and charm. Their pretty clothes, however, were not for ordinary wear, and once inside their playing-room their dainty frocks were changed for something plainer and unspoilable.

Two Fair Sister Princesses

These domestic details have no value apart from the manner in which they portray the practical, homely system on which Prince Christian and Princess Louisa brought up their family. Both parents had strong views on the education of their children. The phrase "strong views," when applied to parents, generally assumes a certain eccentricity of thought; but in this case the "strong views" were essentially sensible and practical, and the system employed in giving them effect was one calculated to bring out all the best and noblest qualities in the little ones for whose benefit it was designed. The Prince summed up a part of his views in the words, "I will not be so cruel to these little ones as to spoil them." He was strict, but not with that strictness which tends to alienate the affections and stifle the natural emotions of his children. The efficacy of his treatment was shown in the lasting affection with which he was always regarded by everyone of his family. To them "Papa" was the emblem of all that was fine and noble, and to the day of his death they loved him with an unchanging devotion. But, as is so often the case with young children, it was to the Princess Louisa, their mother, that must be principally ascribed the fine moulding of their characters.

Princess Louisa was, in every sense of the phrase, a remarkable woman—clever, artistic, practical, and with a judgment and good sense that never failed. She believed strongly in the efficacy of home influence, and held it as a maxim of domestic training that the first lessons of children should be learnt at their mother's knee. She was in every way fitted for the task. As a musician, she played admirably on the piano and the harp. She could converse fluently in French and German, and had some knowledge of English. Her artistic abilities were noteworthy; she drew and she painted, and the walls of the Gule Palais were hung with her sketches. In addition, she worked exquisitely in silk embroidery—an art much practised by Danish ladies of her time. With these graceful accomplishments she combined a thorough knowledge of the practical side of life. In all the duties of a housewife she was thoroughly conversant, and there was not a phase of purely domestic life which she did not understand and could not direct. As already stated, she was an excellent dressmaker, and for her own amusement would show her skill by cutting out and sometimes making her children's dresses. Further, she had tact and discrimination, and, what is more, a strong maternal instinct, without which her other qualities would have been of little avail.

Queen Alexandra's Accomplished Mother

It is from her mother that Queen Alexandra has inherited her taste for music, her very considerable artistic gifts as a painter, and her fine maternal qualities. Until her younger sister, the Princess Dagmar, was old enough to require instruction from masters and governesses, Princess Alexandra's only teacher was her mother. It was from her that she learnt her first lessons in general knowledge and in music and drawing. The Gule Palais was an ideal home for children. It was an old rambling chateau, reached from the Amaliegade Street by big gates which swung back on chains into a courtyard. It is a house with winding stairs and unexpected passages, and small, old-fashioned rooms. The apartment in which Queen Alexandra was born —it is now pointed out as a notable spot—was at the side of the house overlooking the courtyard. Her childhood was lived at a time when Denmark was undergoing a great revival in art and letters, and the young Princess breathed an atmosphere which has left an impression upon her to this day. Hans Andersen was then enjoying the sweets of popularity, and though that great writer intensely disliked the suggestion that he was a composer of children's stories, his beautiful prose satires were devoured with eagerness by the family of Prince Christian. He was under the friendly patronage of the Danish Royal Family, and his stories were looked for with the same eagerness with which in England about the same time the people anticipated a new work from the pen of Charles Dickens. It was an endless delight to the Princess Alexandra to be allowed to read the "Ugly Duckling" or the other charming phantasies of his creation. At the same time, too, Thorwaldsen, the sculptor, was in the height of his fame—though, perhaps, it would be more correct to say his works had been apotheosised, for the sculptor himself had died a short time before the Princess's birth. His statuary was being collected from all sides, and a great museum had been built close to the King's palace to enshrine his famous marbles. The young Princess was often taken to see them, and much of the conversation in her domestic circle was devoted to a discriminating criticism of his works. Jenny Lind, the Swedish nightingale, also visited Copenhagen, and was heard with rapture by the Princess. She never forgot the strains of that incomparable voice, and it was to give her an additional pleasure that the great singer was specially invited to lead the singing of the bridal hymn on the occasion of her marriage in St. George's Chapel.

The Birthplace of Queen Alexandra

QUEEN ALEXANDRA IN HER EARLY DAYS AS PRINCESS OF WALES
From a photograph by Hills & Saunders

When the days of maternal instruction had passed, masters and mistresses were found to complete the education of Prince Christian's family. There was one resident governess, a Swiss lady, Mademoiselle Schwiedland. Princess Alexandra was taught music by M. Siboni, drawing by Professor Buntzen, German by the clergyman of the German Reform Church, Pastor Theobald, history and geography by Professor Petersen, while for her instruction in English, the language which she was to make her own, Miss Mathilde Knudsen was engaged. Princess Alexandra always retained an affectionate interest in Miss Knudsen, who gave her her first lesson in English on January 5, 1858, five years before her marriage to the Prince of Wales. Whenever in Copenhagen, the Queen was accustomed to pay her a visit, and sit and chat with her in the most affectionate manner. When, too, Miss Knudsen visited England, she was always invited to tea or luncheon at Marlborough House, and once had the honour of dining alone with her Majesty. On the marriage of the then Duke of York, Miss Knudsen was invited to the garden party, and had a special seat appointed her from which to watch the wedding procession. Such acts as these, slight in themselves, but showing the deep womanliness of the Queen's character, have endeared her not only to her old friends in Denmark, but to hundreds of others in the country which she has adopted.

Music was the art to which the Princess was most devoted, and, under the instruction of M. Siboni, she developed a very considerable musical talent. The Princess was early taught to make herself an expert with her needle, and in her young days many of her little girlish adornments were the work of her own hands. She had a natural instinct for dress—an instinct which has developed, so that the comment of a certain writer to the effect that she was distinguished from other Royal ladies "as the only one to whom dress is a fine art," is completely justified. Dancing, too, she learnt and enjoyed. On occasion she was allowed to go to a dance at the house of one or other of her mother's friends. There were not too many of these entertainments, however, for the Princess Louisa rightly held that too much excitement was not good for young people. Of her other lessons she was not, perhaps, so fond, but she applied herself to them with great determination. "We had to learn," she once explained, in speaking of her childhood, "for we were made to understand that it was necessary." Gymnastics, Princess Louisa considered a most important part of her children's curriculum, and the beautiful carriage of the Queen and her stately, graceful figure have justified her mother's wisdom.

The homeliness of her home life, and its effect on her character could be set out in a hundred ways. Perhaps one further illustration will suffice. Christmas Day was always kept as a great occasion at the Gule Palais, and, like so many other children in humbler ranks of life, it was regarded by the Princess Alexandra as the greatest day in the year. It was kept as a charming domestic festival. Princess Alexandra, it is said, used to lie awake for nights before the twenty-fifth of December with sheer excitement, and, in her anxiety to have her numerous gifts ready in time for her father and mother and her brothers and sisters, her fingers were often covered with needle-pricks. On Christmas Eve each child had a small tree, while in the centre of the room was a large tree laden with presents and scintillating with lights, round which the family would dance. All the old customs were kept up, and at the Christmas festival every one of the children was made to feel the warmth and affection that pervaded their home.

Christmas in the Danish Palace

SCENES OF QUEEN ALEXANDRA'S YOUTHFUL DAYS IN DENMARK

The portraits are those of Queen Alexandra's parents, Prince Christian and Princess Louisa, afterwards King and Queen of Denmark

Church of Roeskilde and Tomb-house of the Danish kings

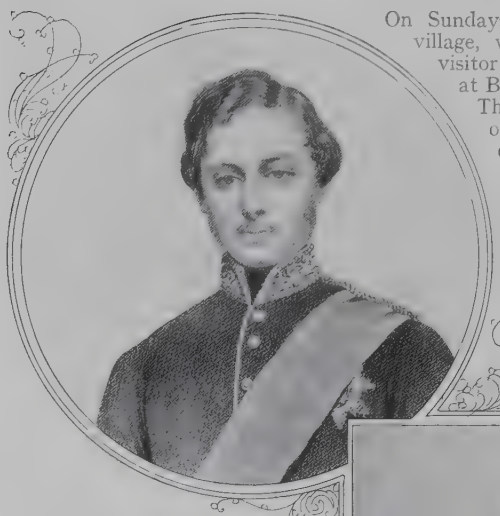
Queen Alexandra's birthplace at Copenhagen

Bernstorff Palace

The country home of her girlhood

The Palace of Christiansborg at Copenhagen

Fredericksborg Castle, residence of the Danish Sovereign



AT THE TIME OF HIS MARRIAGE
IN 1863

The accession of Prince Christian to the position of Prince Royal of Denmark was an important event in the life of himself and his family. From that moment they began to take a prominent position in the national life of the country. The most immediate effect, however, was the addition of a new home, the Château of Bernstorff, presented to them by the nation, and an allowance from the State. To Princess Alexandra the great change meant the widening of her experience and the commencement of her education in the endless duties of Royalty. At Bernstorff they passed their summers, inhabiting the old Gule Palais in the winter as before. Bernstorff was an ideal retreat, and it was a memorable day when Prince Christian and his family set sail at Copenhagen Harbour for their new home among the fresh green pine-woods. Bernstorff is reached by way of the Sound, and is not a long journey from Copenhagen. Alighting at the pretty little landing-stage of Klampenberg, there is a drive along the sea-road to the white château, which stands in the midst of woods, with miles of deer forests stretching beyond. From an educational point of view, life here for Princess Alexandra was much less strenuous than at Copenhagen. Most of her time was passed in the open air, and it was the delight of herself and her brothers and sisters to help their mother at gardening, and to cut and arrange flowers for the table and rooms. The family rose early, and the simple life was lived even to the plain wholesomeness of the meals. After a light breakfast, the children spent their time in the woods, being summoned back to déjeuner by their mother's gong or their father's whistle. This meal over, a few hours were given over to study, to be followed by a walk or a drive. At four o'clock the family dined. Coffee was served in the garden, and the closing hours of the day were occupied in quiet domestic amusements or in a walk to the neighbouring village of Gjentofte, where the Princess Alexandra, for her charm, her graciousness, and her charity—virtues that had been inculcated by her mother—was always received with delight by the villagers.

IN 1864
After the painting by Winterhalter.

On Sundays the family visited the quaint, red-tiled Lutheran church of the village, without any pomp or ceremony, and the pastor was a welcome visitor at the château. On Tuesdays and Fridays, during these sojourns at Bernstorff, Princess Alexandra went to Copenhagen for her lessons. The rest of the week, however, was given over almost entirely to open-air amusements and healthy exercise. The situation of the château was superb, and made one of the most ideal playing-grounds for children. "The beauty and serenity of this woodland home on the Sound," says a well-informed writer, "was quite unique, and remains so to-day. There, in the midst of the illimitable woods, one forgets the stress of life. By road the château is approached through an avenue of stately elms, a mile and a half long; and under their shades the brothers and sisters galloped on their ponies along with their father, a remarkable horseman, from whom Queen Alexandra acquired her skill in the saddle. Dogs always accompanied the cavalcade—indeed, the pet animals of Bernstorff were legion, and again her childhood's taste has been brought to Sandringham." Riding was one of the chief accomplishments that Princess Alexandra acquired at Bernstorff. Under the watchful eye of her father she became an expert horsewoman, and nearly every morning she could be seen galloping her pony by Prince Christian's side along the celebrated avenue of elms, or in the wilder woods that lay beyond the château. There is a picture extant of the Princess at this time, sketched in words by an English officer who was received at Bernstorff.

"As she cantered up to the house on horseback at her father's side, I thought I had never seen such a vision of youth and beauty. The young girl's cheeks were roses, her eyes stars, and her hair, falling all about her shoulders, was turned to a heap of reddish-gold by the sun. I saw her later in white, gathering flowers in the garden, which she herself

AT THE AGE OF TWENTY-TWO
KING EDWARD IN EARLY MANHOOD

arranged on the dinner-table, and I was inspired by her beauty to write a poem which was afterwards published anonymously."

There is a not uninteresting sequel to this description, which, if not authentic, at any rate falls within the category of bona trovato. The Prince of Wales saw this very poem. He admired it greatly, but it was not till later that he learnt that the subject of the poem—"the Fairy Princess of the Lilies," as she was called—was his future bride, at that time unknown to him.

Bernstorff supplied endless amusements for Princess Alexandra. Friends from Copenhagen came down frequently on visits, and their presence was made the excuse for boating excursions and picnics in the woods. In the pleasant wildness of those delightful days, the future consort of the Sovereign of the British Empire might sometimes be seen in the company of her young companions, swinging merrily on the branch of a tree, or riding on a woodman's cart, or sitting on a bank weaving wreaths of wild flowers for her own pretty head. There is a story related with regard to one of these excursions which is worth repeating, as it so admirably illustrates a charming trait in the Queen's character. On one occasion, when Princess Alexandra had been entertaining some girl friends to tea in the woods, they fell to talking of what the unknown future might have in store for them, and each in turn said what she would like best to have. One wished to be clever and renowned; another to have great wealth and power; a third to travel far and see the wonders of the world; but when it came to the turn of Princess Alexandra to tell her wish, she said, "I should like above all things to be loved."

KING EDWARD IN 1863

During these early years the Princess did not remain entirely in Denmark. It had been the Landgrave Frederick of Hesse's wish that his descendants should meet in the family palace of Rumpenheim every two years, and, obedient to the tradition, the Princess Louisa used to make a biennial excursion to the famous old palace. The Princess Alexandra was only two years of age when she first made this journey to Rumpenheim—a place which, like Fredensborg in our time, was a family rendezvous for half the crowned heads of Europe. Rumpenheim stood on the banks of the Maine opposite Frankfort. It had been rebuilt and beautified for the occupation of Princess Mary, daughter of George III., who lived there in retirement for some years. In due course it descended to the Landgrave Frederick of Hesse, who used to assemble round him every year the scattered members of his family, bequeathing Rumpenheim when he died jointly to his six children, one of whom was the late Duchess of Cambridge, the aunt of Queen Victoria. Every two years the various members of the Hessian family repaired to the old palace, each bringing their own staff of servants and occupying separate suites of rooms, yet all living together in the great hall. The effect of these reunions was the creation of many romantic attachments. Rumpenheim became the scene of several betrothals which led to happy marriages. It was at Rumpenheim that Princess Alexandra's father and mother were affianced, and it was there, too, that Princess Alexandra herself made a lasting friendship to which may be traced indirectly her marriage with the Prince of Wales. This life-long friend was Princess Mary of Cambridge, afterwards Duchess of Teck, and the mother of the Princess who was to marry Queen Alexandra's son.

This friendship resulted in the first visit of the little Princess Alexandra to London to stay with the Duchess of Cambridge, Princess Mary's mother. She was only ten years of age, and it was her first and last visit to England prior to her engagement to the Prince of Wales.

Another result of these sojourns at Rumpenheim was the rapid progress they helped to make in the Princess's education. There she spoke French, German, and English with her different cousins, and there, too, she was able to pursue her musical studies under the direction of a prominent German professor. Frequently the family party numbered over thirty, and their intercourse with one another helped to widen the horizon of the Princess's mind. Amusements were not neglected, and there was a great deal of harmless gaiety. Picnics were planned on the river, expeditions made to places of historic interest in the neighbourhood, and, what the Princess loved most dearly, impromptu dances were sometimes planned in the evening. By general opinion, Princess Alexandra, or "Alix," as she was called familiarly among her relations, was the most beautiful of all the Princesses that assembled at Rumpenheim. Her friend, Princess Mary, has described her as being, even at that early age, a "strikingly handsome girl." Besides going to Rumpenheim, Princess Alexandra was sometimes taken by her parents on a flying visit to the Court of Belgium.

The religious instruction of the young Princess was one not likely to be neglected by Prince Christian and Princess Louisa, who pursued such a high ideal in the education of their children. The necessity of putting into practice in her daily life the principles of Christianity had been instilled into her from the earliest years. She had been taught so early to think of others before herself that tenderness and self-sacrifice became with her almost second nature. But of religion she talked little, and it was not until her confirmation that she expressed her real feelings

and sentiments with regard to the spiritual side of life. Her preparation for this rite was undertaken by Pastor Pauli, in her sixteenth year, and in his talks with her he was surprised sometimes at the depth of the young Princess's spiritual insight. It is related that Pastor Pauli remarked to her mother that though the Princess Alexandra's sentiments were clothed in simplest words, there was often a sermon in them which all the world might well heed. On October 18, 1860, she was confirmed, along with her eldest brother, at the Chapel Royal, in the presence of King Frederick and a distinguished company. According to the practice pertaining in Lutheran countries, confirmation marks a division in a person's life. From that time onward the Princess was regarded almost as "a grown-up." The careless days of childhood were over, and the responsibilities of life had begun. At home the change was marked by some simple domestic rearrangements. She left the bed-room and sitting-room which she had formerly shared with the Princess Dagmar, and was given a suite to herself. Here she was allowed to exercise to the full her taste in decoration and arrangement. Her room, it is recorded, was upholstered simply in blue, and was furnished with her piano, her work-table, and a little cabinet containing her girlish treasures, which she still preserves tenderly at Sandringham in memory of the home life she loved so much.

The Beginning of Life's Responsibilities

Such, briefly, was the life of the Princess Alexandra before her meeting with the Prince of Wales, her betrothal, and her marriage. From these slight sketches of her career in Denmark it is possible to gather an impression of the character of the Queen-Mother. A simple, natural girl, with the large and tender heart of a woman with a far wider experience of life; a girl of rare artistic tastes, who could distinguish with critical discernment a good painting from a bad, who could comprehend intuitively the niceties of æsthetics; a girl with deep religious convictions, with a mind carefully trained to practise, as well as to accept, the tenets of the Christian faith; a girl who had learnt, in the charm and sweetness of her ideal home life, the path of duty; add to these qualities the exterior charms of beauty and grace, and there is limned before the imagination a picture, slight and inadequate though it is, of Queen Alexandra, at the time when she came over to these shores as the bride of the heir to the British Crown. There could have been no better preparation for the exalted position which she was to occupy than that life in the Gule Palais and Bernstorff. It served to accentuate the graciousness and charm and, moreover, the simplicity which she had so largely inherited from her mother. It is not amiss to recall some of the little anecdotes of her early days in Denmark, for though they are set down in most biographies of her Majesty, they give a clue to her whole life in the country of her adoption, and enable one to understand the influence of those charming characteristics which have set her deep in the hearts of the people.

KING EDWARD AND QUEEN ALEXANDRA ON THEIR WEDDING-DAY

Photographed by Mayall on March 10, 1863, this group is of particular interest, showing as it does the Prince and Princess of Wales immediately after the wedding ceremony in St. George's Chapel, together with Queen Victoria, whose eyes are fixed on a bust of the much-lamented Prince Consort.

"The following little stories which I heard from those well acquainted with the Queen's youth," writes one of her best-informed biographers, "will serve to illustrate the contrast between her past life and that upon which she was now entering. 'Mamma,' said the Princess Alexandra one day, 'why may not Dagmar and I walk out in muslin dresses, like the Countess M——?' 'Because,' replied her mother, 'your father is not a rich man, and muslin dresses cost so much to be got up.' There were not many servants at the Gule Palais, and the young Princesses were required to dust their own rooms and to make themselves useful at meal times. A gentleman, who one day was invited to partake of the informal family luncheon at the Palais, recalls that the butter-dish chanced to need replenishing, and the Princess Louisa, instead of summoning a servant, turned to her eldest daughter, and said, 'Alexandra, will you fetch some more butter?' and the future Queen of the British Empire departed gracefully and willingly on the homely errand to the larder."

Princess Louisa's system of training her daughters has been summed up very concisely. It was her object "to make them natural girls and useful women first of all, and Princesses afterwards." She treated them with endless affection, but always with a wise and discriminating strictness. If the Princesses came in late to meals or lessons they were liable to be locked up in their rooms as punishment. It is recorded that Princess Alexandra, who was not the most punctual member of her family, sometimes chanced to arrive late in the dining-room. For this misdemeanour she received the homely correction of having to drink her coffee standing. From this strict and simple life, where economy was practised in everything, the Princess was suddenly plunged into all the regal pomp and splendour attached to the life of the Princess of Wales. She who had had few jewels before now possessed some of the most splendid gems that existed; she who had been accustomed to the comparatively elemental life of Denmark was now compelled to take the foremost position in the society of the greatest and richest capital in the world. To many people in Great Britain this sudden change in her life appealed strongly. They loved her for the bravery with which she took up her new position and the wonderful tact and charm she displayed. Perhaps one of the best recorded impressions left on the minds of the public at this time is given by Mrs. Carlyle (Jane Welch), in a letter to Miss Jane Austin.

Mrs. Carlyle on the Royal Marriage

"We are very thankful in this house to have got done with the 'Royal Marriage.' Though neither Mr. C. nor I 'went out for to see' any part of the business, we couldn't get out of the noise and fuss about it. . . . The most

THE PRINCE AND PRINCESS OF WALES IN THE RUBENS ROOM AT WINDSOR CASTLE

interesting part of the Princess Alexandra to me is not her present splendours, but her previous homely, rather poor life, which makes such a curious contrast. Her parents, 'Royal' though they be, have an income of just £700 to £1,000 a year! When she was visiting our Queen, after the engagement, she always came to breakfast in a *jacket*. 'My dear,' said the Queen to her one day, 'you seem very fond of jackets. How is it you *always* wear a jacket?' 'Well,' said little Alexandra, 'I like them; and then, you see, a jacket is *so economical!* You can wear different

THE KING AND QUEEN AT THE ROYAL ITALIAN OPERA, COVENT GARDEN, IN 1863

A few weeks after their marriage King Edward and Queen Alexandra paid a State visit to the Royal Italian Opera at Covent Garden, this illustration showing the Royal box with its distinguished occupants. The other figures in front are Prince Alfred, in the uniform of a lieutenant of the Navy, and Princess Helena.

skirts with it, and I have very few gowns, having to make them all myself. My sisters and I have no lady's maid, and have been brought up to make all our own clothes. I made my own bonnet.' Bless her!"

Though the story recorded by Jane Welch Carlyle belongs to a well-known class of anecdote, it serves to illustrate the feeling aroused in the nation. If Mrs. Carlyle and Thomas Carlyle, who could not be induced to go and see the Royal wedding, but kept sternly within doors, felt deeply impressed by the charm and grace and naturalness displayed by the beautiful young Princess, how much more must these traits, recorded in a hundred stories, have moved the hearts of the more emotional and less cynical public? Her beauty, too, made a lasting impression upon all those who were so fortunate as to get a glimpse of her during that tumultuous passage through London. Justin McCarthy, who viewed the scene from Trafalgar Square, declares that "the beauty of the Princess Alexandra had been so noisily trumpeted that one's natural instinct was to feel disappointed when she came in sight; but it was impossible to feel disappointment or anything but admiration at the sight of that bright, fair face, so transparent in the clearness of its complexion, so delicate and refined in its outlines, so sweet and gracious in its expression." And Thackeray, too, in describing how the picture of the Princess was in every home of rich and poor alike, declared "that every eye that beholds it looks tenderly on its bright beauty and sweet, artless grace, and young and old pray, 'God bless her!'"

PRESENTING ADDRESSES TO THE FUTURE KING EDWARD AND QUEEN ALEXANDRA

At Marlborough House, on April 29, 1863, the Prince and Princess of Wales received addresses of congratulation on their marriage from a great number of corporate and other bodies. The addresses, which numbered about 180, were presented by deputations, the members of which appeared either in Court dress or uniform.

Queen Victoria called her with great appropriateness "The Fairy," and all her new brothers and sisters by marriage united in their praise of the Princess of Wales. "Dear Alix is so tactful and true," was the comment of the Princess Alice. How much she was admired, how readily the nation took her to their heart, is seen in the fact that her popularity and the affection with which she is regarded have never waned. Usually, popular enthusiasm such as was aroused by the arrival of the Princess is a fickle, transient thing. It ends either in complete forgetfulness or in antagonism as violent as was its applause. In the case of the Princess Alexandra it was very different. She was not a nine days' wonder; the enthusiasm she had excited was not a mere ebullition of popular emotion, seeking for some outlet in which to express itself, and careless of the object on which it spent itself. She has been as loved and admired as much since as she was then; indeed, the affection with which she is regarded has strengthened and deepened, and that tremendous welcome which was accorded her was the true foreshadowing of the high regard in which she was destined always to be held by the people of Great Britain.

KING EDWARD AND QUEEN ALEXANDRA IN THEIR MARRIAGE YEAR, WITH THE DOWAGER EMPRESS OF RUSSIA, AT FROGMORE HOUSE

From a photograph taken by Vernon Heath in 1863.

CHAPTER XXVII

QUEEN ALEXANDRA'S FIRST YEAR IN ENGLAND

A Brief Record of the Functions and Ceremonies in which Her Majesty took a Leading Part, from the Time of her Marriage to the Birth of the Duke of Clarence

PRINCESS ALEXANDRA'S duties began immediately after the brief nine days' honeymoon. No longer period was allowed her for the transition from the simplicity of home-life in Denmark to the commencement of her duties as the leader of society. For the leader of society she actually was. Queen Victoria still deeply mourned the Prince Consort; she had retired for the time being from the round of social life, and on the shoulders of this young Princess fell the heavy task of representing the Sovereign. She performed those duties with a tact and grace which were the wonder and admiration of all beholders. Her first public appearance was at the reception held at St. James's Palace on March 20, 1863, when, by her husband's side, she welcomed all the distinguished men and women in the social and political circles of the time. It was a trying ordeal for one so young and inexperienced, but she went through it with perfection. Lady Waterford has left an account of this, the first ceremonial function, if the Royal wedding be excepted, at which the Princess figured in a leading part.

"At the Friday reception I saw the graceful, charming young Princess, and she in no way disappointed me. There was something charming in that very young pair walking up the room together. Her graceful bows and carriage you would delight in, and she has—with lovely youth and well-formed features—a look of great intelligence, beyond that of a merely pretty girl. She wore her coronet of diamonds and a very long-trained gown of cloth of silver, trimmed with lace, pearl and diamond necklace, bracelet and stomacher, and two lovelocks of rich brown hair floated on her shoulders."

The reference to the two lovelocks of hair in Lady Waterford's description is interesting, insomuch as that fashion, till then peculiar to the young Princess, immediately became adopted by society. The style was copied by all and sundry, and "Follow-me-lads," as the fashion was called in the slang of the period, became popular throughout the country. It was only after the birth of her first child that the Princess abandoned a style of hairdressing so admirably suited to her graceful neck and slender form. After a few weeks in town, the Prince and Princess journeyed down to Sandringham to take up their residence for the first time in what was to be their favourite home for a great many years. On their progress from King's Lynn railway-station to the old hall, not then the spacious house of to-day, they were cheered enthusiastically by the country people, and at every farmhouse and cottage there were flags and banners and homely decorations. "I thought I never before had seen such a lovely creature," declared a lady of the district, when describing her impressions of the Princess's arrival at Sandringham. "She was dressed in a pale blue dress, and wore a blue bonnet trimmed with white, and was all smiles and graciousness to everyone."

There is extant another description of Queen Alexandra at this time, from the pen of Dean Stanley, the famous Church dignitary,

QUEEN ALEXANDRA IN 1863

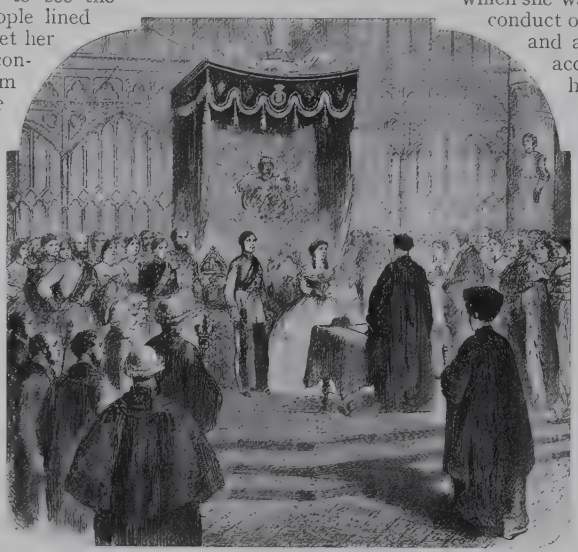
Launched into the duties of social life immediately on her return from the brief honeymoon at Osborne, Queen Alexandra charmed everyone by her tact and graciousness. From the simplicity of her life in Denmark to the numerous public engagements in which, as the Princess of Wales, she required to take part was, indeed, a great change; but she bravely faced the trying ordeals, and was quite equal to every duty.

From a photograph by Mayall.

OXFORD'S WELCOME: THE FUTURE KING AND QUEEN PASSING UNDER AN ARCH OF SWORDS

About three months after their wedding, the Prince and Princess of Wales visited Oxford, where a stentorian welcome was given them by the undergraduates, and where the Prince received the honorary degree of D.C.L. in the Sheldonian Theatre. The unique illustration given above shows the reception of the Prince and Princess by the Apollo University Lodge of Freemasons, on the occasion of a brilliant ball given in honour of the Royal visitors.

who, as has been seen in an earlier chapter, had accompanied the Prince of Wales on his visit to the Holy Land. On Easter Sunday, during this first sojourn at Sandringham, the Princess went to the little church which was destined to become so rich in memories, both sad and happy. An enormous crowd was present to see the Princess, and hundreds of people lined the paths of the church to greet her as she went by. Dean Stanley conducted the service, and it is from his account of that memorable occasion that this impression is taken. "On Easter Eve," he wrote, "the Princess came to me in a corner of the drawing-room with her Prayer-book, and I went through the Communion Service with her, explaining the peculiarities and the likenesses and differences to and from the Danish service. She was most simple and fascinating. My visit to Sandringham gave me intense pleasure. I was there for three days. I read the whole service, preached, and then gave the first English sacrament to this 'angel in the Palace.' I saw a good deal of her, and can truly say that she is as charming and beautiful a creature as ever passed through a fairy tale."

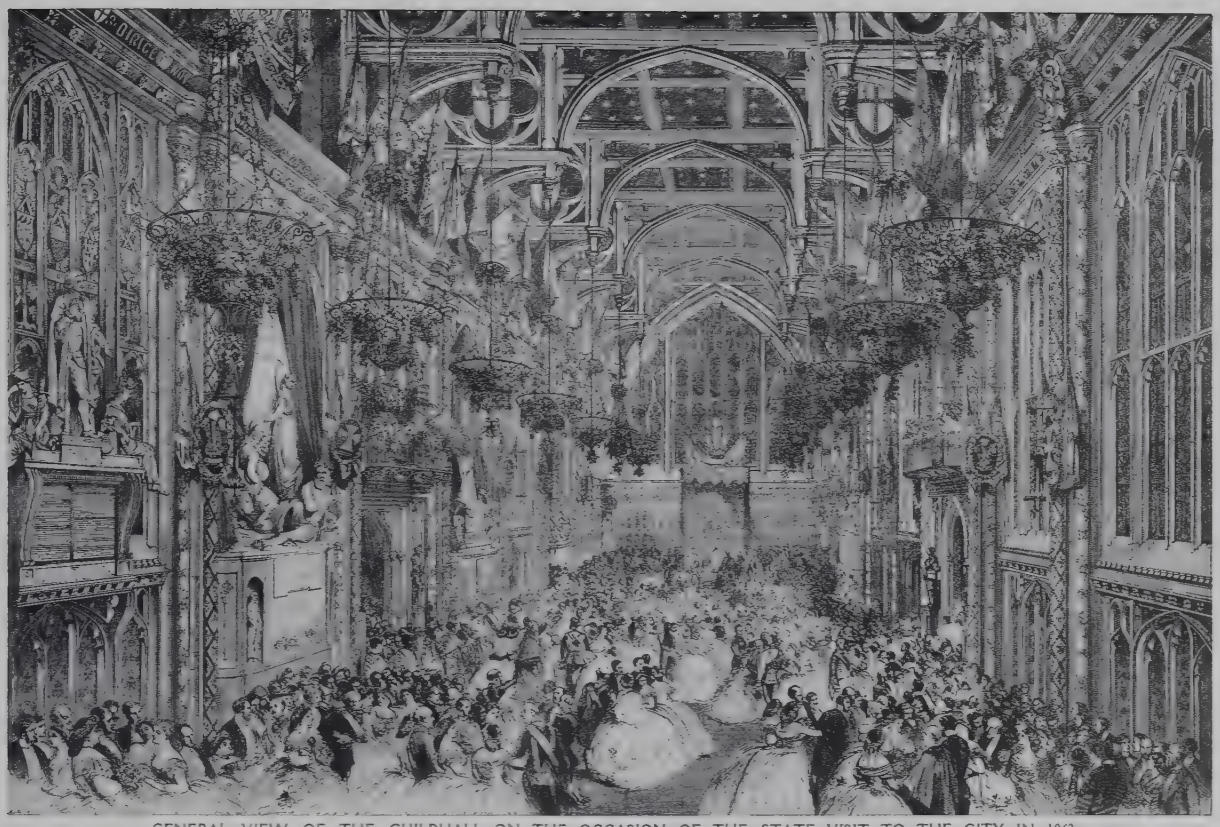


KING EDWARD RECEIVING THE FREEDOM OF LONDON

Early in June, 1863, three months after his marriage, King Edward was presented with the freedom of the City of London, a State visit being made to the City on this occasion. The various ceremonies connected with the event were on a scale of unusual magnificence.

But the duties of Royalty were exacting. The Prince and the Princess were not allowed a very long second honeymoon at Sandringham, and they had to return after a few days to London, where the young Princess found herself plunged in a whirl of functions and ceremonies of a kind to which she was almost a stranger, but in the conduct of which she displayed the tact and aptitude of one who had been accustomed to such things all her life. Everyone wanted to see the bride; moreover, society was anxious to shake off the gloom which had settled down as the result of the Prince Consort's death. The Princess was tried to the utmost; it was the most exacting season that even the most hardened society lady could desire, and for the young Princess it was at once a trial of her strength and a test of her fitness as the wife of the future King of England. She went through that ordeal with complete success. Everybody was loud in praise of her charming qualities, and amazed at the manner in which she performed her arduous duties.

The first Drawing Room at which the Princess had to take the place of Queen Victoria



GENERAL VIEW OF THE GUILDHALL ON THE OCCASION OF THE STATE VISIT TO THE CITY IN 1863

THE FAMOUS GUILDHALL BALL, SHOWING KING EDWARD AND QUEEN ALEXANDRA TAKING PART IN A QUADRILLE

A scene of remarkable splendour was witnessed at the ball which followed the presentation of the Freedom of the City to the Prince of Wales. Dressed in white, and wearing the necklace presented by the Corporation on her wedding, the Princess of Wales opened the ball with the Lord Mayor, and frequently joined in the dancing throughout the evening

occurred on May 16. It was attended by two thousand ladies, many of whom took six hours to reach the Royal presence and three more to get away from the palace, so great was the crush. Some idea of the size of this reception may be gathered from the fact that the procession of carriages stretched from Harley Street to St. James's Palace. Despite the exhausting labour of having to bow and smile and speak a word to all these people, the Princess bore herself not only with graciousness and dignity, but also with simple, youthful gaiety, and every one of the débutantes presented to her went away enthusiastic in her praises. Three weeks later was held the famous Guildhall banquet and ball on the occasion of the Prince of Wales receiving the freedom of the City. The cost alone of the tickets of invitation was £2,000, and everything else was provided on the same scale of costly magnificence. The Princess was simply dressed in white, and her chief ornament was the diamond necklace presented by the Corporation on her wedding. She opened the ball with the Lord Mayor, and throughout the evening frequently joined in the dancing. In the columns of the "Spectator" there is an old account of that memorable occasion. "The Princess," so it runs, "was in more than usual radiance, and her manner, so English in other respects, was un-Englishly cordial, and is rapidly making her the pet of the country. Her expression, kind, cordial, delicate, and innocent, was touched with a twilight archness that seemed to deprecate the formality while it heartily accepted the enjoyments of the festivity. No wonder the worthy aldermen flopped themselves about in an agony of delight, and basked in her smiles like their own turtles in the sun. Mr. Disraeli was the only statesman present. The peeresses were in good form, and might be described as the Royal British Lifeguards of the regal beauty, so well and loyally did they enshrine the little gem of Denmark."

The Famous Guildhall Ball

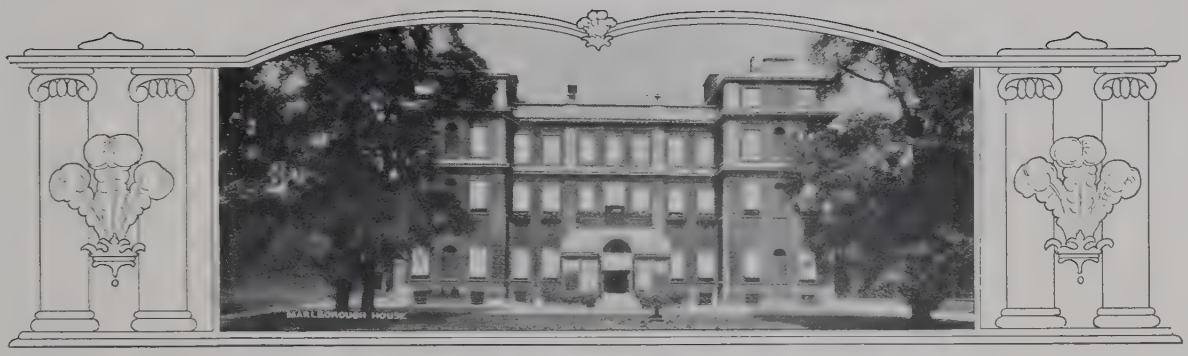
Nine days after this great civic festival, the Prince and Princess travelled down to Oxford, where the Prince received the honorary degree of D.C.L. in the Sheldonian Theatre. The Princess was given a stentorian welcome by the undergraduates—a welcome which neither her Majesty nor her husband ever forgot, for the King referred to it nearly forty years later, on the occasion of his receiving the congratulations of the University at his accession. During the few days they spent at Oxford the Princess distributed prizes to the Volunteers, opened a bazaar, attended the horticultural show, and appeared at a brilliant ball at the Corn Exchange, given by the Apollo Lodge of Freemasons. On their return to London there was another great ball at Marlborough House, followed by a still more famous ball given by the Guards at the Picture Gallery of the International Exhibition. The Duke of Cambridge, as head of the committee, had organised this entertainment, and Queen Victoria lent some of the famous plate from Buckingham Palace, an example followed by various members of the aristocracy.

KING EDWARD UNVEILS A MEMORIAL TO HIS FATHER, THE PRINCE CONSORT

On June 10, 1863, an interesting ceremony occurred in the Royal Horticultural Gardens, South Kensington, the Prince of Wales unveiling the commemorative memorial, "erected not less as a perpetual record of the Great Exhibition of 1851, than as a tribute to the Prince Consort, to whose untiring exertions its success was due." It was originally intended that a statue of Queen Victoria should surmount the memorial, but after the lamented death of the Prince Consort, her Majesty requested that instead of her own statue that of her beloved husband should crown the pedestal.

There were many more functions that year, and when the London season was over the Princess was whirled away to Scotland. From here she went, in the late autumn, to Frogmore House, the pretty dwelling at Windsor Park formerly occupied by the Duchess of Kent. But a new vista had opened before the young Princess. On January 8 of the following year, three months before he was expected, and long before any preparations were made for his arrival, a little Prince was born. From now onwards there were added to the cares of State the duties of motherhood—those duties for which the gracious young Princess had been so admirably fitted by nature and by training.

Birth of the Duke of Clarence



CHAPTER XXVIII

KING EDWARD AT HOME AND ABROAD, 1864-68

An Account of the Busy Years Immediately Following the Royal Marriage, including Descriptions of the Royal Visits to Denmark and Sweden in 1864, to Ireland in 1865, and to Russia in 1866

FOR the Prince of Wales the year 1864 was especially notable. On January 8 the Princess had presented him with his eldest son, Prince Albert Victor. He was now a father, and, in addition to his domestic duties, he was compelled to discharge the whole ceremonial work of the State. Queen Victoria still kept in retirement, and the endless round of receiving addresses, laying foundation stones, and the countless other matters which usually devolve upon the Sovereign, fell upon the Prince, who was not yet twenty-three. It is wonderful to think of his age when the successful manner in which he performed his duties is recalled, endearing himself to the people by his unfailing tact, assiduity, and good humour. But behind it all, the Prince was none the less a young man full of spirits and the joy of life. The etiquette of his position harassed him not a little at the time, and he found it difficult—as what young man of brains and intelligence would not find it difficult—to keep apart from the great controversies which were raging. A contemporary writer has left an interesting picture of the Prince as he was in 1864.

KING EDWARD IN THE YEAR 1864
From the painting by Baxter

"He is now a husband and a father, but he is still an enemy to etiquette, ready to give a hearty welcome to friend and acquaintance. 'Come to-morrow afternoon, after the Drawing Room, and smoke a cigarette,' is his greeting. Once within the gates of Marlborough House, it is rather the home of an English gentleman than a palace. A servant takes up the name of the guest, and he is ushered into the Prince's room, a plain but comfortable one. The Prince will be found before a bureau covered with writing materials, and by his side a small table with books and the daily papers. Cigarettes will be lighted, and he will talk in a simple, natural manner of his friends, his travels, and the topics of the day. His conversation is that of a man of the world, who has mixed with men of the world. He is fond of stating his own views, and will seek to elicit those of his visitor. He never seeks to lead or direct the current of conversation after the manner of foreign Royalties. He stands by his own opinions, and defends them by argument; but he never likes his visitors to concede to the Prince what they would have denied to the man."

His endless interest in life, characteristic of a young man, was shown in the ensuing

A PORTRAIT GROUP TAKEN IN 1865
From a photograph by Hills and Saunders

year, when the great General Election of 1865 was fought. The Prince could talk of nothing for weeks but the chances of his Oxford and Cambridge acquaintances at the polls, and more than once he declared that he envied keenly their right to take part in the contest. It was during this first year of his marriage that he was given, by general acclamation, the title of the First Gentleman of Europe—a title which his career at the time and his subsequent great influence in the councils of nations justified his holding far more than its original bearer, his great-uncle, George IV. There was yet another, a finer claim, made for him by those who had the honour of his acquaintance. He was said to be a friend par excellence. He was as true as steel. Let a man once be his friend, and through thick and thin he stuck to him; no matter where he met him he recognised him, and the humbler he was the warmer the welcome. Noblemen and men of low degree, literary men and actors, he had friends among them all, and poor men in hundreds bore witness to his real and unobtrusive charity. In spite of his many State and domestic duties, he found time for private social life. Always a "clubbable" man, he was accustomed, about this period, to give bachelor dinner-parties at the Marlborough, opposite his own house, and to mix with the members of this club on terms of social equality. For the theatre he had a lively taste. Theatrical managers of the period used to gauge the success of the plays by the applause of the Prince. "What the Prince likes, the pit and gallery are sure to like," was their dictum. It was in these days that he became an enthusiastic admirer of Toole, for whom he retained a lasting affection until the end of the famous comedian's long life.

Those early family days were marred by the outbreak of war between Denmark and Prussia. The Princess of Wales was deeply concerned for the misfortunes of her father's little kingdom. The Prince, as far as he could, sheltered her from news of the disasters which overtook the Danish arms, and on one occasion, a credible authority states, an equerry who rashly announced a Danish defeat in her presence received a "dressing-down" from his Royal master in very forcible language.

Throughout that summer the fate of Denmark hung in the balance, and, meanwhile, the Prince, who felt deeply for his beautiful wife, had to perform his long round of ceremonial duties. He laid the foundation-stone of the west wing of the London Hospital in July, and afterwards paid visits to Eton, Goodwood, and Scotland. At last, on August 1, the news arrived that the preliminaries of peace had been signed at Vienna, and though the King of Denmark was forced to cede the duchies of Holstein and Schleswig to Austria and Prussia, both the Prince and Princess were thankful that the war was over. Their Royal Highnesses at once set out for Denmark to visit King Christian. At Copenhagen, as was to be expected, the husband of the Danish Princess Alexandra, who had always been beloved by the people, received a tremendous reception. Their stay was prolonged for some days, and before they returned again to England they paid a visit to the King and Queen of Sweden. In May of the following year the Prince of Wales journeyed in State to Ireland.

His first visit had been made at the age of eight, when he accompanied his mother and the Prince Consort to the sister-kingdom in 1849. Now he was received in Dublin with the acclamations of thousands, and on May 9, 1865, he formally opened the International Exhibition in that city. His presence and his patronage gave a great send-off to the enterprise, which proved a triumphant success. His youth, his good looks, and his charming manners won the hearts of the Irish people, and when he returned he had gained for himself a reputation in Ireland which lasted for the rest of his life. He had gone to Ireland alone, unaccompanied by the Princess, for reasons which were made apparent when, on June 3 following, another little Prince, George Frederick Ernest Albert, destined afterwards to succeed to the throne, was born. Prince George was hardly a month old when an incident occurred at Marlborough House which, but for the prompt action of his father and the exertions of the servants, might have resulted in his death. On July 4, 1865, a fire suddenly broke out in his nursery, from mysterious causes which were never discovered. The Prince of Wales was among the first persons to discover the conflagration. With impetuous energy he not only directed, but led the attack on the flames. For some minutes his exertions

THE PRINCESS AS A MOTHER, 1864

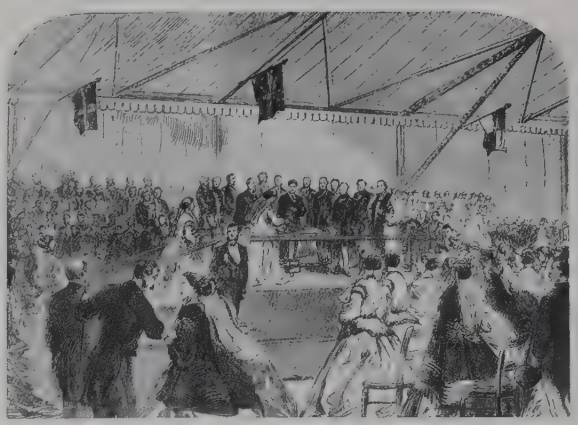
THE PRINCE AND PRINCESS AT CAMBRIDGE IN JUNE, 1864

KING EDWARD AND QUEEN ALEXANDRA, WITH THE INFANT PRINCE, ALBERT VICTOR, IN 1864

From a painting by Winterhalter

KING EDWARD UNVEILING A STATUE OF HIS FATHER

The event here pictured occurred on August 9, 1864, at the Licensed Victuallers' Asylum, in the Old Kent Road, London. In this institution the Prince Consort had taken a warm interest, doing all he could to promote its interests, and in the "Albert Wing" had laid a stone a short time before his lamented death. This statue was erected "as a lasting tribute of respect to the memory of Albert the Good."

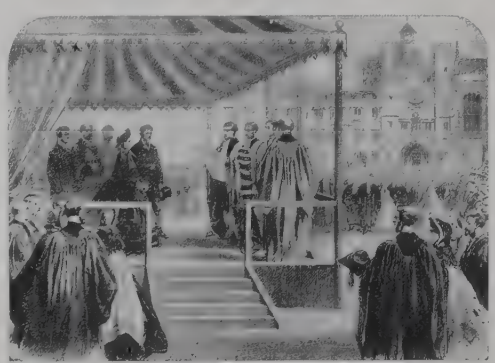


ROYAL INTEREST IN DESERVING CHARITIES

Present at the inaugural ceremony in connection with the Warehousemen and Clerks' new schools for orphans and necessitous children at Russell Hill, Caterham, Surrey, on June 18, 1866, King Edward made a brief speech commending the work, and after he had declared the building open, a procession of ladies, as shown in the illustration, passed before the Royal visitor, each of them laying a purse of money upon the table.

were unavailing. It became necessary to tear up the nursery floor. The Prince assisted in this task, and showed such zeal in his performance that he came near losing his life. Stepping unwarily on the laths and plaster which had been laid bare, it suddenly gave way beneath him, and he was projected into the room below. Fortunately, the fall was broken, and he escaped without injury.

Among the most notable of the Prince's doings in 1865 was his visit to the Great Eastern steamship, where he witnessed the winding into the tanks of the last section of the Atlantic telegraph cable. Shortly afterwards he made a speech at the annual dinner of the Royal Literary Fund, of which he had been elected president. The year closed for the Prince on a sad note. Lord Palmerston was a statesman for whom he had the warmest affection and admiration, and he felt his death as a great personal loss. During his long life the Prince uttered many speeches, but one of his most interesting orations was made in the early months of 1866 on the occasion of his laying the foundation-stone of the British and Foreign Bible Society's new building in Queen Victoria Street. It was specially interesting because of its personal tone and its reference to his ancestors.



RECEIVING AN ADDRESS AT CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY

Visiting Cambridge at the beginning of June, 1864, King Edward received a warm reception from his old University, which, as shown in the above illustration, presented to him and Queen Alexandra an address of welcome and congratulation.

"I have an hereditary claim," he said, "to be here on this occasion. My grandfather, the Duke of Kent, warmly advocated the claims of the society, and it is gratifying to me to reflect that the two modern versions of the Scriptures more widely circulated than any other—the German and English—were both in their origin connected with my family. The translation of Martin Luther was executed under the protection of the Elector of Saxony, the collateral ancestor of my lamented father; whilst that of William Tyndale, the foundation of the

KING EDWARD AND QUEEN ALEXANDRA AT A HIGHLAND GATHERING

The above picture illustrates a gathering for the Highland games at Braemar Castle in September, 1864, on which occasion King Edward and Queen Alexandra were interested spectators of the various events.

ROYALTY AT THE VOLUNTEER RIFLE MEETING ON WIMBLEDON COMMON IN 1866

On this occasion the prizes were presented to the successful competitors by the Princess of Wales, the above illustration showing this ceremony and the Scottish Eight carrying off the Elcho Shield.

VISIT TO QUEEN ALEXANDRA'S HOMELAND IN 1864

The Royal yacht entering the harbour at Elsinore

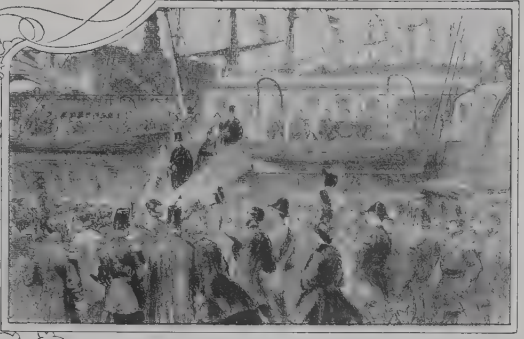
The arrival at the Castle of Bernstorff

At Thorwaldsen's Museum, Copenhagen

Fredensborg Castle

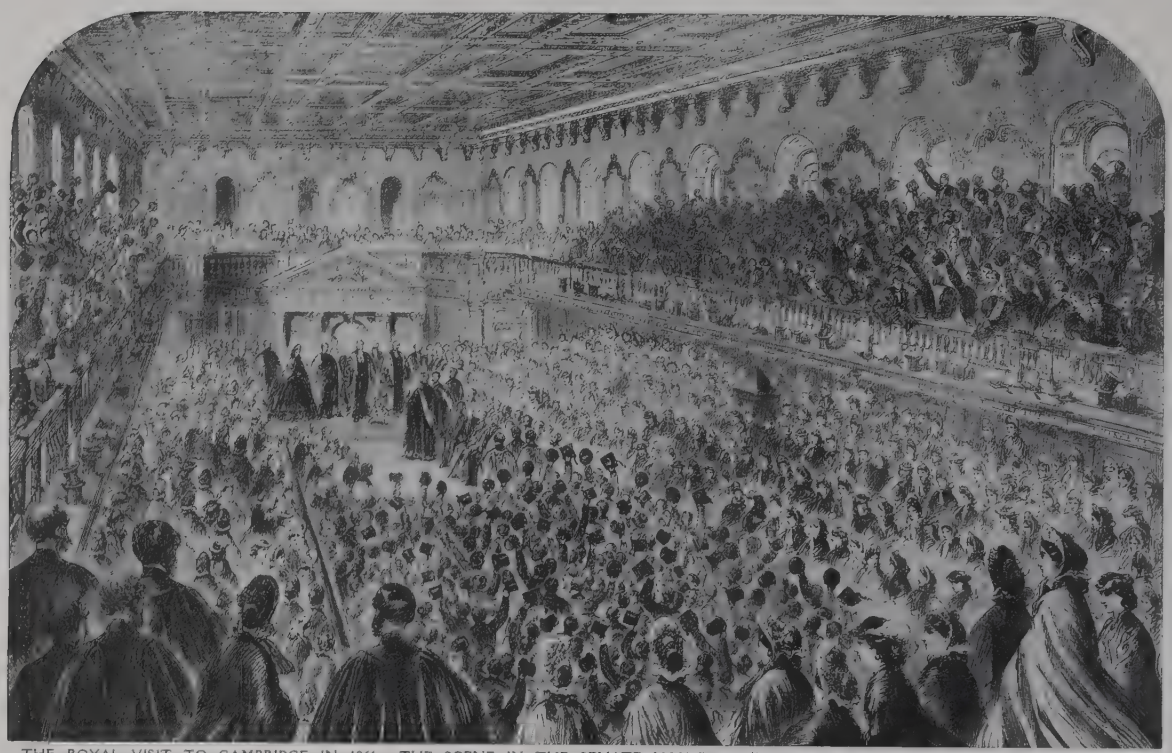
Before the gates of Rosenborg Castle

The Royal party embarking at Dundee for Denmark



Denmark's hearty welcome: The landing at Elsinore

Walking and driving through the Kongens Nytorf Square, Copenhagen



THE ROYAL VISIT TO CAMBRIDGE IN 1864: THE SCENE IN THE SENATE HOUSE ON "THREE CHEERS FOR DENMARK" BEING RAISED

present Authorised English Version, was introduced with the sanction of the Royal predecessor of my mother, the Queen, who first desired that 'the Bible should have free course through all Christendom, but especially in my own realm.'"

Later on in the same year the Prince journeyed to Russia to be present at the marriage of his wife's sister, Princess Dagmar, to the then Tsarevitch. It was the first occasion on which he had occupied the position of a national ambassador to another country—a rôle in which he was afterwards to be so famous. He showed then the great influence that his genial, unconscious, man-of-the-world manner could have upon another race. After the Imperial nuptials at St. Petersburg, he made a tour of the country. Everywhere he went he achieved golden opinions. One incident typical of his gracious and tactful attitude was afforded while he was at Moscow. Here, in due course, he was introduced to the Metropolitan Archbishop. Though this ecclesiastic was the greatest dignitary of the Russian Church, he received the Prince in a bare, sparsely furnished cell. His Royal visitor showed himself quite at his ease, and talked long and earnestly to the old man in these strange surroundings. At the end of the interview he suddenly knelt down and begged the Bishop to give him his blessing—a spontaneous act which, when it was heard of in Russia, did much to enhance the esteem in which the young Prince was held.

In the first month of 1867 the illness of the Princess of Wales added to the cares of the Prince. For some weeks she was confined to her bed with acute rheumatism in her right knee, and during all this time the Prince, in order that he might not be separated from his beloved companion, had his desk and his business papers moved to the sick-room. On February 20 a new joy came into the life of the Royal couple. On that day was born Princess Louise Victoria Alexandra Dagmar, afterwards the Duchess of Fife and the Princess Royal. The little newcomer was their first daughter, and as such she was especially welcome. Three months later another Royal Princess, who was destined to play so important a part in the life of their family, saw the light at White Lodge, Richmond. On May 26 the Duchess of Teck gave birth to Princess Victoria Mary, afterwards Queen Mary and the Consort of George V.

THE PRINCE UNVEILING A STATUE OF QUEEN VICTORIA AT ABERDEEN

The interesting ceremony pictured in the above illustration occurred on September 20, 1866. Originated in 1863, when a statue of the late Prince Consort was publicly inaugurated by the Queen herself, the proposal to erect one of her Majesty was warmly supported by the citizens. In this figure Queen Victoria, by her own desire, is represented as a Scottish Queen, wearing a Scottish plaid fastened with a thistle brooch.

SCENES IN THE ROYAL VISIT TO THE KING AND QUEEN OF SWEDEN IN THE AUTUMN OF 1864

1. The Prince and Princess of Wales landing at Stockholm; 2. Viewing Stockholm from the pavilion in the Mosebacke Garden; 3. The Castle of Ulricksdal, the favourite residence of the King of Sweden; 4. The Royal Palace of Gripsholm, on the Malar Lake, near Stockholm; 5. The Royal guests leaving the Gottenborg Railway Station.

CHAPTER XXIX

BRITISH AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS, 1859-1865

Surveying the Political Situation in Great Britain during the Last Years of Palmerston, the Continental Upheavals, and the Civil War in America

NAPOLEON'S campaign in Italy was actually in progress at the moment when Lord Palmerston formed his Ministry in England, with Lord John Russell as Foreign Secretary, and Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Palmerston continued Prime Minister till his death, at the end of 1865. He had been a Canningite in the past; and with scarcely an interval he had controlled the Foreign Office in every Whig and Liberal Ministry, until he had become the official head of the Liberal party on the fall of the Aberdeen Ministry. But his Liberalism was of a stationary character. He was a Free Trader, but he had no sympathy with the advanced or Radical section of his party. He was now, in fact, so far as concerned home politics, a conservative force. Parliamentary reform remained virtually in suspense throughout the Administration.

Lord John Russell was at the Foreign Office. Russell was a Whig from the beginning and a Parliamentary reformer from the beginning. But at the Foreign Office there was plenty to occupy his attention besides Parliamentary reform. He did, as a matter of form, introduce a Reform Bill; but it was at once shelved and did not reappear. He and his chief were at one in their sympathies with the foreign nationalities which were seeking for liberty, and in their desire to impress British advice on the minds of foreign potentates. The principle of non-intervention was understood by both to mean that England should not intervene by force of arms; while both were of opinion that she should intervene with advice. Foreign Powers were quite alive to the distinction. But advice tendered in the didactic and occasionally threatening manner dear to Russell appeared to them an impertinence so long as it was a mere expression of opinion; they hardly allowed themselves to be influenced by it except so far as it aroused their resentment.

The third of the leading figures in the Cabinet was that of Mr. Gladstone, the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Gladstone, in his early days the rising hope of the Tory party, was one of the Peelite group; but he was well on the way to become a democratic champion, a consummation hastened by some of the events of the Palmerston Ministry.

KING EDWARD AT THE TIME OF HIS IRISH VISIT
From a photograph by Mansfield, Dublin, taken on the occasion of his first State visit to Ireland in 1865.

The latter months of 1859 were for the most part absorbed in the questions connected with the confirmation of the Peace of Villafranca, in respect of which the Queen, guided by the Prince Consort, exercised a restraining influence on her Ministers; who possibly might otherwise, through their desire to forward Italian interests, have placed the country in a somewhat embarrassing position. From this point, however, it will be convenient to give attention first to the course of affairs directly concerning Great Britain, and then to give a fuller and closer account of the affairs in two continents wherein her interests were indirectly involved.

Richard Cobden, though urged to join the Ministry, had declined to do so, primarily on the ground that he had differed too much from Lord Palmerston in the past to feel at ease as his colleague. The Government, however, were able to count on his independent support; and there were many respects in which he saw eye to eye with the Chancellor of the Exchequer. At the close of 1859 he was entrusted with the task of negotiating a Commercial Treaty with the French Emperor. Napoleon personally had, at any rate, considerable faith in the doctrines of Free Trade, but French opinion was not in agreement with his. It was Cobden's business to get as near to arranging a Free Trade Treaty with France as was compatible with French opinion. In effect, the treaty provided for extensive reductions in the French tariffs against British imports, and made something like a clean sweep of the British duties on French manufactured goods. The treaty was, of course, bound up with the Budget which Gladstone introduced at the beginning of 1860. Obviously its immediate effect would be to cut off considerable sources of revenue. Peel had reduced the number of articles on the Tariff to 1,163; since 1845 further reductions had brought

KING EDWARD AS COLONEL OF THE TENTH HUSSARS

TO FACE PAGE 200

the number down to 419; after this there would be left 48 only. The theory of the reduction was that the great increase in national wealth would very soon enable the country to bear with ease the burden of taxation from other sources, but in the interval it would be necessary to maintain certain exceptional taxes which had been temporarily imposed.

This Budget practically opened the famous series of Gladstone Budgets, which constitute an epoch in the national finance. But it was also of special interest, because incidentally it stirred up a constitutional question of very great importance; a question which in a slightly modified form has very recently been revived. As a part of his financial scheme, Gladstone proposed to abolish the paper duties; a proposal which was embodied in a separate money Bill. There was a strong antagonism to this particular measure, which was especially favoured by the advanced or Radical wing of the Liberal party. Cheap paper would mean a cheap Press, with an immensely extended influence among the working classes. A cheap Press, in the view of the opponents of the measure, meant chiefly the dissemination of dangerous doctrines. It was argued that the proposal had been made as a sop to the Radicals; that it involved a very heavy loss to the revenue; and that it would be much better to reduce other taxes instead. It was known that the Prime Minister himself would have been very well pleased to see it rejected; but in the House of Commons it was successfully carried.

The Bill came before the House of Lords. There Lord Lyndhurst laid it down that the House had no right to initiate or to amend a money Bill, but that they had the power of rejecting a money Bill in its entirety, and could, therefore, reject the present Bill. It was separate from the rest of the financial proposals, so that the Budget would not be affected by its rejection. The Lords followed Lyndhurst, and threw out the Bill. On the one part, it was declared that the law of the Constitution was on their side, and that they had only done their duty in throwing out a Bill which was not only pernicious in itself, but had only passed the Commons with a very greatly diminished majority on its third reading. On the other part, it was claimed that the Constitution depends not only on statutes, but on precedents and unbroken customs; that the Lords by their action were defying precedent and custom; that it was, in fact, a fundamental part of the Constitution that the Commons and the Commons alone should control finance. A violent collision was averted by the Prime Minister with the support of the Cabinet. Three resolutions were introduced and passed in the Commons affirming, in effect, the exclusive right of the Commons to deal with finance. The

THE DINING ROOM

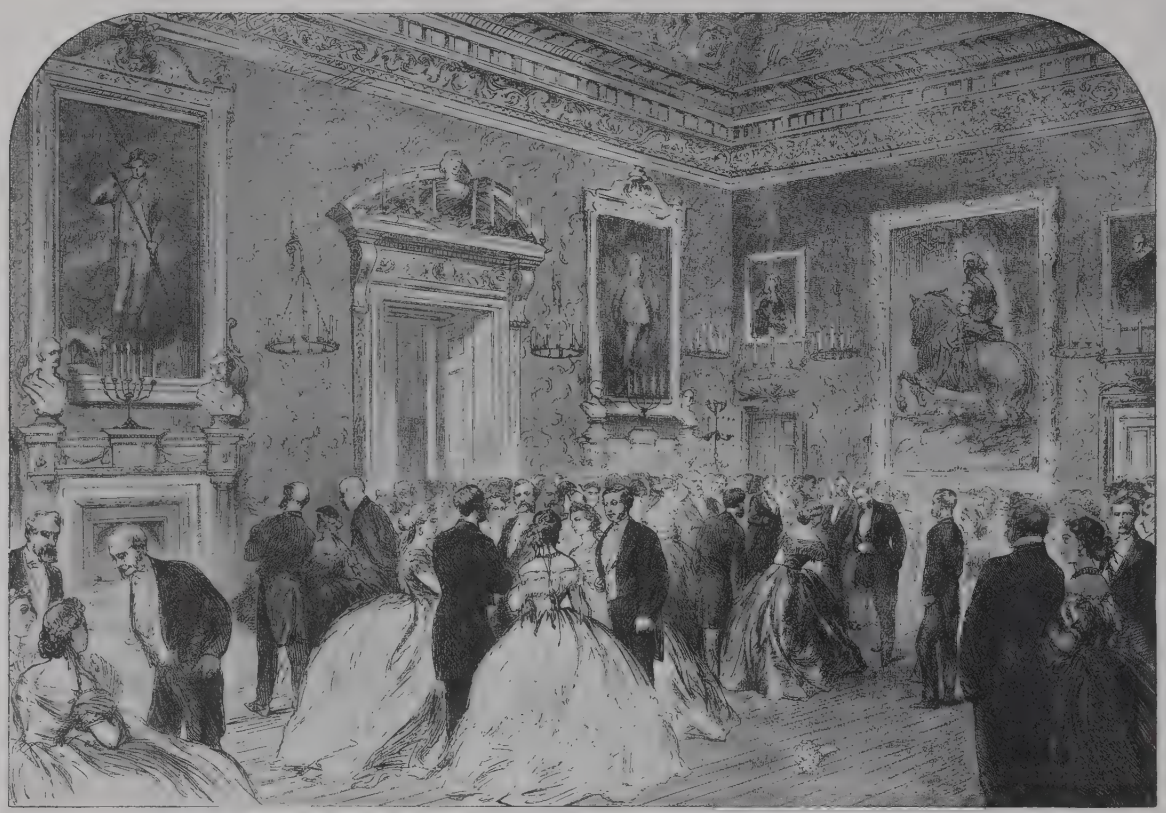
EXTERIOR OF THE MARLBOROUGH CLUB

THE READING ROOM

THE WRITING ROOM

KING EDWARD'S FAVOURITE CLUB

These illustrations afford a glimpse into the most exclusive club in the world, the Marlborough, in Pall Mall, opposite Marlborough House, a favourite resort of King Edward.

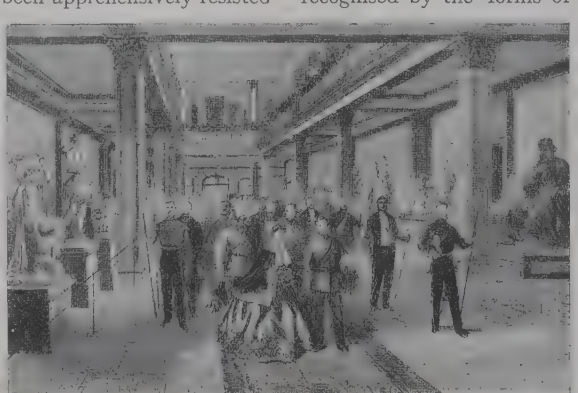


BRITAIN'S FUTURE RULERS AT A BALL AT HOLKHAM HALL, NORFOLK, THE MANSION OF THE EARL OF LEICESTER

Early in January, 1865, King Edward and Queen Alexandra were for several days the guests of the Earl and Countess of Leicester at Holkham Hall, Norfolk, and the entertainments, which were of a private nature, closed with a grand ball, for which 400 invitations were issued. The Royal visitors, who did not leave the ballroom till three o'clock in the morning, engaged heartily in the dancing, the Princess of Wales, as she then was, having as her partners several gentlemen of the select circle of visitors staying at the Hall, who wore a sprig of fern to distinguish them from the general company. In one set she had for a partner one of the younger sons of the Earl and Countess of Leicester—quite a little boy—and playfully pretended that he must teach her the steps.

Bill itself was dropped, but formed a part of the Finance Bill of the following year, which was accepted by the Lords, who did not renew their claim to touch a Finance Bill until 1909.

In introducing the Budget of 1861, Gladstone took occasion to warn the country against plunging into a reckless expenditure on the strength of the development of revenue by which his financial policy was being attended. This protest was owing to the beginnings of the vast outlay on armaments which has been involved by the competition of the European Powers, at an ever-increasing rate, during the last fifty years, but has always been apprehensively resisted by a substantial proportion of the Liberal party. The warning was vain; for during those years the imperative necessity of being prepared for war was constantly manifest. Sums which then appeared enormous were devoted to national defence. Nevertheless, and in despite even of the disastrous effects of the American Civil War on the cotton trade, the prosperity and the wealth of the country increased so rapidly that in 1863 both the Tea Duty and the Income Tax were reduced; a reduction systematically continued until in 1865 the Income Tax had been brought down to fourpence, and duties on sugar as well as on tea were lowered.



AT THE DUBLIN EXHIBITION: THE PROCESSION THROUGH THE SCULPTURE HALL

It is only for a moment that reference need be made to an event which has been dealt with at length in a previous chapter. The death of the Prince Consort in December, 1861, when he was at the height of his vigour, and when the nation was just beginning to recognise something of what it owed to him, was far more than a personal loss to the Sovereign and to the Royal Family. Placed in a singularly difficult position of great moral responsibility, wholly unrecognised by the forms of the Constitution, his political wisdom had been for twenty years invaluable to the Queen in aiding her to discharge the functions of a constitutional monarch, and particularly to make her influence felt judiciously in foreign affairs. Perhaps the value of his services in this field can hardly receive stronger confirmation than from the casual observation made subsequently by Lord Palmerston, that he was one of the only three men in Europe who had ever understood the Schleswig-Holstein question.

Throughout the Palmerston Administration England

escaped being involved in great wars; but she had some minor conflicts on her hands. The China War, which was supposed to have been ended in 1858 by the Treaty of Tientsin, broke out again. The French and English plenipotentiaries required to go to Pekin for the ratification of the treaty with the Chinese. Some sort of obstruction was expected, and a naval squadron accompanied them to the mouth of the Peiho river. There it was found that the passage was blocked by the reconstructed Peiho forts. The squadron was not allowed to pass; an attempt to storm the forts was disastrously repulsed; and it became imperatively necessary to give a decisive demonstration that the "foreign devils" were capable of doing something more than holding their own. For the moment nothing could be done; but in 1860 British and French appeared in force, and an ultimatum was sent to the Chinese. The ultimatum was rejected. The Allies stormed the forts and advanced towards Pekin. Lord Elgin's secretaries, sent ahead to arrange with the Chinese Commissioners for a convention, were kidnapped, and some of the party murdered. In consequence of this treachery, the famous Summer Palace was pillaged and destroyed. The prisoners were thereupon surrendered, and the Franco-British terms were accepted by the Chinese.

INSPECTING THE EXHIBITS AT THE SOUTH LONDON INDUSTRIAL EXHIBITION

The South London Working Men's Industrial Exhibition, held at the Lambeth Baths in 1865, was visited by the Prince of Wales, who was accompanied by Baron Brunnow, the Russian Ambassador, on March 2. The Royal visitor, who was shown round by the Earl of Shaftesbury and the Archbishop of Canterbury, made a close inspection of the various exhibits.

It was some two years later that there were brief hostilities with Japan. Japan was in the very earliest stage of opening her intercourse with the Europeans. Her first treaty with Great Britain had been signed in 1858, and in 1862 her ambassadors were visiting England. But she was still under a completely mediæval system; the Japanese were not yet well inclined to foreigners; and a member of the British Embassy who crossed the path of a Japanese nobleman was cut down by the latter's retainers. An indemnity was, of course, claimed, which the nobleman in question refused to pay; the ports which, under the treaty, were to be opened were closed; and finally it became necessary to bombard Kagosima. With this the hostilities closed, and the treaty ports were opened.

This took place almost at the moment when Great Britain was withdrawing from partnership with Napoleon in his unfortunate Mexican expedition. The two Powers had combined in the interests of English and French creditors of the Mexican Republic. The British retired from participation when they began to suspect that the French Emperor was pursuing a devious course of his own; and he was left to manage matters by himself. The other little war in which Britain became engaged, in 1864, was an expedition against the Ashantee king, who had been making attacks upon

THE STATE VISIT TO IRELAND IN 1865: THE PRINCE OF WALES AT THE REVIEW OF TROOPS IN PHŒNIX PARK, DUBLIN

friendly tribes. Expeditions in the pestilential regions at the back of the Gold Coast invariably afford opportunities for charging the authorities first with flagrant mismanagement and secondly with acting tyrannically. There was nothing about this expedition to distinguish it from others of a similar character.

It may be affirmed with confidence that the most important events in European history in the sixty years after Waterloo were, from the international point of view, the unification of Italy and the establishment of the new German Empire under the hegemony of Prussia. Both, in effect, were carried out between 1859 and 1871. A great stride had been taken in the direction of Italian unity with the establishment of the northern kingdom of Italy under the King of Sardinia by the action of Napoleon III. as recounted in a previous chapter. At the moment, however, the termination of the war by the armistice of Villafranca was a terrible shock to the Italian patriots, who had counted on a much more complete result. As matters stood, while Victor Emmanuel acquired Lombardy, Venice still remained subject to Austria, Modena and Parma were to retain their rulers, and the central Italian states were to form a confederacy under Papal leadership. Ferdinand of Naples, more familiarly known as Bomba, was dead; but his successor, Francis, manifestly intended to follow in his footsteps.

A Blow to Italian Patriots

The central Italian states, however, were quite determined not to accept this disposition of their destinies. They were all resolved to place themselves under Victor Emmanuel. Napoleon was not ill-disposed towards this solution of the problem. Cavour had so completely lost his temper over Villafranca that he had quarrelled with the King of Sardinia and resigned. But he was the indispensable man for Italy; and his reconciliation with the King at the close of the year (1859) again placed the principal control in his hands. When he proposed to the French Emperor that the states which stood out against the settlement should be allowed to decide their own destinies by plebiscite, the Emperor promptly agreed.

ROYAL VISIT TO THE GREAT EASTERN STEAMSHIP IN 1865

In this illustration the Prince of Wales is seen paying a visit to the gigantic steamship, the Great Eastern, off Sheerness, in order to see the Atlantic telegraph cable, which had just been completed. After inspecting every part of the ship, the future King Edward accepted specimen pieces of the cable in various stages of manufacture.

The states declared solidly for annexation to Sardinia. France, supported by England, had pronounced emphatically against any armed intervention on behalf of the ejected dynasties; and Austria found herself obliged to acquiesce, though under protest. The King of Naples followed suit, while the Pope excommunicated Victor Emmanuel and his supporters. Only one fact damped the ardour of the Parliament of Northern Italy, which opened in April, 1860, and this was the cession to France of Savoy and Nice. To this sacrifice Cavour had felt compelled to assent, as the necessary price for preserving the support of France; but he was never forgiven for it by Garibaldi, who himself belonged to Nice, and now retired to the island of Caprera.

But the surprises of Italy were not yet at an end. The Bourbon Monarchy in the south was detested by its subjects, who broke into rebellion in Sicily, and were on the verge of revolt elsewhere. Suddenly Garibaldi left Caprera, hastily collected a band of enthusiastic volunteers, who were prepared to follow him through fire and water, and flung himself into Sicily at the head of his famous Thousand. History supplies us with few episodes so startlingly picturesque as this of Garibaldi's liberation of Naples. For Cavour, at Turin, the situation was extremely difficult. As an Italian patriot he entirely sympathised with Garibaldi's action. As Victor Emmanuel's Minister, it was, to say the least, all but impossible for him to sanction it. His great object was to preserve the proprieties, from the international point of view, without interfering with the success of Garibaldi's enterprise. The general had no sooner landed in Sicily than he assumed the Dictatorship, as demanded by an extraordinary emergency, "in the name of Victor Emmanuel King of Italy." The Bourbons had thirty thousand troops in Sicily; but, with some hundreds of Sicilian mountaineers added to his Thousand, Garibaldi fell upon the Government troops at Calatafimi and routed them. A few days later he had driven them from Palermo. Between the middle of May and the end of July he had practically annihilated the Neapolitan dominion in Sicily.

Anxious as Victor Emmanuel was to avoid all danger of foreign intervention, he wrote to Garibaldi urging him not to carry his arms into Calabria. Garibaldi declined to obey the prohibition, and, having skilfully misled the enemy as to his intended movements, landed his forces on the Italian shore on August 19. Reggio fell after a very slight resistance; the population flocked to Garibaldi's standard, and he advanced upon Naples, every town and village acclaiming his appearance. The King of Naples had announced his intention of granting a Constitution, but the announcement had attracted little consideration and no confidence. On September 7 Garibaldi reached Naples; the whole town, including the garrison, received him with a frenzy of delight. The fleet placed itself under his orders. King Francis, with the troops that still adhered to him, had shut himself up in Gaeta. The Republican influence of Mazzini was known to be at work. If Garibaldi dealt the final blow to the Bourbon Monarchy, only the presence of official Sardinian troops could prevent the risk of the Republican party making a struggle for the establishment of a Neapolitan Republic, an attempt which would certainly bring about foreign intervention.

The road for those troops lay through Papal territory. The Umbrian province had persistently demanded its own annexation to the northern kingdom; its demands were repressed by the Pope's foreign mercenaries. While Garibaldi was entering Naples, Cavour was demanding the disbandment of these troops. On the Pope's refusal, the Sardinian troops entered Umbria. Cavour's action was openly applauded by England, and secretly supported by

Garibaldi in Naples

THE FUTURE KING EDWARD OPENING THE DUBLIN INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF 1865

Paying his first State visit to Ireland in 1865, the Prince of Wales performed the opening ceremony in connection with the Dublin Exhibition on May 9. In this illustration, reproduced from a contemporary drawing, Ulster King of Arms is seen receiving the Royal command to declare the Exhibition open.

France. Resistance was rapidly shattered, and Victor Emmanuel was soon able to lead the Sardinian forces into Neapolitan territory. The Parliament of North Italy had already sanctioned the admission of Naples into the Italian kingdom, if such should be the will of Naples. A few days before, Garibaldi had met and routed the troops of Francis. On October 26 Victor Emmanuel, at the village of Teano, met Garibaldi with a band of his "red shirts." The victorious general greeted him as King of Italy; and as the two clasped hands a thunder of cheering burst from their followers.

Garibaldi's greeting had expressed what was now virtually the accomplished fact. On November 7 the Neapolitan Assembly declared its accession to the kingdom of Italy. Umbria followed suit. Before three months had passed, the last resistance of the Bourbon Monarchy was at an end. Victor Emmanuel was King of Italy, except for Rome and the immediate appanage of the Popes, and Venice, still in the grip of Austria. For those two it was still necessary to wait, though not for very long. But Cavour was not to see the actual completion of his life's work. His health was breaking down; and in the early summer, after a week's severe illness, he died. Garibaldi, when his own work was accomplished and the victory secured, laid down his sword, and once more retired to Caprera. Perhaps the emancipation of Italy required for its achievement the faith of Mazzini, the heroism of Garibaldi, the shrewdness of Victor Emmanuel; lacking any one of them it might never have been attained. But most of all men, more than any other one man, the artificer of a free Italy was Cavour.

LAYING A MEMORIAL STONE AT ST MARY'S HOSPITAL, PADDINGTON

On the occasion represented in this illustration, the laying of the memorial stone of a new wing of St. Mary's Hospital, Paddington, in May, 1865, the Prince of Wales presided over relieved himself from the Princess of Wales, who, ever mindful of the claims of the sick and poor, [illegible] throughout the [illegible] after the ceremony was [illegible]. In this picture the Prince is seen receiving purses of money [illegible] behalf of the charity.

Great Britain had rendered no small help to Italy in the struggle, both by her open encouragement and by the effect on other Powers of her attitude: which had counted for a good deal in preventing armed intervention during the later stages of the completion of the Italian kingdom, and in restraining Prussia from supporting

PENZANCE'S ENTHUSIASTIC WELCOME TO THE ROYAL VISITORS

Austria at an earlier period. She was not equally successful in the case of Poland and Schleswig-Holstein. The Russian rule of Poland was a crushing tyranny, and in 1863 it brought about an insurrection. The immediate cause was the forcible enrolment of an immense number of the Poles of the middle class in the Russian Army. The insurrection was ubiquitous, but the Poles were quite unable to cope with the resources of Russia ; and the rebellion was suppressed in accordance with Russian precedent. Both in England and in France there was a great outcry ; Russell adopted a tone which could only have been warranted if Great Britain had been prepared to support her arguments by force. It is possible that Napoleon would have intervened but for the fact that both he and the Tsar realised that the British Government did not intend to translate words into actions ; and it can only be said that Russell was severely snubbed for his pains.

In the other European question, of Schleswig-Holstein, the part played by the British Foreign Office was equally unimpressive. The duchies of Holstein and Schleswig form the southern part of the peninsula of Denmark. The question involved in the affair was of extreme intricacy. In many respects the duchies were German rather than Danish ; but as matters stood they were attached to the Danish crown without being actually incorporated in the kingdom of Denmark. The Germans claimed that Holstein was a member of the German Confederation, and that the two duchies were not separable.

In 1850 the Danes and the Prussians, as representing the German view, had been at war on the subject, and the Treaty of London, which then followed, had left matters in a very unsettled condition. In the beginning of 1863 the King of Denmark attempted to carry out a sort of compromise by which Holstein was to receive almost complete self-government. But this treatment of Holstein seemed to imply that Denmark made a more intimate claim upon Schleswig ; the German Confederation threatened to occupy the duchies, and at this critical moment King Frederick of Denmark died.

Europe had agreed to recognise as his heir the representative of the Glucksberg branch of the Royal Family, who ascended the throne as King

THE ROYAL VISIT TO THE WEST OF ENGLAND IN 1865 : PLYMOUTH SOUND, WITH THE BRITISH AND FRENCH SQUADRONS AT ANCHOR

Visiting Plymouth and Cornwall in July, 1865, King Edward and Queen Alexandra viewed many places of interest, being everywhere welcomed with heartfelt enthusiasm.

KING EDWARD STANDING ON A ROCKY EMINENCE AT LAND'S END

Christian IX. The Treaty of London above referred to had guaranteed the succession of Christian to Holstein as well as to Denmark, in priority to the claims to Holstein of the House of Augustenburg, whose head had then renounced his rights and accepted compensation. But now, when his son, Frederick of Augustenburg, reasserted this claim, he was warmly supported in Germany. On behalf of the German Diet, Hanoverian and Saxon troops occupied Holstein. The new King, on the other hand, adopted as his own the Danish policy of Frederick VII.

Now, what Germany in general wanted was the separation of the duchies from Denmark and their inclusion in the German Confederation. What Bismarck, who now controlled Prussian policy, wanted was to get the duchies into the hands of Prussia. He had secured the friendship of Russia by giving her on the Polish question a support which had been practically decisive in preventing intervention on the part of the other Powers. Prussia now joined Austria in claiming that the German intervention should rest upon the demand that the obligations accepted by Denmark under the Treaty of London should be given effect. This course, however, did not meet with the approval of the Federal Diet, which saw therein a prospect of the duchies after all being absorbed in Denmark. At the moment Austria was anxious for Prussian friendship, and acceded to the Prussian proposal that the two Powers should come forward, as signatories of the London Treaty, to maintain its provisions without regard to the Federal Diet. On this basis Austria and Prussia sent an ultimatum to Denmark, demanding the abrogation of the Constitution recently promulgated, as being contrary to the terms of the treaty. Denmark rejected the ultimatum, and the Allies marched into Schleswig.

DESCENDING A CORNISH TIN MINE

Quite a number of interesting experiences were crowded into the visit of King Edward and Queen Alexandra to the West of England in 1865, not the least enjoyable of these being a visit to the Botallock Tin Mine, illustrated in the above picture.

The aim of Bismarck's policy was the unification of Germany, but with the condition that Prussia was to dominate United Germany. In the interests of Prussian supremacy he had no hesitation in ignoring German sentiment, even though he had great difficulty in bringing King William to support his policy, while popular opinion was entirely on the side of the Federal Diet. But he did succeed, as he had hoped and calculated, and the campaign which followed was decisive.

Bismarck's Aim and Ambition

So far, then, as the spring of 1864 Bismarck had steadily adopted the rôle of champion of international law. The military successes warranted some advance on the previous claims, and he now demanded that the duchies should be united as independent states, under the Danish sovereignty, but as members of the German Confederation. Denmark had all along hoped for British intervention—a hope which Lord Russell's language seemed to warrant. But though English public opinion was warmly in favour of the little state doing battle valiantly against the might of Austria and Prussia—and the more so because the "daughter of Denmark" was the exceedingly popular bride of the heir to the British throne—yet the British Government was not prepared to plunge single-handed into a war in defence of Denmark, while the rest of Europe made it perfectly clear that no one would support her in armed intervention. Denmark had no choice but to surrender, and the duchies were handed over to the joint administration of Prussia and Austria.

Denmark's Lost Duchies

Bismarck could hardly have resisted the succession of Frederick of Augustenburg to the duchies but for that Prince's refusal to accept the terms submitted to him—a refusal which brought Prussia solidly into support of the Minister. The treaty which ended the war, in fact, provided a *modus vivendi* which secured to Bismarck all that he wanted for the time being. The agreement then arrived at took shape in the Convention of Gastein in 1865. The British Ministry laid itself open to very severe comment by the aggressive language which it had used while the affair was in progress; it would have been still more seriously committed, with still worse results to its dignity, but for the restraint exercised by the Queen, whose eldest daughter was the wife of the Crown Prince of Prussia, while the Prince of Wales was the husband of the King of Denmark's eldest daughter.

If the Government had found considerable difficulty in avoiding war in Europe, partly through its own fault, it had found it hardly less difficult to preserve neutrality in the great contest which was raging on the other side of the Atlantic. The questions that divided the Northern and the Southern States of the American Union were two—slavery and State rights—which also were intimately connected.

In the Southern, or plantation, States there was an immense population of negro slaves. In the Northern, industrial and agricultural, States there had never been any demand for slave labour, and slavery was prohibited. There had grown up in the North a very strong public opinion which demanded the total abolition of slavery. Further, the Southern States produced and attempted to produce hardly anything except raw material such as cotton or

IN 1866
From a photograph by Russell

tobacco. Consequently they desired to buy all manufactured goods in the cheapest market. The Northern States were largely industrial; they desired to reserve the American market for their own goods, and therefore sought to exclude foreign competition. In other words, the Southern States, as consumers only, wished to admit foreign goods without a tariff; the Northern States, as producers, desired to exclude foreign competitors. The Southern States then kicked against a central authority which could and did control policy on the lines desired by the Northern States, and objected to by the Southern—a central authority which did impose tariffs and might assert the right to abolish the institution of slavery altogether. Hence the Southern States advocated State rights as against the central authority, while the Northern States took the opposite view. By the end of the 'fifties the Southern States, and, in particular, Carolina, were proclaiming the principle that the United States were united only as a confederation by a voluntary bond, which left the individual States a right of secession. The Northern States claimed that the bond was a federal one, that there was no right of secession, and that, in fact, secession would be rebellion.

IN HIGHLAND DRESS
From a photograph by Downey

The last President in the 'fifties was an anti-abolitionist, and the Southern States still hoped to have the State rights recognised as being on a footing which would preclude interference with slavery. But in 1860 Abraham Lincoln was elected to the Presidency, and would enter on his office in March, 1861. He belonged to the opposite party, known as Republicans, the party which maintained the doctrines approved by the South being known as Democrats. It appeared then to the South that there was no alternative except secession or submission to the domination of the North. They chose secession. Carolina led the way, and by the time that Lincoln was established as President, eleven Southern States were proclaiming their secession, and were combining in a Confederation under the Presidency of Jefferson Davis.

In the North, whether men were abolitionists or anti-abolitionists they were united in maintaining the federal principle. If the United States, instead of forming one nation, were split into two nations, with a rivalry of commercial interests, each would be infinitely less powerful, and neither would have the same prospects of unbounded development. Each side was determined to fight rather than give in; and it was a practical certainty that a contest which issued in the victory of the North would now mean the abolition of slavery as well as the triumph of federal doctrine.

This, then, was the double issue. In these islands public opinion was sharply divided, not on the lines of normal English party politics. The South claimed to be champions of the great principle of self-government, while it was also the champion of the slave system. The one cause attracted Liberalism, while the other repelled it. At the same time, aristocratic sentiment—using the term in a very wide sense—was drawn towards the South, which comparatively, at least, had been aristocratic both in its origin and in its development. In America the North found it amazing and intolerable that the British should hesitate for a second to recognise the righteousness of the Northern cause. The South was equally insistent in its demands. The British Government resolutely declined to take sides, and the British nation was consequently in exceedingly bad odour with North and South alike.

In the view of the South, they, the Confederates, were an independent State fighting in defence of their property. In the view of the Federals of the North, the Confederates were rebels. Each demanded that their particular view of the situation should be accepted in Europe, and in particular by Great Britain. Great Britain entirely declined to pass judgment on the main issue, but held that it could not refuse during the war to accord to the South the

IN 1867
From a photograph by Russell
KING EDWARD IN THE 'SIXTIES

PORTRAITS OF QUEEN ALEXANDRA IN THE 'SIXTIES

In the year of her marriage

With King George as an infant

A charming study

Showing the fashion of the 'sixties

In the year 1866

From photographs by Downey and the Sciopticon Co.

QUEEN ALEXANDRA LAYING THE MEMORIAL STONE OF A BOYS' HOME NEAR FARNINGHAM, KENT, JULY 7, 1866

recognised rights of belligerents. This principle was explicitly laid down by the Government in May, 1862.

The events of that year tended strongly to attract British sympathy to the South. In numbers and in wealth the North had a great preponderance; nevertheless, the South had achieved considerable successes, in some cases of a decidedly brilliant order; and this appealed, as always happens in such cases, to the sportsmanlike sentiment of the British public. But, apart from this, the conduct of the North over the Trent affair very nearly forced Great Britain into the arms of the South. Two commissioners were dispatched by the South to Europe. They succeeded in reaching the neutral port of Havanna. There they embarked on a British ship, the Trent. A Northern man-of-war overhauled the Trent, and, exercising the right of search, found the commissioners on board and carried them off. This was a flagrant breach of international law; and if the demand made for the liberation of the commissioners had not been complied with, Great Britain would have had no alternative but to declare war. Happily, the commissioners were liberated; but the manner in which the thing was done went far to alienate British supporters of the Northern cause.

The North, however, was not without legitimate ground, from its own point of view, for irritation with the British. The North held the Southern ports in a state of blockade; but British ships indulged

IN THE WEST OF ENGLAND: LANDING AT ST. MICHAEL'S MOUNT, NEAR PENZANCE

THE PROCESSION TO ST. GEORGE'S HALL ON THE OCCASION OF THE VISIT OF EDWARD AND ALEXANDRA TO LIVERPOOL IN 1865

The Royal visit to Liverpool in November, 1865, was made the occasion of general festivity on the part of the inhabitants of this prosperous city. One of the events of the visit was a cruise on the River Mersey, at the conclusion of which the Mayor entertained the Royal guests to dinner at the Town Hall.

freely in the practice of blockade-running. A still more serious matter was that British ships were supplied to the Confederates. Having left British ports, theoretically on some perfectly harmless errand, they were, by arrangement, handed over to Confederate officers; and then, hoisting the Confederate flag did an immense amount of damage to Northern commerce. The North had undoubted warrant for claiming that such ships had been allowed to leave British ports through culpable negligence on the part of the British Government. The most notorious of these cruisers was the Alabama.

On the other hand, the blockade of the Southern ports by the North was a very serious matter for British trade, and especially for the Lancashire cotton trade. Nearly all the cotton of this country came from the estates of the South; and an immediate supply could not be obtained from other regions. By the summer of 1862 the shortage was already being seriously felt. Mills were closed, and large numbers of operatives were thrown out of work. There are few episodes so creditable to the national character as this of the great cotton famine. Through absolutely no fault of their own an immense number of persons engaged in a legitimate and prosperous employment were thrown out of work. Under such conditions no one could have been surprised if there had been riots and violence and the forces of disorder had broken loose; yet there was no violence nor crime. No one would have been surprised if there had arisen an angry and clamorous demand for an intervention in the war which would have liberated the ports and brought cotton to the mills. But the Lancashire operatives believed that the North was fighting to put an end to slavery, and they would do nothing, even in their own dire straits, which should delay for an hour the triumph of that righteous cause. By the Government, by private charity, and by public charity organised on an immense scale, every possible effort was made to relieve the distress which was borne with such patience and fortitude. The British public has never been more generous in its charity, and its generosity has never been more convincingly deserved.

Here no account of the details of the war need be given. In 1864 the tide of success turned. The stubborn persistence and the vaster resources of the North were already beginning to tell, while the control of her armies passed into the hands of generals more competent to match themselves against the brilliant leaders of the South than the earlier commanders had been. After General Sherman's famous march to the sea, the triumph of the North was no longer in doubt. In April, 1865, the last of the Confederate armies was forced to surrender. Slavery was abolished in America, and the States were once more united under one national banner. In the hour of the triumph of his cause a great man died. President Lincoln, who had just been re-elected to his office, fell by the hand of an assassin on April 14.

In the summer of 1865 the British Parliament had lived for six years. A dissolution could hardly be deferred; and at the General Election which then took place Lord Palmerston was again returned to power with a slightly increased majority. His Administration had found itself faced with many difficulties; and its manner of dealing with them had not been in every case judicious. But the indiscretions of Lord Russell, who had been raised to the peerage during its course, had not, after all, been attended by very serious results; the nation, as a whole, still retained its confidence in Lord Palmerston. So long as he remained at the head of affairs it was content to await the settlement of the domestic questions which he was averse from meddling with. He was already eighty years of age when he received this last expression of the national confidence. But his career was almost closed. In spite of the youthful buoyancy which never left him, his strength was failing, and in October the veteran statesman breathed his last. Another chapter in the development of British democracy was opened.

QUEEN ALEXANDRA WITH PRINCE ALBERT VICTOR

STATUETTE OF KING EDWARD

Exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1865, this bronze statuette represented the heir to the throne in his uniform as Captain-General and Colonel of the Honourable Artillery Company, to which distinguished corps of Volunteers he presented it as the shooting prize for the year 1864.

KING EDWARD AND QUEEN ALEXANDRA ARRIVING AT MELFORD HALL, SUFFOLK, THE SEAT OF LORD ALFRED PAGET

ROYALTY AT KNOLE PARK: AN INTERESTING GLIMPSE AT THE FASHIONS OF FORTY YEARS AGO

Beginning in the early years of their married life, and continuing the practice even after they ascended the throne, King Edward and Queen Alexandra were frequent visitors at the homes of the aristocracy. The above pictures illustrate two such visits. In November, 1865, the Royal couple spent a few days with Lord and Lady Alfred Paget, at Melford Hall, near Sudbury, in Suffolk, while in the following June they paid a visit to the seat of the Earl and Countess Delawarr, on which occasion the future rulers of Great Britain were accompanied by the Duke of Edinburgh and the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge.

CHAPTER XXX

THE BIRTH OF DEMOCRACY

Being an Account of the Second Reform Act, the Shaping of Home Politics towards Democratic Ideals, and the Work of the First Democratic Parliament

IN British politics the word "reform" has acquired a special significance, apart from its general meaning. All legislative changes are supposed, in some sense, to be reforms, but in its particular application the term implies any extension of the franchise in order to make the House of Commons more fully representative of the nation. The history of reform in Britain is the history of a slow, inexorable, democratic movement, of which we have not yet seen the end, and of which it is not easy to mark the clear beginning.

Reform was a very living question in the middle of the eighteenth century. Its principles were supported by Lord Chatham in 1766, and by Wilkes in 1776; the Duke of Richmond, in 1780, propounded a most uncompromising scheme of universal franchise and of annual Parliaments; Pitt, Fox, and Grey successively entered the lists on behalf of the people. But the honours of reform belong really to Lord John Russell. This public-spirited statesman was born in 1792, the third son of the Duke of Bedford; he was created Earl Russell in 1861, and died in 1878. His parliamentary campaigns on behalf of reform began in 1819, and continued until 1866; and a year later Disraeli passed the great Reform Bill, which for the first time made the House of Commons a truly democratic assembly.

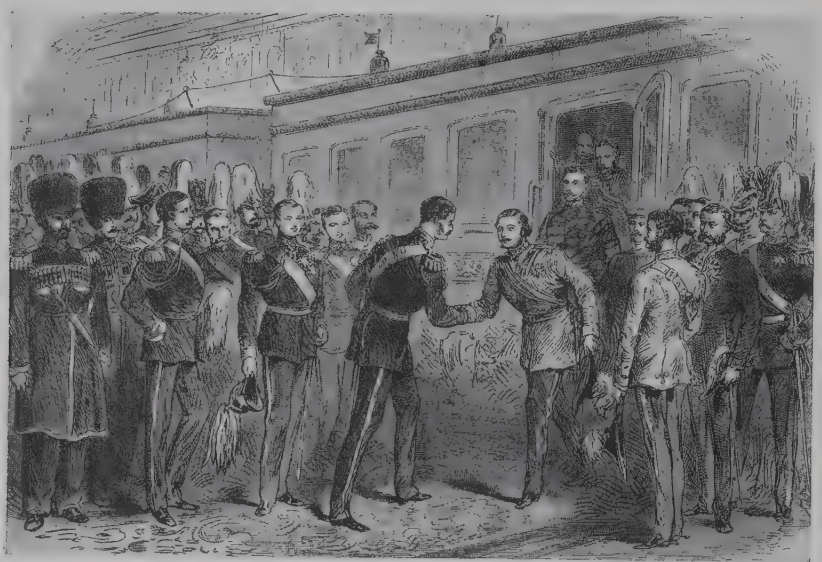
The Reform Act of 1832, passed under Lord John Russell's auspices five years before Queen Victoria's accession, established once for all as a principle no longer to be questioned that in the government of Britain the final appeal is to be made to the voice of the people. It broadened the basis of representation, admitting to the franchise, in the counties, leaseholders and copyholders, and in the boroughs, £10 leaseholders. It removed many anomalies of representation, abolishing pocket boroughs and others of which the population had dwindled away, enfranchising vigorous cities of modern date, and erecting many new constituencies in the counties.

Though much was done, much more was required. The Act of 1832 enfranchised the middle class, but reduced rather than increased the political power of the working class. Yet the artisans of the towns, a vast population which had grown up under the new industrial system, had awakened to keen political consciousness, due partly to the miseries of their condition and partly to the revolutionary ideas which pervaded Europe. This political consciousness was bound eventually to become realised in political right; but in the meantime Lord John Russell would go no further, and the popular aspirations, thus disappointed, made themselves formidable in the Chartist agitation.

KING EDWARD AND THE VOLUNTEERS: A REVIEW AT BRIGHTON IN 1866

As has been seen in earlier chapters, King Edward was deeply interested in the Volunteer movement, and, becoming a Volunteer himself, did everything he could to promote its interests. In this illustration he is shown at a review at Brighton, the future ruler of these realms being depicted in the act of passing the saluting point at the head of the Honourable Artillery Company.

In 1852 Lord John Russell brought forward further proposals in this direction; and in 1860 Lord Palmerston's Ministry laid before the House of Commons a Reform Bill, introduced by Lord John Russell. The Bill received



KING EDWARD IN RUSSIA: HIS RECEPTION BY THE TSAR AT ST. PETERSBURG

Visiting Russia in November, 1866, in order to be present at the marriage of the Princess Dagmar of Denmark—Queen Alexandra's sister—to the Tsarevitch Alexander, King Edward, as shown in the above illustration, was met at St. Petersburg railway station by the Emperor of Russia and other members of the Imperial Family. After the wedding ceremony was over, he made a tour of the country, being everywhere received with the greatest cordiality.

the support of Cobden, Bright, and the Radical party; but many Whigs were against it, and Lord Palmerston himself took no trouble in its interests. It was met by the tactics of obstruction, and three months after its introduction Lord John Russell had to announce that the Government withdrew the measure.

Parliament was dissolved on July 6, 1865, and a new House of Commons was returned, strongly marked by robust Liberalism. John Stuart Mill was a new member of the party, of which Bright and Gladstone were the most distinguished figures. On Palmerston's death, in October of the same year, Lord Russell, now removed to the Upper House, was invited by Queen Victoria to form a Government; Gladstone became Leader of the House of Commons, and Disraeli of the Opposition. Everyone realised that some measure of reform must be the chief endeavour of the new Ministry.

Queen Victoria, who was always very sympathetic to a policy of reform, and had urged her present Ministers to satisfy the popular demand, opened Parliament herself for the first time since her bereavement. Her speech announced that she had ordered information to be gained with regard to the existing franchise, "with a view to such improvements in the laws which regulate the right of voting in the election of members of the House of Commons as may tend to strengthen our free institutions and conduce to the public welfare." Gladstone brought forward the Government's Bill on March 12, 1866, proposing to reduce the franchise in the counties from £50 to £14, and in the boroughs from £10 to £7, and introducing a lodger franchise, a savings-bank franchise, and other subordinate reforms. Chiefly because of the very moderate extent of its provisions, this, the last of Lord Russell's many enterprises in the cause of reform, was doomed from the moment of its announcement. It was received without enthusiasm. Though it gained the support of Bright, Mill, and many other Liberals, it was no less eagerly opposed by others of the same party, who gathered round Robert Lowe in a group which Bright likened to the "Cave of Adullam." The measure was inadequate to the real Liberal demand. In an oratorical campaign during the Easter recess, Gladstone sought to enlist popular interest in the Government's proposals, exclaiming that he and his colleagues had now crossed the Rubicon, destroying their boats and the bridge behind them; but though his eloquence was not without effect, it came too late to save the Bill. He was intensely in earnest, but his party was divided and sceptical. The second reading was carried by a majority of five only, and the Government was defeated on an amendment in committee. Lord Russell resigned, and handing over the leadership of the Liberal party to Gladstone, retired from political life. The great protagonist of reform was to see a measure, far more sweeping than any that he had himself projected, carried in the following year by Disraeli, who had been *ex officio* the chief opponent of reform.

The events which led up to the first Democratic Parliament, called at the end of the year 1868, are as strange as any in the political history of Britain. In 1866, when Queen Victoria sent for Lord Derby to form a Conservative Administration, no one dreamed that a measure of the character of the second Reform Bill would be carried into law, or that it would even be proposed. That is to say, no one, not even himself, knew how far Disraeli was prepared to go.

The half-hearted quality of Lord Russell's recent Bill, its failure to pass the House of Commons, and, most of all, Gladstone's impassioned eloquence, had stung the country to a profound and invincible resolution in the matter of reform. The working population, who had proved their capacity for concerted action in friendly societies, trades unions, and co-operative enterprises, were determined to secure the franchise. They organised leagues, processions, and meetings all over the country, and a crowd which tore down the railings of Hyde Park in order to assert the liberty of popular demonstration convinced the Government of the gravity of the situation. The whole force of organised labour was thrown into the contest; the demand

WITH THE METROPOLITAN ARCHBISHOP AT MOSCOW

While in Moscow, King Edward visited the Metropolitan Archbishop, and had a long conversation with this high dignitary of the Russian Church. At the close of the interview, the heir to Britain's throne knelt down and asked the Archbishop to give him his blessing.

for the vote was unanimous; and at the beginning of the year 1867 the whole country was wondering what Lord Derby and Disraeli, his lieutenant, would do.

The Queen's Speech, on February 5, 1867, made a general promise of reform, expressing the hope that the deliberations of Parliament, "conducted in a spirit of moderation and mutual forbearance, may lead to the adoption of measures which, without unduly disturbing the balance of political power, shall freely extend the elective franchise." It was known that Lord Derby was, in principle, favourable to reform, but that he was doubtful whether any measure could be framed which would be acceptable in the House of Commons and would at the same time satisfy the requirements of the people. Disraeli's position was more doubtful. He was known to be ambitious, and it was evident that to move towards reform was to be on the winning side; on the other hand, he had often expressed his reluctance to admit of a wide extension of the franchise, which must give preponderating power to the working class.

Disraeli's action in this epoch-making session was determined, however, by his inflexible resolution to bring the matter, in one way or another, to a settlement. He succeeded in doing so, but only by going much farther in the way of reform than he, or any Government before him, had ever contemplated. His movements in the matter resolve themselves into four stages.

First, on February 11, he put forward a series of resolutions, with a view to securing some basis of general agreement between the two sides of the House upon which a Reform Bill might subsequently be constructed. These resolutions were to be debated, amended, and passed by the House of Commons; and the principle of the proposed extension of the franchise having been thus defined, the drafting of a Bill acceptable to both parties would, in his opinion, be comparatively easy. But it turned out that the resolutions were either abstract and academic propositions about which there could be no difference of opinion, or involved fundamental questions of policy about which, as between Conservative and Liberal, no agreement was possible. A very short time was sufficient to show Disraeli that the debate which he had initiated could serve no conceivable purpose, and on February 25 he withdrew his resolutions.

Disraeli and the Franchise

On the same day his direction of the reform question entered upon its second phase. He introduced on behalf of the Government a Reform Bill which was so complicated and fantastical, and withal so inadequate to any real purpose of reform, that the House of Commons refused to take it seriously. It was obviously intended to seem to do much without really doing anything at all. Its life was short; it held the attention of Parliament only for a night. On February 26 Disraeli withdrew it, promising yet another Bill at an early date.

A Fantastical Reform Bill

These rapid alterations of his programme greatly mystified the public, and their astonishment was increased by the consequent resignation of three important members of Lord Derby's Cabinet—Lord Cranborne (later Prime Minister as Marquis of Salisbury), Lord Carnarvon, and General Peel. But not many days afterwards the inner side of Disraeli's puzzling manœuvres was revealed by a too outspoken Minister, Sir John Pakington, who was seeking re-election in his constituency at Droitwich, on the occasion of his removal from the Admiralty to the War Office. His revelations overwhelmed the Government with ridicule.

KING EDWARD AT A REVIEW OF THE CIRCASSIAN BODYGUARD AT ST. PETERSBURG, IN NOVEMBER, 1866

It appeared that Disraeli and his colleagues had been prepared with alternative Reform Bills, one having very little resemblance to the other. They may be distinguished as the strong Bill and the weak Bill. The intention of the Government had been to submit the strong measure first to the House of Commons, and only to bring forward the weak measure if the stronger should appear to be in danger of rejection. But unexpected circumstances had forced them to reverse the order of the introduction of these two Bills.

The Ministry had been unanimous on Saturday, February 25, that the strong Bill was to be brought before the House of Commons on the following Monday. But in the meantime, Lord Cranborne, having studied the provisions of the Bill more fully than he had done before, became alarmed as he realised for the first time its comprehensive nature. He would have nothing to do with it, and sent in his resignation. The Cabinet was hurriedly called together on Monday to consider the situation. They had only ten minutes in which to choose their course, for the Prime Minister had immediately to address a meeting of the party, and the Leader of the House of Commons had to

A VISIT TO THE FOUNDLING HOSPITAL AT MOSCOW

One of the places of interest visited by King Edward in the Russian city of Moscow was the Foundling Hospital, an institution which would be better described as an orphan asylum, since it received, nursed, and educated, till they reached the age of eighteen years, the children of army officers. Covering an area as large as that of the Kremlin itself, the building was one of the sights of the city, astonishing all who entered it by its vast extent. On the occasion of the Royal visit, the nurses stood in the rooms and corridors, holding their little charges in their arms.

introduce the Government's Reform Bill the same afternoon. Under the circumstances, they hastily determined to yield to Lord Cranborne's objections, to say nothing at all about their stronger measure, and to introduce the weaker Bill as their mature and deliberate policy. It was received by the House of Commons with an almost contemptuous indifference. The measure, which came to be known as the "Ten Minutes' Bill," was dropped, the resignations of Lord Cranborne, General Peel, and Lord Carnarvon were accepted by Lord Derby; and on March 18 Disraeli introduced the stronger Bill, with which the Government's proposals of reform entered upon their third phase.

It had now become evident to all that Lord Derby and Disraeli were determined, at any cost, to pass a Reform Bill before the close of the year of such a kind as to satisfy the popular demand, and to make a settlement of the matter for a long time to come. The leaders of the Conservative party were under no illusions with regard to the will of the country, and very reasonably concluded that since a really liberal measure of reform was bound to come, they might as well themselves secure the credit and popularity which were to be gained by it. But though willing to go quite as far as might prove to be necessary, they had no mind to press the extension of the franchise. The main provisions of the Bill were indeed liberal enough; the vote was accorded to all in the boroughs who paid rates, or £1 in the year in direct taxation, and there was, in addition, an educational and a savings-bank franchise.

But the advance towards democracy was more apparent than real, inasmuch as these gifts to the people were largely annulled by the cunning and elaborate conditions which, in the opinion of reformers, would take away almost as much as was offered. And the reformers were to have their way; in the fourth and final stage of this process through the House of Commons every one of Disraeli's ingeniously devised qualifications of the measure were to be swept away. It was in vain that Disraeli repeatedly took his stand against one amendment or another, threatening to throw over the Bill if any such amendment were carried; as soon as each amendment had secured a majority in the House, he accepted it on behalf of the Government, and went on to fight the next.

The last step in the extension of the franchise—the admission of the "compound-householder" to the vote—was won not by the pressure of the official Opposition under Gladstone, but by the so-called "Tea-room Party," a conclave of advanced Liberals, in opposition to Disraeli and to Gladstone alike. Having come to the conclusion that there was really no amendment which the Government would not accept rather than be defeated or abandon reform, these adventurers determined to extend the franchise so that every occupier without exception should have the vote, thus realising the Radical ideal of absolute household suffrage throughout the boroughs. Up to this point, both the Government and the official Opposition had been agreed to exclude the compound-householder—that is to say, the smaller tenant in the cities, who was not directly rated, but whose rates were paid by the landlord and included in the rent. The exclusion of the compound-householder was a very important bar to democracy, inasmuch as tenants of this class amounted to two-thirds of the tenants paying less than £10 a year. Many whole-hearted reformers, including even Bright, were reluctant to give the franchise to the compound-householder, who not only bore directly no civic burden, but was also presumably a member of the very poorest and most illiterate stratum of society. But the Tea-room Party saw further ahead. They refused to support Gladstone's official amendment, by which the very poorest houses in the cities were to escape rating altogether, either through tenant or through landlord, their occupiers being excluded from the privilege of voting. They made it impossible for Gladstone to establish his dual classification of borough occupiers into the rated and unrated. They took their stand on the principle that every occupier was to have the vote; they were immovable, and, as they had boldly calculated, Disraeli at length gave way.

Lord Derby's "leap in the dark" had landed him in a position which neither he nor anyone else had anticipated. The battle of democracy had been won; the principles of reform had been established for all time to come. Those principles will in all probability be carried farther; but the Reform Act of 1867 practically established the Constitution on the broadest basis.

A movement which was destined later to achieve much greater importance was begun during these debates, when John Stuart Mill brought forward an amendment to admit

RUSSIAN GIPSIES DANCING BEFORE THE PRINCE AT MOSCOW

This illustration represents one of the entertainments provided for the heir to the British throne during his visit to Russia in 1866. A contemporary chronicler says that when all the gipsies sang, the "singing was a wild scream, a tempest of howls, as if murder was going on; when they sang singly, it was very beautiful. The dancing was peculiar, and its identity with the Indian Nautch was at once recognised by those present who had seen both. As in the Nautch, the feet have little to do, the arms, hands, and even the fingers having to perform all that belongs to the poetry of motion."

women to the franchise on the same terms as men, and the House of Commons, inclined at first to ridicule the proposal, discovered with surprise how much there was to be said for it. Another amendment, successfully moved by Lord Cairns in the Upper House, secured that every elector should vote only for two members in constituencies which are represented by three members of Parliament, and thus affirmed for the first time the principle that minorities ought in some degree to be represented. Other changes of minor importance were made in the laws governing elections; thus, it was enacted that members of Parliament already holding paid offices need not ask re-election in the event of their moving from one official position to another, but only in the event of their accepting remunerative office for the first time; and the old rule compelling Parliament to dissolve at the death of a Sovereign was wisely abolished.

In the short period between March 18 and August 15, when the second Reform Bill was passed into law, the long-vexed question of reform was settled by Disraeli on the very principles which he had always most stoutly opposed. Its result in the counties was to give the vote to all persons owning property of the value of five pounds a year, and to all persons paying twelve pounds a year as tenants of lands or buildings. In the boroughs all male ratepayers were to receive the vote, and lodgers paying a rent of ten pounds a year were to be enfranchised after occupying their lodgings for twelve months. A certain amount of redistribution also was effected, the representation of some constituencies being diminished, and that of others being increased; and it was enacted that in three-member constituencies each voter should support only two candidates, and that in the four-member constituency of the City of London each elector should vote for only three candidates. Separate Reform Bills for Scotland and Ireland were passed in the following year, but were not nearly so thoroughgoing in their provisions as the English Bill had been. It was in England first that British democracy came into its own.

THE SULTAN OF TURKEY IN ENGLAND: THE ARRIVAL AT DOVER

Visiting England in 1867, the Sultan of Turkey landed at Dover on July 12, and at the Admiralty Pier was received by King Edward—then the Prince of Wales—the Duke of Edinburgh, and other distinguished personages. On the following day the Sultan visited Queen Victoria at Windsor. On the 17th he was present at a naval review at Spithead, and on this occasion was invested by Queen Victoria with the Order of the Garter.

The period which separated the first Reform Act of 1832 from the second Reform Act of 1867 was a period in which the working classes of England made an enormous advance in their political education. They learned to combine, to work together for their common interests, to take large and bold views, and, above all, they learned their power. The English democracy was formed during those years in the friendly society, the trades union, and the co-operative association. All these movements were looked on from outside with dislike and apprehension; they had sometimes difficulty in winning ordinary justice from the legislature; they made many mistakes; none of them has fully succeeded in doing what it was expected to do; but besides all their direct benefits they did one outstanding service to the working man—they made him capable of political thought and action. They made him realise that the disabilities under which he lived did not belong to the necessary order of things, but that they were evils which might be, and ought to be, removed. And it was in that new spirit of hope that the working classes set themselves to the agitation which forced the hand of the Government.

Political Strength of the Workers

Disraeli's Short Premiership

The great enfranchisement of the democracy by the Reform Act of 1867 was soon to show its results in a period of democratic legislation of unsurpassed importance. Lord Derby, who was in his sixty-ninth year when the Act was passed, resigned the Premiership early in 1868, and Queen Victoria entrusted Disraeli with the task of carrying on the Government. Some useful measures were passed, notably the abolition of public executions, which had long been an intolerable scandal, the submission of election petitions to courts of law instead of to a committee of the House of Commons, the abandonment by the House of Lords of the practice of voting by proxy, and the purchase by the Government of the telegraph system of the country, which was henceforth to be administered by the Post Office. But Disraeli's Premiership was destined to be a short one. Gladstone's resolutions in favour of the disestablishment of the Irish State Church, introduced on March 30, resulted in the defeat of the Government by a majority of sixty-five, and Disraeli dissolved Parliament on July 31 of the same year. A new House of Commons was elected in November for the first time since the advent of democracy, and the effects of an extended franchise were shown in a Liberal majority of 120. Disraeli and his colleagues at once resigned, and the Queen sent for Gladstone and asked him to form a Government. He took office in December, 1868. So began the first Democratic Parliament, and Gladstone's first Administration.

The chief members of the new Government were: Gladstone, as First Lord of the Treasury; Lord Clarendon, as Foreign Secretary; Lord Hatherley, as Lord Chancellor; Lord de Grey and Ripon, later Marquis of Ripon, President of the Council; Lord Granville, as Colonial Secretary; the Duke of Argyll, as Secretary for India; John Bright, as President of the Board of Trade; Robert Lowe, as Chancellor of the Exchequer; Edward Cardwell, as Secretary of War. The Administration included also the Earl of Kimberley, Lord Dufferin, Lord Hartington, H. A. Bruce, H. C. E. Childers, and G. J. Goschen. "The Cabinet as a whole," says Lord Morley, "was one of extraordinary power, not merely because its chief had both aptitude and momentum enough for a dozen, but because it was actively homogeneous in reforming spirit and

purpose. This solidarity is the great element in such combinations, and the mainspring of all vigorous Cabinet work."

Parliament was opened on December 10, 1868, the Speech from the Throne announcing legislation with regard to the Irish Church; and on March 1 Gladstone brought forward his Bill for the disestablishment and partial disendowment of that Church. This was a measure to which Queen Victoria was personally opposed; her dislike of it was unconquerable, her liberalism had no sympathy with the destruction of institutions. She suspected Gladstone of wanton innovation. Yet she fully realised that the country had deliberately pronounced upon the matter, and did all in her power to secure a spirit of compromise and conciliation between the Government and the Opposition, and again between the House of Commons and the House of Lords.

The Irish Church Disestablished

A very strenuous opposition was made by Disraeli and the Conservative party to Gladstone's measure, which reduced the Irish Church to the status of a free church, dissolving its union with the Church of England, depriving the Irish bishops of their seats in the House of Lords, and devoting about nine millions out of the sixteen millions sterling at which the property of the Irish Church was estimated to institutions for the relief of unavoidable calamity and suffering. But in view of the strong feeling throughout the country, and owing also to Queen Victoria's personal mediation between Gladstone and Archbishop Tait, the House of Lords did not venture on a rejection of the Bill. They contented themselves with putting forward many amendments, most of which Gladstone refused to accept, and the Act for the disestablishment of the Irish State Church became law on July 26, 1868.

AT THE PARIS INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF 1867

Accompanied by the Duke of Edinburgh, King Edward paid several visits to the memorable Paris Exhibition of 1867, the above illustration showing the distinguished representatives of Britain's Royal house passing through the British section.

"My mission is to pacify Ireland," Gladstone had exclaimed when he was called on to form an Administration. And to this end he had promised to undertake three great reforms in Ireland—the disestablishment of the Church, the revision of the system of land tenure, and a remodelling of the Irish system of education. He had no sooner secured the first of his reforms than he set to work on the second.

The Irish Land Bill, which Gladstone introduced on February 15, 1870, marked an epoch in the history of Irish land. It was based on the custom of "tenant-right," long prevalent in Ulster, by which the tenant enjoyed security of possession so long as he paid his rent, was liable to no vexatious increase in rent, and was in a position, on leaving his farm, to dispose of his improvements, at a price, to the new-comer. It legalised and applied to the whole of Ireland this local custom. The Bill once for all did away with the principle that the landlord's right was unlimited by any tenant's right. It gave the tenant some degree of proprietorship, conferring on him the right of demanding compensation for his improvements if he were dispossessed of the holding, and establishing courts for the adjudication of claims made under its provisions. As subsequent events have shown, it was very far from solving the difficult and complex problem with which it was intended to deal. But when it passed into law, on August 1, 1870, the first real step had been taken in the economic regeneration of Ireland, and Gladstone had carried two out of his three great Irish reforms.

But the greatest and most appropriate work of the first democratic Parliament was the establishment of a truly national system of education in England. A great deal had already been done for the education of the children of the working classes in schools provided by religious denominations and other bodies, and these schools had received a small subsidy from the State; but voluntary enterprise and charity had proved quite inadequate to supply the enormous need, and over two-thirds of English children were still totally uneducated.

A Bill was introduced by W. E. Forster, on February 17, 1870, for the establishment of School Boards throughout England and Wales, with power to make bye-laws ordering the compulsory attendance at school of the children between the ages of five and twelve within their several districts. The voluntary schools were to be incorporated in the system, receiving grants from the State on condition that they included a conscience clause in their regulations and satisfied Government inspectors as to the standard of the education which they provided. The cost of education was to be borne by the weekly payments of the children, by the rates, and by Treasury grants.

The religious question at once gave rise to difficulties. In the course of the bitter dissension which followed, the Government was assisted by the Opposition against the rebellious Nonconformists, and the Bill was passed; but the rift which had thus been made within the Liberal party had shaken the strength of the Government. To this Administration also belongs the credit of the abolition of the system hitherto prevalent in the Army, by which officers purchased their commissions, and the substitution for it of a system of promotion by merit. Other valuable legislative reforms passed by Gladstone during this Administration were a Ballot Bill to safeguard the secrecy of the vote, an Act abolishing the University tests, and so admitting students of all religious denominations to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, an Act removing oppressive laws against trades unions, a licensing Act, and the establishment of the Local Government Board. But already there were signs that the power of the first democratic Government was waning, and that its fall was quickly approaching. It had made many enemies, and there was now a new spirit in the air, as yet indefinite and scarcely realised, which had no sympathy with Gladstone or with Liberalism.

The Policy of Imperialism

In proclaiming the policy and ideal of Imperialism, which he did in June, 1872, Disraeli had voiced the new spirit that was abroad, and here was found an alternative policy to that of Liberalism. The Conservative party, said Disraeli, stood for three great objects—"the maintenance of our institutions, the preservation of our Empire, and the improvement of the condition of the people." The Imperial consciousness was awakened. But Gladstone was still in power, and had yet to attempt his third Irish reform, the settlement of Irish education.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE STATE VISIT TO IRELAND IN 1868

Describing the Interesting Ceremonies of a Week Spent in Dublin and the Installation of King Edward as a Knight of the Order of St. Patrick

THE condition of Ireland from a political point of view had been of late anything but quiet. For several years the Fenian agitation had been actively carried on, an arms manufactory had been actually discovered in Dublin; trials for treason, felony, or sedition were not infrequent; the Habeas Corpus Act had been suspended; there had been protests against the continued existence of the Irish Church Establishment, as well as meetings in its support; religious differences were marked by violent controversy, and even the Grand Master of the Orange Society had been imprisoned for infraction of the Party Processions Act. Further, the case of Ireland had been brought home to London itself by the premeditated explosion at the Clerkenwell House of Detention with the object of securing the release of Burke and Casey, leading Fenians. The result was that twelve persons were killed directly, and five owed their death indirectly to the criminal act. That terrible event was indeed, as Mr. Gladstone called it, a warning bell to the Parliament of England to do something to amend matters, and this was done by the introduction in the early part of the Session of 1868 of the Irish Church Disestablishment Bill.

"The Sovereign of this country has no politics." So declared the late King Edward, through his Private Secretary, Lord Knollys, and when the announcement was made of a projected State visit to Ireland by the Prince and Princess of Wales, the "Times" declared that "It is no faction, no sect, no class, not even the Government, that has sent the Prince to Ireland." But a few days later the same great newspaper said: "It cannot be concealed that this visit at a time of great political commotion has something the look of a studied and, therefore, an awkward arrangement." Royal visits to Ireland, it was to be regretted, had been few and far between, but "the more rare the Royal guests, the more glad the people of that country were to see them, and if the Prince and his Royal Consort came at a time of trouble, the more reason was there to believe that the trouble would pass away."

Under these circumstances it required something more than physical courage, the possession of which in a peculiarly cool degree his Royal Highness had repeatedly exhibited, for the Prince of Wales and the Princess, who had just recovered from a long and trying illness, to undertake a State visit to Ireland at this particular juncture. It may have been an act of policy—with that this narrative has no concern—but it was a splendid illustration of that noble quality which as Prince and Princess, King and Queen, was theirs in a special measure—absolute, unquestionable trust in the people of these islands.

QUEEN ALEXANDRA'S FIRST VISIT TO IRELAND IN 1868

King Edward, as has already been seen, was warmly attached to the Irish people, and made several visits to the Emerald Isle. Accompanied by Queen Alexandra, who on this occasion stepped upon Irish soil for the first time, he returned to Ireland in April, 1868, and during their stay the Royal visitors were received with the most demonstrative enthusiasm by all classes. In the above illustration the Royal party is seen landing at the Victoria Wharf, Kingstown.

As a sort of preliminary interlude to the State visit to Ireland, the Prince of Wales presided over the eighty-fifth anniversary dinner of the Benevolent Society of St. Patrick, held in Willis's Rooms, London, on the evening of March 17, 1868. There was a distinguished company of Irish

noblemen and gentlemen, and, in responding to the toast of the health of the Princess of Wales and the rest of the Royal Family, proposed by the Archbishop of Armagh, the Prince made a most delightful speech. He was certain, he said, that if the Princess of Wales were sitting there she would witness that scene with very sincere pleasure. Having visited Ireland so often and spent so pleasant a time there, he could judge of the feelings of the Irish people, and was certain that in the "Emerald Isle" the Princess would receive as cordial a greeting as she had had from the people of England. In speaking to another toast the Prince hinted that the projected visit to Ireland might be a prelude to a more permanent stay in that country at a future period.

En route for the "Emerald Isle"

The eventful visit was made in April, 1868, the Prince and Princess leaving London on the 14th of that month by the ordinary afternoon express from Euston to Holyhead. In attendance were Lady Carmarthen and the Hon. Mrs. Stonor, with Major-General Knollys, Major Grey, and Colonel Hardinge, the latter equerry to the Queen. A short stay was made at Chester, where an address was presented by the Mayor and Corporation, and the Bishop and Dean of Chester, with the Mayor and Sheriffs of the ancient city, had the honour of dining with their Royal Highnesses. The journey was then continued to Holyhead, where the Royal party were received by Admiral Schomberg and a guard of honour of the Anglesea Volunteers, and then conducted on board the Royal yacht, Victoria and Albert, Captain Prince Leiningen. In the harbour was a fleet of warships, under the command of Admiral Warden, consisting of the Achilles, Warrior, Defence, Minotaur, Helicon, and the Admiralty yacht Enchantress. The fleet, during the night, sailed for Kingstown, in order to take up a position in Dublin Bay for the reception of the distinguished visitors.

The Victoria and Albert sailed about five in the morning of April 15 for the Irish coast, and was met five miles therefrom by several steamers belonging to the Cunard and other lines, which turned and joined the escort of the Enchantress and Helicon to the Royal yacht. Admiral Warden's squadron was anchored in two lines out in the bay, and between these the Victoria and Albert steamed into Kingstown Harbour, under salutes from the guns of the men-of-war and the batteries on shore. At ten o'clock a deputation of the Kingstown Commissioners went on board and presented an address to the Prince and Princess. According to an account given by Sir Henry Burdett, the celebrated surgeon, the Princess of Wales was "at the same time presented, as Queen Victoria had been in 1849, with a white dove, emblematic of the affection and goodwill which her Royal Highness was supposed to be bringing to the 'most distressful country.'"

THE ROYAL VISITORS ARRIVING AT ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL

The landing-stage was fancifully decorated, and the spot arranged for the disembarkation of the Prince and Princess of Wales was marked with the letters "V.R." and the figures "1849," indicating that there her Majesty Queen Victoria had first set foot on Irish soil, and the occasion on which she created the infant Prince of Wales Earl of Dublin. All the vessels in the harbour were dressed with bunting, and wherever foothold could be found there were radiant Irishmen and Irishwomen beaming with expectation. As soon as the Royal yacht was fixed to the landing-stage, the Lord-Lieutenant, the Marquis of Abercorn, and the Marchioness of Abercorn went on board to receive the Prince and Princess of Wales, together with the Viceregal household, Lord Strathnairn, Commander of the Forces in Ireland, and his aides, the Earls of Howth and Mayo, the Lord Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor of Ireland, Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar, the Attorney-General, Major-General Cunynghame, C.B., Admirals Buckle and Warden, Ulster King-at-Arms, and others. The Lord-Lieutenant led the Princess on shore, and the Prince followed with the Marchioness, while the bands played the National Anthem, and the vast crowds gave tumultuous cheers, which could be heard above the roar of the salutes from the warships.

Kingstown's Loyal Welcome

The Prince and Princess smiled as they acknowledged the enthusiastic plaudits, which were redoubled when the women especially noted that the Princess wore a dress and jacket of deep blue poplin trimmed with Irish lace, and a white bonnet of Irish lace ornamented by a single rose. The Prince appealed to local patriotism by wearing on the breast of his blue frock-coat a rose surrounded by shamrocks, and by sporting, as an Irishman would say, a green cravat, which excited ecstatic shouts of "His R'y'l Highness is a wearing of the green!"

A procession was then formed for the drive to Dublin. In the first carriage, which was escorted by a detachment of the 1st Lancers, were the Lord-Lieutenant and the Marchioness of Abercorn, and in the second the Prince and Princess of Wales, the Duke of Cambridge and Prince Teck, the escort being furnished by a squadron of the 10th (Prince of Wales's Own) Hussars. The suites of the Lord-Lieutenant and of their Royal Highnesses and the officials and notabilities before mentioned followed. By special desire of the Prince of Wales neither troops nor mounted police were on duty along the whole seven miles of the route to the capital; an illustration of his profound trust in the people which was amply justified. At the suburb of Blackrock there was a beautiful triumphal arch, and a number of young ladies prettily dressed, with characteristic Irish courage, blocked the passage of the cavalcade, to enable them to present a bouquet to the Princess, which she smilingly accepted.

Baggot Bridge is the boundary of the city, and there

KING EDWARD BECOMES A KNIGHT OF ST. PATRICK: THE INSTALLATION CEREMONY IN ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL, DUBLIN

The most notable event in connection with the State visit to Ireland in 1868 was that so admirably represented in the above picture—the installation of the future King Edward as a Knight of St. Patrick. Conducted in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin the ceremony was gorgeously elaborate, and was followed by a banquet in the evening, given by the Lord-Lieutenant to the Knights, the Royal visitors, and a select company of guests.

the Lord Mayor and Corporation joined the Royal procession, which thenceforward drove at a slow pace through a vaster throng than had been seen in the streets of Dublin since the days when O'Connell, "the uncrowned king of Ireland," swayed the multitude with his eloquence. But not even the "Liberator" himself, as the "Times" said, was ever greeted with heartier cheers than were the Prince and Princess when they passed on towards Castle Hill. The windows were filled with curious and expectant faces, eager to look upon what must in future times be remembered as a historic spectacle. The good humour, the spirit of gaiety, and the racy wit of the people made the reception something different from the hearty but less vivacious welcome of the English capital. Every house blossomed with banners and festoons of many colours; while some were wreathed with evergreens from roof to basement.

After an interval for rest, the Prince and Princess received the Lord Mayor and Corporation of the City of Dublin in the Throne Room of the Castle, when his lordship presented an address of welcome and assurance of their undiminished attachment to the person and throne of her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. It was a subject for the highest and unalloyed satisfaction that the Princess of Wales had enabled the Irish people to present their respectful homage and offer their enthusiastic welcome. They earnestly hoped that her impression of their country would be full of pleasure and enjoyment, and that they would be encouraged to look forward to the time when their Royal Highnesses would be frequent visitors to the island, and at least occasional residents in an Irish home. After a reference to passing troubles, the address went on to trust that the visit marked the opening of a new era. There was a special paragraph of "welcome to the illustrious Princess on her first visit to their shores"

Civic Welcome at Dublin Castle

—"a welcome inspired by the high reputation she had acquired as well in the country of her birth as in England for charity, for unaffected kindness, for her life ennobled, like that of their revered monarch, by the conscientious discharge of every public and private duty, and by the exercise of those qualities and virtues which afford signal satisfaction to the nation and adorn her exalted rank." The Princess evinced her appreciation of the passages which specially referred to her visit, and acknowledged the compliment with a winning graciousness which quite charmed the deputation. In the course of his reply, the Prince of Wales said that "the reception which the Princess and myself have this day experienced calls forth our liveliest feelings and most heartfelt acknowledgments. It has been my most anxious desire since I last visited Ireland to return to it accompanied by the Princess, and I regard her presence this day equally with yourself as a happy omen for the country, although I have never for a moment doubted your continued and undiminished attachment to the throne of her most Gracious Majesty the Queen."

A Happy Omen for Ireland

The Prince having cordially shaken hands with the Lord Mayor, the civic procession was re-formed and left the Castle. The Royal party took a drive in Phœnix Park in the afternoon, where they met with a tremendous ovation; and there were illuminations in the evening.

Thursday, April 16, was devoted to the races at Puncheston, about 100,000 people turning out to renew the welcome, which in its enthusiasm "dwarfed into nothingness" that of the previous day. The journey was made by special train and open carriage, and it was notable that the Princes and Princess drove without an escort, and that "not a soldier was to be seen under arms." A critical observer of the wonderful crowd wrote to the "Times" that he had never "witnessed in any part of Great Britain

such universal loyalty and such genuine personal feeling towards the Prince and Princess of Wales as he had seen in Dublin and Puncheston." If the aristocracy of Ireland, said the same writer, were conspicuous for their absence, speaking in a general sense, in the procession from Kingstown to Dublin Castle, never was there so great a gathering of the peers and gentry of Ireland since the visit of George IV. The steeplechases were magnificent, the weather was brilliant, and no accidents interfered with the enjoyment. The Princess was too fatigued to go out for the second day's racing, but she visited the Alexandra College, an educational institution with which she had graciously permitted her name to be associated. The Archbishop of Dublin presented the Princess with an address, and the young lady students showered flowers upon her very prettily.

Royalty at the Puncheston Races

The Prince of Wales went with his suite to the races, and rode all over the course on a white Arab steed in company with Lord Strathnairn and many members of the Irish aristocracy. The sport again reached a high standard. When the Royal party was returning from the course by carriage to the railway station at Sallins an unrehearsed and charming incident occurred, described as follows by the "Times" correspondent: "A young lady on a grey pony, with a little dog as a sole guardian, dashed out of the throng at the gateway, and tried to get up to the Prince's carriage as it rolled over the green sward leaving the course. There were a few gentlemen riding on each side who blocked up the way, as there were hedges lining the route, and she fell back dispirited, exclaiming in the prettiest accent possible, 'And I'm not to see *him*, then, after all.' Encouraged by the aides following the carriage, she whipped up her pony again, and once more failed to break the ranks of the cavalry. 'Let her pass, like good fellows,' cried some friendly voice. Encouraged by fresh admonitions 'to cut on again,' she laid on the whipcord once more, and this time the enthusiastic loyalist passed through, took a good look at the Prince, dashed on ahead of the carriage, and drew up to have another good look. She was gratified beyond measure when the Prince took off his hat to her. 'Oh, thank you all,' she cried as the aides passed her, 'I have seen him quite close, and now I'll go home quite happy.' And with a little modest kiss-hand and bow, the young lady and her dog turned to quieter pursuits than the 'chasse aux Princes' on the road to Naas."

THE PRINCE AND PRINCESS OF WALES IN IRELAND: THE ROYAL PROCESSION PASSING COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN

In the evening the Prince and Princess and 1,200 nobility and citizens were entertained to a grand ball by the Lord Mayor of Dublin, which afforded an opportunity for more displays of enthusiasm as the Royal party drove to the Exhibition Hall, where the dance took place. The Princess wore a dress of pink satin and flounces of Irish lace, presented to her by the ladies of Ireland. The dancing was opened by the Prince of Wales and the Lady Mayoress, and the Princess of Wales with the Lord Mayor, and the function proved a great success.

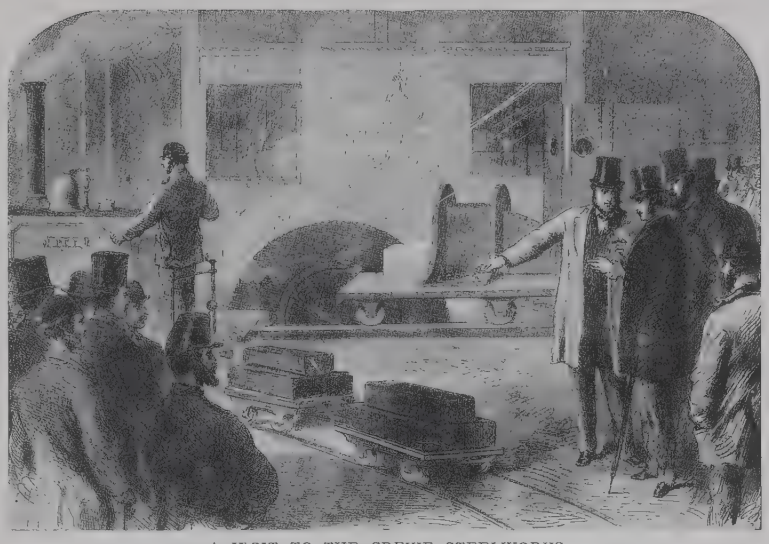
From a spectacular point of view, both inside St. Patrick's Cathedral and outside in the thoroughfares leading from the Castle Hill to the stately Gothic edifice, the installation of the Prince of Wales as a Knight of St. Patrick was the greatest event of a visit which will be notable in the annals of Dublin City. As a State ceremonial of the highest importance, the military were brought into requisition, not for the purpose of the protection of the Royal visitors, but to add distinction to the pageant. And so along the whole route the streets were lined with horse, foot, and artillery, and the regimental bands delighted the merry-hearted crowds by playing favourite Irish airs like "St. Patrick's Day" and "Garry Owen." From every house there were flung banners or festoons of flowers, and evergreens lent gaiety both to the frontages and to the sky-line. Wherever possible balconies had been erected for the accommodation of thousands who could afford to pay high prices for a seat, while the "boys" clustered on lamp-posts and monuments; they even clambered over and almost obliterated the statue of William of Orange and his monstrous charger at College Green.

It was some time after four o'clock when the rolling of ringing cheers conveyed to the long-waiting people that the Royal procession, headed by a squadron of Lancers, and consisting of ten carriages, had started from the Castle Hill. In the first State equipage were the Lord-Lieutenant and the Marchioness of Abercorn, with Captain Stuart and Sir H. Pelly, equerries. Then in a splendid State coach were the Prince and Princess of Wales, escorted by a squadron of the 10th (Prince of Wales's Own) Hussars. The third carriage contained the Duke of Cambridge, and the seven remaining held the suites of the Prince and Princess, the Viceregal household, and other officials, except the last, in which was seated the Earl of Mayo. The cortége from start to finish of its progress was hailed with great enthusiasm, the ladies in windows and balconies especially favouring the Princess by waving their handkerchiefs, which admiring salutations she returned with unaffected grace. Noblemen, gentry, and other personages who had the entrée to St. Patrick's Cathedral, recently restored at great cost by the munificence of Sir Benjamin Lee Guinness, had taken the places assigned to them long before the arrival of the Royal procession. The view from the great west porch towards the choir was singularly fine. The cold, grey walls of the sacred vane were lit up by the glitter of uniforms and many-hued dresses of the ladies. It was like a long double border of brilliant flowers, with a broad pathway of scarlet carpeting in the centre. At the angle of the nave and left transept were chairs of State for the Princess of

The Scene in the Cathedral

Wales and Marchioness of Abercorn, behind whom were the ladies of the Court and illustrious strangers. At the opposite angle were the Lord Chancellor of Ireland and Vice-Chancellor, the judges in their full robes, Lord Strathnairn, Admiral Warden, Sir Hope Grant, Sir William Knollys, etc. The principal Roman Catholic ecclesiastic present was the Rev. Dr. Russel, of Maynooth, "for, though Cardinal Cullen could dine with a Protestant, he could not enter a Protestant cathedral." In the choir were the stalls of the Knights, as yet unoccupied, their helmets and banners overhead.

At a few minutes past four o'clock the blare of trumpets and the singing of "God Save the Queen" was the signal of the arrival of the Royal procession, and as the Prince and Princess of Wales and other personages slowly paced up the nave from the western porch, the picture presented was brilliant with colour and sparkle. The Princess was received by the Hereditary Grand Seneschal of Ireland, the Earl of Waterford, and conducted to the daïs on which her chair of State was placed, at her side being the Marchioness of Abercorn and Prince Teck, while the other members in their train filed to their allotted seats.

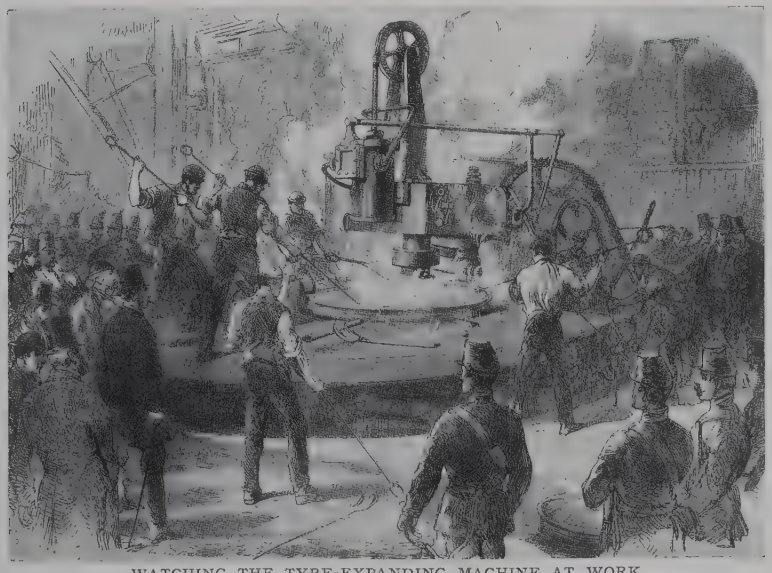


A VISIT TO THE CREWE STEELWORKS

While on his way to visit the Duke of Sutherland in Staffordshire, towards the end of January, 1866, King Edward stopped at the Crewe station of the London and North-Western Railway to inspect the newly-established steel-works connected with the great factory of locomotive engines there In this picture he is seen watching with interest the operations of the sawing machine. To demonstrate its astonishing capabilities, a large ingot of steel, about 18 inches thick, was placed upon the machine, and was divided into two parts in about two minutes, the operation producing a most terrific noise.

His Excellency the Grand Master, the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of Cambridge were received by the Dean and Chapter and conducted to the Chapter Room in processional order, headed by the clergy, pursuivants, holders of many distinctive offices, and the household of the Lord-Lieutenant. Attended by the esquires, pages, lords-in-waiting, followed the Prince of Wales in the uniform of a British general, walking alone with a dignified step. Next came the officers of the Order, the Archbishop of Armagh as Prelate, the Earl of Mayo bearing the Sword of State, and, finally, the Grand Master, supported by his aides, pages, and esquires.

The installed Knights having taken their seats, the Prince of Wales as a Knight to be installed stood at his, while his esquires deposited on the table his mantle and sword and fixed his banner. The Dean, as Registrar of the Order, read her Majesty's direction that the installation be held; and the Grand Master, rising, signified his pleasure that it be forthwith done. Thereupon, the procession was re-formed, and walked to the choir, where the Knights took their seats in their own stalls with all due reverence to the Grand Master, the Prince occupying a seat in front of his stall. Pursuivants and heralds in processional order brought from the Chapter House the insignia of a Knight, Ulster King-at-Arms bearing the collar on a blue velvet cushion, and esquires carrying the banner, mantle, and sword. The collar was delivered to the Grand Master, while the usher, the genealogist, and the secretary to the Order conducted the Prince of Wales to the table. The two senior Knights, the Marquis of Clanricarde and the Marquis of Conyngham, by command of the Grand Master, descended from their stalls, and, after the choir had sung Sir John Stevenson's Te Deum, originally composed for the installation of George IV., they girt the Prince of Wales with the sword (the same as was worn by George IV.) and robed him with the mantle, each ceremonial being preceded by the prescribed Admonition from the Prelate. Then the Prince advanced to the stall of the Grand Master, who, in investing him with the collar, said: "Sir, the loving Company of the Order of St. Patrick hath received you their brother, lover, and fellow, and in token and knowledge of this they give you and present you this badge, which God will that you receive and wear from henceforth to His praise, pleasure, and the exaltation and honour of the said illustrious Order and yourself."



WATCHING THE TYRE-EXPANDING MACHINE AT WORK

This further view of the Royal visit to the steelworks at Crewe shows King Edward following the movements of a wonderful tyre-expanding machine, which was capable of enlarging a thick steel tyre, in a few minutes, to several times its original size.

His Royal Highness was thereupon conducted back to his stall, where he made reverence to the Grand Master. Next the senior esquire to the Prince unfurled his banner, and Ulster King-at-Arms, with a flourish of trumpets, declared in sonorous voice his Royal Highness's titles, as follows:

"The Most High, the Most Puissant and Most Illustrious Prince Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, Duke of Saxony, Duke of Cornwall, Duke of Rothesay, Earl of Chester, Carrick, and Dublin, Baron of Renfrew and Lord of the Isles, Great Steward of Scotland, Principal Knight and Companion of the Most Illustrious Order of St. Patrick, Knight

of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, Knight of the Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, and Knight Grand Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, a member of her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, etc."

At the conclusion of the proclamation all resumed their seats, except the officers of arms and the esquires, and the principal esquire presented the offering in a purse to the registrar, and "Ulster" received the banner, delivered it to the registrar, who deposited it within the rails, after which these officials returned to their places, and a grand anthem was performed.

When the music ceased, "Ulster" made three reverences to the Grand Master, waved his sceptre aloft, whereupon the procession, marshalled as on entering the Cathedral, moved down the nave to the west porch, then out into the sunshine, and drove back to the Castle.

YORK'S WELCOME TO THE FUTURE KING AND QUEEN IN 1866

Visiting York in August, 1866, the Prince and Princess of Wales spent a few days with the Archbishop of York at Bishopthorpe, the above illustration showing the procession passing over the new bridge on its way into the city.

In the evening, while the populace had their show in splendid illuminations throughout the city—during which the utmost order prevailed—his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant gave a banquet in St. Patrick's Hall to the Knights, the Royal visitors, and a select company of 120 guests. In proposing the health of "the illustrious guest, the Chief Knight, and the Princess of Wales," the Marquis of Abercorn said that their presence there was of no ordinary significance and import. They knew and believed that in assuming the mantle and collar of the Order of the Patron Saint of Ireland, their illustrious guest had inaugurated no empty pageant, but rather the promise of an era of increase of mutual attachment and confidence between the people of Ireland and his illustrious house. This hope was enhanced by the cordial bearing and great and universal personal popularity of his Royal Highness. The Lord-Lieutenant went on to refer to the first visit to Ireland of the Princess of Wales, saying that "There was no man worthy of the name of Irishman, whether he were a coroneted peer, installed knight, or hardy and stalwart son of toil, who had not felt the fair presence of that illustrious lady as a ray of sunshine gilding the Irish horizon."

His Royal Highness, in responding to the toast, returned his warmest thanks for the cordial manner in which it had been received. He said: "I can assure you that I feel very proud to wear this evening for the first time the star and riband of the Illustrious Order of St. Patrick; and I am very grateful to her Majesty for having given it to me. On former occasions I have received the Orders from her Majesty's own hands, and although I cannot but regret that on this occasion she has not been able to give this Order to me herself, still it was the Queen's wish that I should receive it on Irish soil from the hands of her representative, the Lord-Lieutenant." Then he went on to say that having received it on Irish soil he must also be instrumental in evincing in Ireland, in the name of his Sovereign and his mother, her goodwill and friendship for Ireland, and concluded: "I am very glad to have this opportunity of stating to you, on behalf of the Princess and myself, how deeply gratified we are by the reception which has been accorded to us in this country, not only by the higher classes, but by the sons of toil as well. After the sad times of the past year it might, perhaps, have been thought by some that our reception would not have been all that could have been wished. I myself felt confident that it would, and my hopes have been indeed realised. I beg, therefore, to offer not only to those present who participated more immediately in our reception, but to the whole Irish people, our thanks for the cordial, hearty, and friendly welcome which we have received."

A mere recital of the engagements of the remaining four days of the Royal visit will be sufficient. On April 20 there was a grand review in Phœnix Park in the forenoon, and in the evening a ball was given by the Lord-Lieutenant in the Castle. On the 21st the Royal visitors attended at Trinity College, where the Prince of Wales, the Lord-Lieutenant, and the Duke of Cambridge had the degree of Doctor *honoris causa* conferred upon them. With this ceremony was combined that of the inauguration of the statue to Burke in College Green. Afterwards the Royal party visited the Hibernian Academy, the cattle show, and the Catholic University. On the 22nd there was a grand ball in the Exhibition Palace, at which 4,000 ladies and gentlemen were present. On the 23rd the Prince and Princess of Wales went on a visit to Powerscourt, the seat of Lord Powerscourt. On the 24th they visited the horticultural show, the National Gallery, the College of Physicians, the Mater Misericordiæ Hospital, and the Adelaide Hospital. At 8 o'clock in the evening the Prince and Princess of Wales, with their suites, left Dublin for Kingstown, and immediately went on board the Victoria and Albert, where they entertained the Lord-Lieutenant at a farewell dinner. Next morning the Victoria and Albert and escorting fleet sailed for Wales. So ended the historic State visit of their Royal Highnesses to Ireland.

UNVEILING A MEMORIAL OF HIS FATHER AT YORK

One of the ceremonies performed by the Prince during his visit to York in 1866 was the unveiling of the Prince Consort memorial window in the Guildhall of that city. Comprising five lights, this window represents the great meeting of mayors in York in the year 1850, and shows the Prince Consort in the act of addressing the assembled civic rulers.

CHAPTER XXXII

KING EDWARD AT HOME AND ABROAD, 1868-70

Being a Brief Account of the Continental Travels of the Prince and Princess of Wales and of their Public and Social Duties in their Future Kingdom

ON July 6, 1868, a little more than two months after their return from Ireland and Wales, another daughter was born to the Prince and Princess of Wales. This was the Princess Victoria Alexandra Olga Mary. When the Princess had sufficiently recovered her strength, the Royal couple went away for what was to prove one of the most interesting tours they had ever undertaken together. Towards the middle of November they crossed the Channel to France, and journeying on to Paris, were there received with great warmth and affection by the Emperor Napoleon III. and the Empress Eugénie. Their visit was made the excuse for a round of magnificent entertainments. Balls, dinners, and fêtes followed one another in quick succession at Compiègne. Among the number of these entertainments was a grand stag hunt, conducted with all the splendour and pomp in which Napoleon III. delighted. The Prince, who was accompanied by the Marquis of Lansdowne, then a young man of twenty-three, was remarked not only for his horsemanship, but his costume. While the French huntsmen were dressed in the prescribed Imperial livery of dark green cloth with crimson collars and cuffs and an abundance of gold lace, so that they looked not unlike the traditional highwaymen, the Prince and his friend wore the simple orthodox scarlet of the English hunting-field.

KING EDWARD AND QUEEN ALEXANDRA IN 1870

From a photograph by Russell & Sons

The hunt was rendered particularly remarkable by an incident which, while it nearly ended fatally for the Prince, afforded an excellent illustration of his courage and sportsmanship. Two horses had been supplied for the use of his Royal Highness. One, named Marignan, he rode; the other, called the Tsar, was led by an officer of the hunt. The pace was very fast, but to the Prince, who had often ridden to hounds at home over the most difficult country, the gallop in the forest glades of Compiègne was mere child's play. He was right in the van of the hunt, when suddenly three frightened deer darted diagonally across his path. The first two cleared him, but the last crashed against Marignan, striking him on the shoulder and cutting him clean off his legs. The Prince took a flying leap as Marignan fell, and got clear. As he lay on the ground, cries of alarm rose from the excitable Frenchmen. "What a misfortune, the Prince is injured! He is killed!" they cried. Somewhat to their surprise, in the midst of their lamentations, the Prince, who, though shaken, was uninjured, jumped to his feet. Officers closed round him to offer him assistance. Laughingly he motioned them away, and running up to his spare horse, the Tsar, vaulted into the saddle and resumed the chase full-tilt as if nothing had happened. An eye-witness of the scene declared that it was done so neatly, and with such cool and smiling alacrity, that the Frenchmen remained for an instant quite wonder-struck.

A ROYAL VISIT TO ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL IN 1868

In a multitude of ways King Edward and Queen Alexandra endeared themselves to their people, not the least of the contributing factors to this happy relationship being the sympathy which their Majesties were ever ready to extend to all good causes and to all institutions that aimed to alleviate suffering. In this illustration the Prince and Princess of Wales, as they then were, are seen visiting St. Bartholomew's Hospital, going through the wards on this occasion, conversing with many of the patients, and expressing regard for their care and comfort.

When they recovered themselves, they burst into cheers for the courageous English Prince.

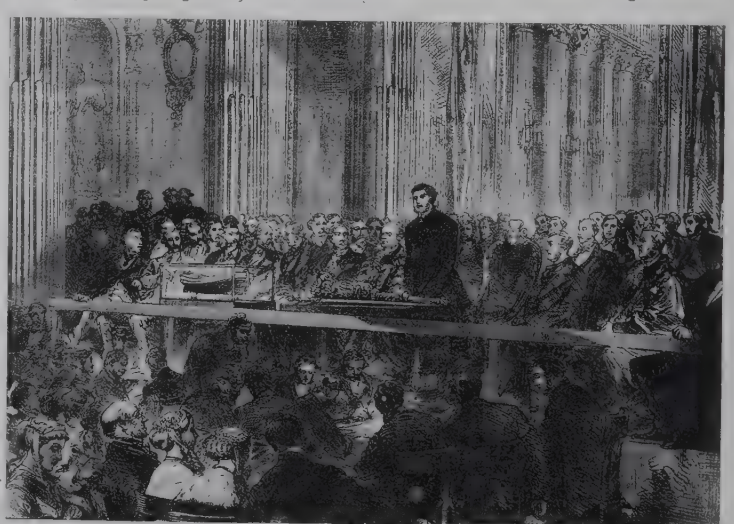
The Royal couple left the delights of Compiègne at the end of November, and travelled to Denmark in time to keep the Princess's birthday there on December 1. From here they visited Berlin, where the Prince was formally invested with the collar of the Order of the Black Eagle by King William of Prussia. Vienna came next, where another long round of magnificent entertainments awaited them. Having bidden good-bye to the Emperor and Empress of Austria, the Royal party proceeded to Alexandria, and from there by the Nile to Cairo. Here they took the opportunity of seeing as much as was possible of Oriental life. They stayed longer at Cairo than they had intended in order to be present at the Procession of the Holy Carpet, but, this religious ceremony over, they continued their journey up the Nile as far as the first cataract. The Princess enjoyed herself by riding on a white donkey, while the Prince passed his time in shooting. He was greatly delighted when he shot his first crocodile at the distance of fifty yards. His bag was preserved by a well-known naturalist and taxidermist, who specially accompanied him on the tour. There are some interesting records of the Prince during this expedition preserved in the diary of Mrs. Grey, the bedchamberwoman of the Princess. She notes how punctilious the Prince always was regarding the proper observance of the Sabbath. Every Sunday he read the service to the party, and insisted that all shooting should be abandoned on that day.

KING EDWARD AS A PATRON OF THE WELSH CHARITY SCHOOLS

The Welsh Charity Schools, at Ashford, Middlesex, established and maintained by the Welsh Society of Ancient Britons, was one of the many institutions in which the Prince Consort was deeply interested—an interest which was warmly continued by his illustrious son, who, in this picture, is seen presiding at the anniversary festival on March 1, 1867. The illustration also shows the children's procession passing the Royal table.

Retracing their steps, the Royal party visited Suez, and under the guidance of the great engineer, M. de Lesseps himself, the Prince inspected the works of the canal, at that time still unfinished. M. de Lesseps took the opportunity of the Prince's presence to get him to perform an interesting ceremony. This was the opening of the sluices of the dam of the first section of the canal for the admission of the Mediterranean waters. From Suez they passed to Constantinople, which proved a source of abundant interest to both their Royal Highnesses. In the simple incognito of Mr. and Mrs. Williams, they visited the bazaars and wandered about the famous capital wherever they pleased. The Sultan, with whom they lunched before their departure—they were the first Christians to enjoy this honour—as a special mark of his favour, allowed the Princess and Mrs. Grey to be conducted over his harem. With true Oriental hospitality, their host entertained them with great lavishness. Luxurious apartments were provided for them in the Salih Bazaar Palace; their meals were served on gold and silver plates covered with gems; eighty-four musicians performed for their delectation while they dined, and every day costly and magnificent presents arrived for them from the Sultan.

From Constantinople they went to the Crimea, where the Prince examined with interest the scene of the great war.



PRESIDING AT A MEETING OF THE ROYAL NATIONAL LIFEBOAT INSTITUTION AT THE MANSION HOUSE IN 1867

KING EDWARD AND QUEEN ALEXANDRA IN EGYPT: THE VICEROY'S RECEPTION AT THE PALACE OF KASR-EN-NIL

Visiting Egypt in February, 1869, the future King and Queen were received at Cairo by the Viceroy of Egypt, who had made elaborate arrangements for the comfort and accommodation of the Royal guests. In the above illustration the Viceroy is seen introducing Mrs. Stanton, the wife of Colonel Stanton, Consul-General to the Princess of Wales.

It must have left a deep impression on his mind, and have sown the seeds of that love of peace for which his name was to be ever associated. He found all the forts round which the battles had raged abandoned; and the population of the town, which had almost been destroyed by the British guns, reduced from 60,000 to less than 5,000 inhabitants. From this scene of desolation the Royal party returned to England, visiting Athens and Corfu en route. On May 12, the Prince landed once more on his native soil after an absence of over six months. Some months later, on November 26, 1869, another daughter was born to the Prince and Princess—Princess Maud Charlotte Mary Victoria, the future Queen of Norway.

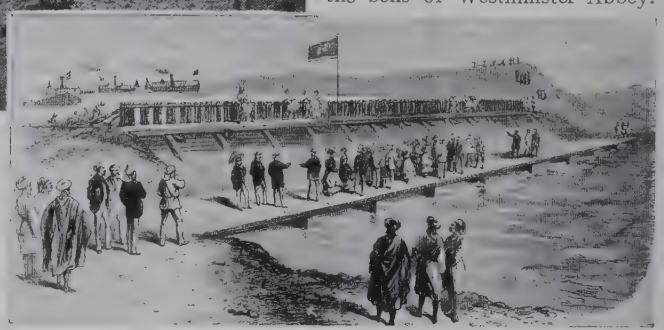
It was in the following year that the Prince performed a function which was a red-letter day in the history of London. On July 13, 1870, he opened the Thames Embankment. The idea of the Embankment was one which had originated with Sir Christopher Wren after the great fire in the seventeenth century. It was revived on several occasions subsequently, but it was not until 1840, when Mr. James Walker took up the scheme, that an organised campaign was begun for its construction. His efforts were crowned with success, and in 1864, from the designs and under the superintendence of Mr. Bazalgette, the work was begun. It was completed at a cost of £1,260,000. Until three days before the opening ceremony it had been expected that Queen Victoria would be present, but at the last moment a notification was received to the effect that the Prince of Wales would take her place. A vast concourse of people assembled on the appointed day to watch the ceremony. Stands, with seating accommodation for 10,000, had been erected, and the streets were gaily decorated. The procession itself was rendered somewhat out of the ordinary by the shabby cabs and carriages in which the chairman and members of the Board of Works led the way. Behind them came, in glaring contrast, four Royal State carriages, conveying officers of the household in waiting; then followed a captain's escort of the Blues, immediately preceding the State carriage containing the Prince of Wales, the Princess Louise and

THE ROYAL PALACE AT COPENHAGEN

At this palace, the residence of Queen Alexandra's parents, King Edward and Queen Alexandra spent the Christmas of 1868.

THE SUEZ CANAL WHERE IT JOINS THE BITTER LAKES
Photograph by the Photochrom Co., Ltd.

the Marquis of Ailesbury, the Master of the Horse. The ceremony itself was extremely brief. An address was presented by Sir John Thwaites, to which the Prince replied. After regretting the absence of the Queen, he expressed on her behalf satisfaction at the completion of so great a work. "We must rejoice," he said, "that while the Embankment and the whole noble roadway which I am happy this day to open in the name of her Majesty adds largely to the beauty and convenience of the Metropolis, the works connected with them may be expected materially to diminish the sources of disease and suffering to the inhabitants of this bank of the Thames." At the conclusion of his speech the Prince of Wales, who wore the uniform of a field-marshal, drove to Blackfriars, returning the whole length of the new roadway to the Westminster approach, where he formally declared the Embankment open, and the celebration of a great civic achievement came to a conclusion with the firing of a Royal salute, and the ringing of the bells of Westminster Abbey.



KING EDWARD'S PART IN A GREAT UNDERTAKING

This picture illustrates an important ceremony performed by the future King Edward during his Egyptian tour. While at Suez he inspected, under the guidance of the great engineer, M. de Lesseps, the works of the canal, at that time unfinished, and opened the sluices of the dam of the first section of the canal for the admission of the Mediterranean waters.

KING EDWARD OPENING THE THAMES EMBANKMENT, JULY 13, 1870

The formal opening of the Thames Embankment by King Edward, then the Prince of Wales, marked the completion of a great work which has given to London a "noble roadway" and one of the finest and stateliest promenades in the world. This civic achievement cost over a million and a quarter of money.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE RISE OF GERMANY AND FRANCE'S DOWNFALL

A Comprehensive Survey of the Rise of Prussia, her Successful Wars against Austria and France, the Creation of the German Empire, and the Establishment of the Third French Republic

FOR several years from the point which we have now reached, one figure dominates European politics. Hitherto from the time of the *coup d'état*, the first question that men had asked themselves in any complication was, "What will Napoleon do?" Napoleon had been the deciding factor in the story of the Crimean War, and in the Italian war of liberation. Perhaps the world had exaggerated the importance of Napoleon's intentions, had overestimated the strength of his determination and his power of giving it effect. Not so was it with the man who was destined to smite the French Emperor from his throne. As yet, men did not gauge accurately either his resolution or his strength; they underestimated both. Politically speaking, after the fall of the first Napoleon, Bismarck stands out as the biggest man the nineteenth century produced. From the hour when William I. of Prussia chose Bismarck for his Minister till the hour when William's grandson "dropped the pilot," Bismarck stood first among European statesmen; and with no second.

To us to-day, Germany means the German Empire of which the present Emperor William is the head. We all know, but most of us do not realise, that the Empire consists of a number of principalities, among which Prussia is theoretically only the chief. We forget the King of Prussia in the German Emperor. We forget that fifty years ago the leading German Power, the leading State in the German Confederation, was in fact and in theory not Prussia, but Austria; Austria, which to-day stands outside of Germany. Fifty years ago Prussia stood second to Austria. She was, indeed, one of the Great Powers; she had been so ever since Frederick the Great robbed Maria Theresa of Silesia and fought the seven years war against the combined armies of Austria and France and Russia. But Austria, though she had long ceased to claim the Imperial title in Germany, had retained a kind of presidency among the German States, a position which she held by the prestige of centuries. In spite of all efforts, Prussia remained secondary.

The unification of Germany as a single nation was an ideal dear to many German minds. But every German State was an independent monarchy, by whatever title its monarch might be known; and not one of the monarchies was in the least disposed to surrender its own independence in the cause of German nationalism. All that nationalism had achieved was the formation of a loose confederation, with a very limited capacity for any joint action save of a purely obstructive order. Almost unconsciously, Prussia had been preparing the way for a closer union, through a more marked community in the interests of the several States, by the development of the Customs Union, or Zollverein; but it appeared as if dynastic interests would prevent the fulfilment of any idea of closer union.

In fact, the decisive and accepted predominance of one German State was, as matters stood, a condition precedent to unification. The only alternative was the conversion of the practically despotic monarchies into Constitutional governments wherein popular aspirations should count for more than dynastic considerations; and the dynasties had proved themselves to be too strongly entrenched for that alternative to be attainable.

KING WILLIAM I. OF PRUSSIA

He was born in 1797, and on the death of his brother, Frederick William IV., succeeded to the throne of Prussia, being the seventh king of that country. On January 18, 1871, he was proclaimed first German Emperor.

In 1861 William I. ascended the throne of Prussia. For some three years he had been acting as Regent for his brother, Frederick William IV. King William himself was not a person of great originality or brilliancy, but he had a very sound understanding in military matters, and he possessed in a very high degree one quality which marked our own Tudor monarchs, the instinct of choosing Ministers. While he was still only Regent, he made Moltke chief of his general staff, and Albrecht von Roon War Minister. In 1862 he practically placed the destinies not only of Prussia, but of all Germany, in the hands of Otto von Bismarck.

At that particular juncture the Constitutional question had come to a head. The King had set his heart on a scheme of army reorganisation which he regarded as fundamental in order to give Prussia that ascendancy which he desired for her. Parliament was decisively opposed to the scheme. None of the party leaders was prepared to override the Constitution; but Bismarck had no hesitation about undertaking that responsibility. He became Chancellor, and did not resign that position till 1890. He overrode the Constitution; he

stemmed and rolled back the advancing tide of democracy; but he made Prussia the head of Germany, and he made Germany the mightiest Power in Europe.

In Bismarck's view, the first essential was to establish the ascendancy of Prussia. The condition of doing so was the shutting out of Austria from Germany. That involved an aggressive military policy, from which the popular parties in the country were utterly averse.

Bismarck's Iron Hand

The policy, in short, was one in which it would be impossible to carry the popular sentiment with him, until, at least, by its actual success a reaction in popular sentiment could be brought about. The first step in such a policy was precisely that military reorganisation on which the King had set his heart. He might carry out the whole policy if he succeeded in taking the King with him; quite certainly he could not if the control were in the hands of Parliament. Hence he took up in Prussia the rôle which Strafford had adopted in England in the time of Charles I.; but, more fortunate than Strafford, he had a king who knew how to be loyal.

But for Bismarck, it is possible that William would have surrendered; that is, that he would have abdicated. Bismarck persuaded him to stand to his post; and when the Parliament refused to vote the supplies for the army, it was prorogued. A clean sweep was made of officials who belonged to the ranks of the Opposition, and the government was carried on upon the principles of absolutism. The thing was possible because the Government had the army in its hands. The great reorganisation was carried out, and the instrument which had thus been forged received a sort of preliminary test in the Schleswig-Holstein affair.

That affair was the actual first step towards giving Bismarck's policy effect. Its success, so far as it was manifest and obvious, sufficed as Bismarck's justification with a large portion of the Prussian public, and it confirmed his ascendancy over the mind of the King. But the Prussian control over Schleswig, which was secured by the Treaty of Gastein, was not for Bismarck an end in itself. The end to which the duchies were a means was the quarrel with Austria, to be initiated at the most convenient moment for Prussia, which should bring about her exclusion from Germany. That convenient moment would arrive as soon as Bismarck should feel sure, first, that the Prussian military organisation was absolutely ready to strike with all its force; next, that no foreign Power would intervene on behalf of Austria; and, thirdly, that he would have an active ally. There would, no doubt, be a difficulty in persuading the King to attack the Austrian Emperor, but that would not be insuperable.

THE BATTLE OF SKALITZ: PRUSSIAN CAVALRY CAPTURING THE AUSTRIAN CANNON

This battle, fought on June 28, 1866, between the Prussians and the Austrians, ended in the severe defeat of the latter, who left behind on the field no fewer than 5,000 men out of a total of 20,000 taking part in the fight.

As concerned the army, Moltke and Roon would have it in absolute readiness at whatever moment it should be wanted. Russia's benevolent neutrality had been assured by Bismarck's attitude at the time of the suppression of the Polish insurrection; Prussia had then supported her eastern neighbour at some slight risk of laying herself open to attack by Austria and France, both of which Powers had protested against the course adopted by Russia. Great Britain would certainly not interfere in any event. The lesser German principalities would side with Austria, because, among other reasons, Austria coincided with them in desiring the Augustenburg succession in the duchies. To counterbalance the principalities, Bismarck wanted the co-operation of Italy.

Italy longed for Venetia, where Austria still held her grip. Italy would probably welcome the opportunity for a war which might deliver Venetia into her hands. But Italy would not plunge into a war with Austria unless assured of the French Emperor's goodwill. Prussia could not afford to attack Austria unless secure, at least, of French neutrality. After the Convention of Gastein, the next step was to make sure of Napoleon.

At the agreeable health resort of Biarritz the French Emperor and the Prussian Chancellor met, quite unofficially, in October, 1865. Bismarck left Biarritz very well satisfied. The Emperor was decidedly friendly, though his friendliness was based upon illusions. He had no objections at all to a war between Austria and Prussia; in fact, he anticipated that Prussia would be soundly beaten, and that he might then be able to intervene in her favour—for a consideration. The kind of consideration the Emperor contemplated was connected with the Rhine provinces. Italy would get Venetia, which she would owe to the good offices of France. Bismarck's policy was based on the assumption that the Prussian armies would defeat the Austrians; precisely the opposite presumption guided the policy of Napoleon.

Austria and Prussia on the Verge of War

It remained to make sure of Italy. The Italians had no deep-rooted confidence in Prussia, and Prussia had no deep-rooted confidence in the Italians. As a preliminary step a commercial treaty was being mooted. Austria's suspicions were aroused; and, in order to secure the German principalities on her side, she revived the demand for the Augustenburg succession, a step which enabled Bismarck to claim that she was transgressing the terms of the Gastein Convention. The Italian negotiation was urged forward, and a definite alliance was formed. Under its terms (April 1866), if war should break out between Austria and Prussia within three months, Italy was to join Prussia. The reward contemplated for her was, of course, Venetia. The bargain depended on the declaration of war within the stipulated period.

Three months was a quite sufficient margin of time for Bismarck. Ever since the new year he had been protesting, with scarcely veiled threats, against the freedom of agitation which Austria permitted or encouraged in Holstein.

AFTER THE DEFEAT OF AUSTRIA IN 1866: BERLIN'S JOYOUS WELCOME TO THE VICTORIOUS PRUSSIAN ARMY
From a contemporary drawing

The moment was exceedingly critical, because the Prussian King still hesitated to decide in favour of war. But Austria was already calling upon the States of the German Confederation to mobilise the federal forces, in view of the Prussian threats; and King William, before the end of April, had given his adhesion to the demand for the mobilisation of the Prussian army. Both Powers, of course, had excellent reasons for their military movements, which were not to be regarded as implying any sort of hostility.

It was Bismarck's consistent policy to manœuvre Austria into being technically the aggressor. Each Power was circularising the States of the Confederation with explanations of the correctness in its own attitude and the lack of correctness in its rival's. To gain the support of the Confederation, Austria proposed to treat the Holstein question as one for federal settlement; Bismarck made the most of the fact that in doing so she was breaking her pledges at Gastein. On this ground he claimed to revert to the dual occupation of Holstein, in place of its separate occupation by Austria. On June 8, Prussian troops passed from Schleswig into Holstein, and three days later the Austrian garrison of Holstein was on its way to Bohemia. Bismarck proposed that the Confederation should be dissolved, and a new one formed, excluding Austria. The Austrians countered by calling on the Confederation to mobilise forthwith against Prussia in Holstein. The Diet supported the Austrian demand. Prussia dispatched an immediate ultimatum to the principal States which had supported Austria, and, having received no reply, declared war on the following day (June 15).

Prussian Troops on the March

On the 19th, Prussian troops had entered the capitals of Hanover, of Hesse, and of Saxony. On the 20th, Italy fulfilled its pledge, and declared war. Prussia had successfully forced the opening of hostilities at the precise instant which suited her; while she could claim unanswerably that she had done nothing without technical warrant, whereas Austria had neglected a like strict observance of the subsisting agreements. Even while Prussian troops were passing into Holstein out of Schleswig, Bismarck had notified that, of course, Austria was equally entitled to move troops out of Holstein into Schleswig since the dual control which she herself was exercising applied to both the duchies!

One circumstance very much to the credit of Italy must not be overlooked. More than a month before the declaration of war, Austria had actually offered to let Venice go in return for a promise of neutrality from Italy. That offer Italy refused, because she was pledged in honour to Prussia, although she might, by accepting it, have secured without a blow the only possible prize which war could bring her.

Italy's High Sense of Honour

It was a somewhat different point of honour which made Austria divide her forces by detaining an army in Venetia, in spite of an agreement with the French Emperor to which she had come at the last moment. To secure his neutrality she had promised, when the war was over and Prussia was beaten, to put Venice into his hands. Merely to avoid the indignity of surrendering the country without a blow, she laid upon herself the burden of a campaign in Italy when she might have concentrated her whole force against Prussia.

For the Italians themselves the campaign was unfortunate. Within a week of the declaration of war the Austrian and Italian armies met at Custozza. The errors of the Italian commander, the lack of touch between the divisions of his army, turned into a defeat, complete and for the time decisive, a battle which, if skilfully conducted at the critical point, should have ended as an Italian victory. It was some weeks before the force then driven in retreat was again able to make a forward movement. And within a month of Custozza there was an almost equally disastrous naval battle off Lissa. It was inferiority not of valour but of

skill in both cases which caused the more numerous force to be overthrown. Italy's own arms did not win her Venice; that prize was the fruit of Sadowa. But she deserved from Prussia all that Prussia could give her. For, in the face of a temptation such as perhaps few States would have resisted, she had held loyally to her obligations and rendered great service to her ally merely by detaining so large an Austrian force in Italy.

Austria's Gains and Losses

But if, in Venetia, Austria more than held her own, events followed a very different course where the Prussian armies were engaged. The Prussian plan of campaign did not ignore the German Confederation, but held it of small account. Less than 50,000 men, under the command of Falckenstein, had to deal with the German States. More than five times that number were to be hurled against Austria; they were to enter the enemy's territory in three divisions, under the command respectively of the Crown Prince, of General Bittenfeld, and of Prince Frederick Charles. The two latter, however, may be regarded as one army. They were to enter Bohemia from Saxony, while the Crown Prince had the task of forcing the passes from Silesia.

Benedek, the Austrian commander, intended to hold the Crown Prince in check with a small force, while his main force was to crush Prince Frederick Charles, and then turn to complete the destruction of the army from Silesia. But between June 20 and June 30 the Prussians had succeeded in spoiling Benedek's plan by the rapidity of their movements. Instead of being blocked in the passes, the Crown Prince drove his way through with heavy fighting at Trautenau, Skalitz, and Nachod. Meantime, the First Army, after a series of successful engagements with Benedek's van, had entered Gitschin. There was now no possible chance for Benedek of carrying out his original plan; on the contrary, he was in danger of being himself caught between the two advancing armies. He fell back to a strong position at Königgrätz. In fact, he had already formed a conviction that there was no hope of victory. The Austrian Emperor, however, was not prepared to own himself beaten while his main army was practically intact. He would not treat for peace without a pitched battle. Otherwise, Benedek would have retreated further. As it was, he awaited the attack of the Prussians.

ISABELLA II., QUEEN OF SPAIN

Under the rule of this queen the government of Spain fell into disrepute owing to her unworthy character, and at last, in 1868, she was expelled to France, abdicating in favour of her son, Alfonso XII. She died in 1904.

From a photograph

For Moltke and King William at the Prussian headquarters, the question was whether the two Prussian armies should join before attacking the Austrian, or, advancing from different directions, should converge, one on the front the other on the flank of the enemy. The second course, if successful, would mean something like annihilation of the opposing army; but it involved the risk that, if the two armies did not attack simultaneously, one might be defeated before the other had joined battle. In short, the one scheme was the safer, while the other carried with it the prospect of a more decisive triumph. Moltke chose the bolder course. Instructions were sent accordingly to the Crown Prince.

The plan was justified by the event. On the morning of July 23 Prince Frederick Charles attacked the centre and left of the Austrian army without awaiting the arrival of the Crown Prince. But he could not break the centre. The Austrians weakened their right with the intention of delivering a heavy blow to the Prussians; and it was on this weakened right that the Crown Prince, arriving at the critical moment, hurled himself in force. The defeat was complete and absolutely decisive. Within twenty-four hours the Austrian Emperor was inviting Napoleon to mediate.

A single fortnight had sufficed, not, indeed, to conclude the war, but to leave no manner of doubt as to which of the combatants would win. The Austrians had fought with splendid determination, courage, and discipline. But they had been outgeneralled; they had not calculated on the consummate perfection of the Prussian organisation; they had adopted inferior tactics; and they were inferior in armament. They still used muzzle-loaders, whereas the Prussians were armed with the breach-loading, quick-firing needle-gun. The Austrians massed in close order, while the Prussians fought in open order. Hence the terrific slaughter among the Austrian troops as compared with the relatively slight losses among the Prussians.

The event had completely upset the calculations of the French Emperor. He had never taken into practical consideration the possibility that the Prussian armies might shatter the armies of Austria. He was not in the least ready to take the field against the victorious Prussians, who would be able to give Austria the *coup de grace*, if he challenged them, and turn their arms against him before he could make ready to meet them. But he was extremely anxious to check them in their ominously triumphant career. He lost no time in endeavouring to induce both Prussians and Italians to suspend hostilities.

It was not Bismarck's intention to suspend hostilities simply to give the French Emperor time to make intervention effective. But he was quite ready to treat while continuing military operations. He had struck his blow at Austria with a quite definite object in view, and that object he intended to secure. He meant to consolidate Prussia by absorbing territories which at present cut into it like a wedge. He intended Austria thenceforth to stand outside Germany, but he did not wish for her permanent humiliation; on the contrary, he wished her to become a friendly Power. Once separated from Germany, Austria would have no interests conflicting with those of Prussia; the one cause of dissension between the two Powers was their rivalry in the leadership of Germany. For the time being, the ideal of a consolidated Germany, with Prussia at its head, might wait. For one thing, Germany itself was not ready; for another, France would exhaust every effort to prevent it; and Bismarck did not want to go to war with France—yet. But Napoleon was already pledged to the theory of Prussian ascendancy in North Germany, and that ascendancy should be established at once.

King William and his Minister

It was necessary for Bismarck not only to bring the French Emperor into accord with his views, but also the King of Prussia. William, with his legitimist creed, had scruples about overthrowing dynasties; and his sense of justice demanded the cession of territory by Austria. In certain military circles there was a demand for a State entry into Vienna. These ideas did not fit into Bismarck's programme. To leave the dynasties in possession with merely curtailed territories would neither conciliate them nor consolidate Prussia, and the rest of the programme would make Austria permanently hostile. The Crown

Prince, however, employed all his influence in support of Bismarck's views, although, in many respects, he was opposed to Bismarck's methods. The scheme proposed by Bismarck obtained the assent of the French Emperor; and within three weeks of Sadowa (the alternative name of the battle of Königgrätz) an armistice was arranged, and peace preliminaries were signed immediately afterwards at Nickolsburg. During the whole period since the first outbreak of the war, Falckenstein had continued to conduct a successful series of operations among the hostile States of the German Confederation, and with them, also, an armistice was concluded, and peace negotiations were opened on August 2.

By the terms of the definitive peace, Bismarck got precisely what he wanted. Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, and Nassau were annexed to Prussia, as well as Schleswig-Holstein. Italy, of course, had her reward in the cession of Venetia. The German Confederation was abolished and a new North German Confederation was formed, the Maine dividing North from South. The South Germans stood outside, but the desire to come inside developed rapidly among them. This was a consummation which Bismarck desired, but not immediately. What he wanted at once was an alliance with them which should ensure united action when the time should arrive for war with France; and for such an alliance they were more than ready, since without it they might find themselves exposed to French attack. In fact, Napoleon did now actually demand from Bismarck territorial compensation on the left bank of the Rhine; a demand to which he, perhaps, persuaded himself that Bismarck would accede as having been a part of the bargain at Biarritz in 1865. Now, however, it met with a very flat rejection.

"À BERLIN!" THE PARISIAN CROWDS DECLARING FOR WAR WITH GERMANY

The prospect of a war with Germany roused the inhabitants of Paris to a state of burning enthusiasm, and for weeks they deluded themselves with hopes of victory, shouting themselves hoarse with the cry "à Berlin!" The defeats that followed brought with them terrible disillusionment, and the whole blame was laid on the Government.

Bismarck had won his way by procedure which had been palpably unconstitutional within Prussia, and had set all democratic and liberal forces in opposition to him. Now he could afford to adopt a constitutional line, and obtain an indemnity from a Diet which his success had brought over to his own support. Nor did his scheme for the new Confederation accord with the theory that he was uncompromisingly hostile to all democratic notions. The fundamental feature of the scheme of confederation was that it should present a single front to the outside world, and that, as a necessary consequence, foreign and military affairs should be under the absolute control of the federal body. The federal body also had powers of legislation within specified limits. The federal affairs, as concerns legislation, were in the hands of two Chambers, one of them elected by universal suffrage. The King of Prussia was President, and had complete control of the executive. In the Chamber of Deputies, Prussia had not quite half of the numbers. It was possible for her to be outvoted; and, though that possibility was remote, it left her not absolute mistress of the whole, thus gratifying the minor States. The new Constitution actually came into force, after its acceptance by the Diets of the Federal States, in July, 1867.

The idea of a separate South German Confederation had been suggested, but had fallen through. Bismarck was content to wait till the whole group should become

thoroughly alive to the advantage of joining the Northern union. The Zollverein was not restricted to North Germany, but the control of it was vested in the federal legislature; and, for Zollverein purposes, deputies were admitted from the South German States. The way was thus completely prepared for the consolidation of Germany; to which, however, it still appeared to Bismarck that a French war was the essential preliminary.

France on the Decline

As in the case of Austria, he meant that war to come at the time which suited him; and, also, as in the case of Austria, he meant to make France the actual aggressor.

Ten years before, the idea that Prussia would challenge and overthrow the power of France would have been scouted as absurd. At the close of the 'fifties the prestige of the French Emperor was at its height. But ever since 1859 his personal ascendancy in France had been weakening, and the power of France herself had been increasingly in doubt. The Italian war had alarmed the whole clerical party in France. The alarm was intensified by the events of 1860 in Italy. In the same year the commercial treaty with England roused the antagonism of all the Protectionist forces in France. The Empire rested on the theory that it had come into existence to execute the will of the people; popular support and the personal prestige of the Emperor were essential to its continuance. To achieve this end, the Emperor resolved, at the end of 1860, to diminish his own responsibilities and transfer them to the national representatives. If things went wrong, he could shift the blame on to the party politicians; if they went right, he would claim the credit. Thus he would evade the odium of unpopular measures, while reaping the benefit of those which were popular.

Nevertheless, the clerical opposition was not quenched; the influence of the Empress was on the same side. In this year, 1862, the irrepressible Garibaldi had again raised the cry of "Rome or death"; and, although it was by the troops of the Italian Government that his volunteers were defeated and he himself was wounded at Aspromonte, the fact remained clear that the Italian people were vehemently antagonistic to the Papacy, and that, as a necessary consequence, French Catholicism was correspondingly antagonistic to the Italian nationalists. A tolerably explicit warning to the Italian Government that France had no intention of allowing Rome to fall into their hands was still insufficient to reconcile the French clericals.

The next year, 1863, brought on the affairs of Poland and of Schleswig-Holstein. The part played by the Emperor was scarcely more happy in either case than that adopted by the British Government. As concerned Poland, both clericals and democrats were vehement advocates of the Polish cause; the latter on the same general principles which applied in the other cases of nationalities striking for freedom; the former because the Polish cause was the Catholic cause. Like the British Government, Napoleon did not intervene effectively, but did address remonstrances to the Russian Government. The natural result was that the Emperor's credit was weakened, both with the Russian Government and with the French admirers of the Poles. In the Schleswig-Holstein affair his attitude was far too indecisive to add to his prestige, and, in fact, tended to diminish it; while as concerned England, at least, the effect was entirely prejudicial.

But, in the meantime, Napoleon had been attempting in other regions to acquire that glory which is always indispensable to Cæsarism. The Republican Government of Mexico found itself unable to pay its debts. The Mexican Government was anti-clerical. Failure to pay debts is one of those mishaps by which weak States are apt to find themselves forced to subject themselves to financial control at the hands of their more powerful creditors. With such ground for intervention in Mexican affairs, Napoleon devised the plan of establishing an Empire in Mexico; a Latin and clerical dominion in a population where the Latins and clericals were in the

Napoleon's Plan for Mexico

THE PRUSSIANS DEFEATING THE FRENCH AT THE DECISIVE BATTLE OF WÖRTH, AUGUST 6, 1870

From the painting by Beauquesne, by permission of Messrs. Braun, Clement & Co.

"THE LAST CARTRIDGE": AN EPISODE IN THE GLORIOUS DEFENCE OF BAZEILLES BY THE FRENCH, SEPTEMBER 1, 1870

The incident represented in this famous picture occurred at the village of Bazeilles, situated at the crossing of the Douzy and Sedan roads. Pressed by the Bavarian attack, the French retired, but a handful of men in an isolated house to the north of Bazeilles maintained a prolonged resistance against overwhelming odds until their ammunition became exhausted. From the painting by De Neuville

minority. No glory, no benefit of any sort, accrued to France or the Emperor of the French from the Mexican affair; but a vast amount of money was spent over it; and quantities of troops were locked up when they were wanted in Europe. It is true that in 1863 Bazaine, who held the Mexican command, was able to proclaim Maximilian of Austria as Emperor of Mexico; but Mexico declined to recognise him; enough troops could not be accumulated to deal decisively with the obstinate resistance of the Mexican patriots; in 1866 Napoleon at last resolved to withdraw his troops altogether; and a few months later, in 1867, Maximilian, who had refused to abdicate, fell into the hands of the patriots and was shot. So ended the melancholy fiasco of Mexico.

Again, the part played in 1865 and 1866, when the Austro-Prussian conflict was pending or was in progress, did nothing to strengthen the Emperor's position. Instead of assuming the rôle of arbiter of Europe, Napoleon found himself after Königgrätz absolutely powerless to intervene. For all practical purposes, France had no more voice in the settlement that followed than Great Britain. But non-intervention was the avowed theory of British foreign policy, whereas it was not the avowed theory of the French Empire. Non-intervention on Napoleon's part meant, and could mean, nothing but an acknowledgment of weakness. In this case matters were made all the worse by the fact that Napoleon did advance claims on behalf of France, only to have them flatly and somewhat contemptuously rejected by the new arbiter of Europe.

Bismarck Snubs the French Emperor

The year 1867 brought something of a rapprochement with Austria; but it also decisively severed France from Italy, the one State on which the Emperor had hitherto been able to make some sort of claim. Once more the spirit moved Garibaldi to raise a band of volunteers, and lead them to win Rome. His last effort had been foiled at Aspromonte; this time Catholic sentiment in France forced the Government to dispatch a French expedition to protect Rome. At Mentana the French *chassepots*, soon to be pitted against the Prussian needle-guns, accomplished the destruction of Garibaldi's force. Rome remained under French protection, and was not incorporated in Italy. But Italy herself was completely and irredeemably alienated.

Italy at Last United

No long time was to pass before United Italy was to be able to satisfy her aspirations, and once again to make the Eternal City her own capital. When the Prussian battalions were crashing into France not three years later, the last French soldier vanished from the city of the Popes, and on October 2, 1870, United Italy was made complete.

Since 1859, then, the Emperor had entirely failed to strengthen his position at home by his foreign policy. The foundations upon which that position rested were very far from secure; Republicanism and the Republican propaganda were becoming increasingly active; and the fate of the dynasty seemed to depend on some brilliant military achievement. During the closing years of that decade, Napoleon must have felt extremely unhappy; for he was probably quite alive to the defects of the national organisation for war, the practical certainty that there would be a war with a Power whose organisation was singularly perfect, and the fact that the probable results of that war would be a terrific disaster.

That France and Prussia would fight sooner or later was certain. The French people had no doubt of the triumph of their arms in such a war. Bismarck, once secure of the support of South Germany, was equally confident. He waited not so much for an opportunity to challenge France as for a chance of forcing the responsibility of the challenge on to Napoleon. In 1870 his chance came.

FRENCH SORTIE AT CHAMPIGNY, NOVEMBER 30, 1870: THE FIRST CANNON-SHOTS
From the painting by E. Beaumetz, by permission of Messrs. Braun, Clement & Co

The normal condition of the Spanish kingdom had for many years been one of distraction. Misrule under a queen, the defects of whose personal character were even surpassed by her total incapacity for understanding the elementary principles of government, culminated in the expulsion of Queen Isabella from the country in 1868. The advocates of monarchy were stronger than the Republicans, and the Spanish authorities set about the search for someone to whom the crown of Spain would be acceptable. The bait, however, was not tempting; various princes were sounded; none showed an extreme eagerness. Among these princes was Leopold of Hohenzollern, a kinsman of the Prussian Royal Family. Bismarck saw his opportunity. In the summer of 1870 he persuaded William to countenance the Hohenzollern candidature, with a certainty that France would go to all lengths to prevent its taking effect. At the beginning of July, France was informed that Leopold intended to accept the Spanish throne.

During the next fortnight, it seemed for a moment that Bismarck would be thwarted, that the Emperor and the French Minister, Ollivier, would win a diplomatic triumph without a war, and that King William would definitely prevent the proposed candidature. Two occurrences turned the scale in favour of war. The French, anxious to make their victory more conspicuous, demanded that William's prohibition should extend to all time. The demand was declined; and Bismarck published the news of what had occurred in a form which gave the impression that the King of Prussia had insulted the French Ambassador. There was an outburst of rage in Paris; the Emperor had to yield to the war party; on July 15 the French orders for mobilisation were issued, on the same day the North German Confederation followed suit, and the South German States on the next day. On the 19th the formal declaration of war was received in Berlin.

On both sides the rest of the month was occupied with the mobilisation of troops. The expectation was that the French would invade Germany. There was no prospect of foreign intervention; Italy stood aloof, Austria was favourably disposed to France, but afraid that any movement on her part would bring Russia into the field. English sympathies were somewhat divided; and if in the first instance they leaned to France, this was checked by the publication of some earlier negotiations, by which France had endeavoured to obtain Prussian assent to her seizure of Belgium.

The French armies were necessarily massed at Metz and Strassburg, the whole nominally under the Emperor's command. Practically, however, MacMahon at Strassburg was obliged to act independently. It was very soon apparent that, owing to lack of organisation, the plan of hurling the French army like a thunderbolt across the frontier would have to be abandoned. Moltke, on the other hand, had his three great armies, under Steinmetz, Prince Frederick Charles, and the Crown Prince, concentrated at Coblentz, Mainz, and Manheim respectively. The South German troops were with the Third Army. The Crown Prince was to move up the Rhine towards Strassburg, Steinmetz came up the Moselle, while the Red Prince advanced in the centre.

On August 2 Paris was rejoiced by the news that the

THE GERMANS SUCCESSFULLY REPELLING THE FRENCH ATTACK AT CHAMPIGNY

Following up their unsuccessful attack at Beaune-la-Rolande, the French, two days later, on November 30, made a great sortie, under General Ducrot, against the positions of the Würtembergers and Saxons near the villages of Champigny and Brie; but, though the French were greatly superior in numbers, the attack was repelled, the fire of the Würtembergers, bursting from behind the park walls of Villiers and Cœuilly, mowing down the French columns in heaps.

THE CAPITULATION OF SEDAN: GENERALS MOLTKE AND WIMPFFEN ARRANGING THE TERMS OF SURRENDER

Recognising the hopelessness of continuing the struggle at Sedan, Napoleon III. wrote to the King of Prussia that "not having succeeded in dying in the midst of my troops, nothing remains for me but to deliver my sword into your Majesty's hands." General Wimpffen was deputed to go over to the enemy's headquarters at the Castle of Bellevue, near Donchery, where he had a long interview with General Moltke, whose conditions were accepted, and thus there ensued on the following day, September 2, the surrender of Sedan.

From the painting by Anton von Werner, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

first blood was drawn; a Prussian battalion occupying Saarbrücken was triumphantly driven out by the corps of General Froissard, a success which meant nothing at all. On August 4 General Douey's division was caught at Weissenburg by the Crown Prince, and was driven back to join MacMahon near Wörth. On the 6th the advancing Prussians were drawn into a general engagement at Wörth; prematurely, from the Prussian point of view. The actual numbers of troops in the Prussian command were more than double those under MacMahon. The result was that, after hard fighting, the French were routed, and had to make their way to join the reserve army at Chalons, although the losses of the victors in killed and wounded were considerably greater than those of the French. Under the conditions a pursuit was impracticable; but the whole defence of the French right was shattered.

On the same day the French force which had taken Saarbrücken was attacked by the leading column of Steinmetz's army advancing from the north at Forbach. Again the victory was with the Germans, though again the losses of the victors were the more severe. The news of these reverses upset the Ministry in Paris, and the whole Imperial Government was manifestly in great danger. The position of the French armies in the field was bad enough in any case; but it was made worse because its operations were repeatedly controlled by the political necessity of trying to do something which could not be done.

France's War with Prussia

Napoleon by this time recognised his own incompetence, and transferred the command to Marshal Bazaine. By the 13th the three German armies were converging on Metz, the Baden division having been left by the Crown Prince to invest Strassburg. Bazaine had determined to fall back to Verdun. On the 14th that movement was checked by the attack at Calombey of the advance portion of Steinmetz's army. On the next day the second German army came in touch with the French, and on the 16th were fought the furious battles of Vionville and Mars-la-Tour, which made the retreat of the French army utterly impossible. The Emperor himself had on that very morning departed to Verdun.

On the 18th was fought the last terrific battle of the series, Gravelotte. Throughout the day the French centre and left held their own, but on the right flank a decisive German victory was secured. The great French army was, in effect, cut off at Metz. On that day 20,000 Germans and 13,000 French, roughly speaking, one-tenth of the numbers engaged on each side, had been killed or wounded.

The Surrender of the French

The German army now required some reconstruction or rearrangement, as it would be necessary for one portion of it to take charge of Metz and of Bazaine's great army. At Chalons, MacMahon, whose force there numbered some 140,000, wished to fall back on Paris; but messages from the capital gave warning that, unless an attempt was made to relieve Metz, there would certainly be a revolution. Consequently, on the 23rd, MacMahon prepared to march to Montmédy, half-way between Metz and Sedan on the north-west. MacMahon did not feel at all reassured as to his prospects while on the march; but the continued messages from Paris, coupled with direct orders from the new War Minister, kept MacMahon from carrying out his own wishes. On the 29th there was some skirmishing. During the next two days the French force was hemmed in in the neighbourhood of Sedan. In the battle which opened on September 1 MacMahon was severely wounded at the outset. The battle was long and murderous, but absolutely decisive. The next day Napoleon and the army surrendered to the conqueror. Bazaine, whose despatches had informed MacMahon that he hoped to break through the investing lines of the Germans,

had failed completely. The German army at once marched on Paris, while the Red Prince maintained the investment of Metz. On the 19th the German forces were already investing Paris.

Throughout August the state of affairs in Paris had been serious enough; nor had matters been improved by the early attempts to suppress or minimise the disasters that were occurring at the front. But Sedan was decisive. A Provisional Government of National Defence was set up and the deposition of the captive Emperor was announced. The Empress had betaken herself to London. The Provisional Government refused altogether to consider the surrender of territories or fortresses; and Bismarck might perhaps have recognised only the Imperial Government if the Empress had not also rejected all proposals for cession of territory. But the Empire had always depended on the army, and the army at Metz surrendered on October 27.

Disastrous Days for the French

Before the investment began, the Provisional Government transferred itself to Tours, General Trochu remaining in Paris; whence Léon Gambetta, who became the heart and soul of the party of resistance, escaped by balloon on October 7. Gambetta declined to admit that Paris was France, and his energy and enthusiasm raised fresh armies in the provinces.

It is not easy to follow the course of the war in the provinces while the Germans were tightening their grip upon Paris. First there was the stubborn resistance of Strassburg to the Baden troops, where the French commandant kept his flag flying defiantly until September 28, in spite of terrific bombardments and the entreaties of the civil population. Next comes the melancholy story of Metz, where there was no bombardment and very little fighting. Whatever else is to be said about Metz, the one fact is clear, that while it held out it kept nearly a quarter of a million of German troops from operating elsewhere; and the release of those troops was fatal to those French provincial armies which were already beginning to cause anxiety in the German headquarters at Versailles. There appears to be no doubt that Bazaine capitulated some time before it was actually necessary to do so; and much might have been gained with even a fortnight more of enforced inaction on the part of Prince Frederick Charles. No practical attempt to break through the investment was made after the abortive effort on the eve of Sedan. When Bazaine surrendered, on October 27, the troops under his command numbered hardly less than 180,000 men. One ground on which Bazaine justified himself was that, since the Empire had definitely fallen, neither he nor the army owed allegiance to the Republic which had replaced it.

During October the organisation of the new French provincial forces proceeded apace. The Prussians were doing their best by means of ubiquitous cavalry columns to keep the movement in check, and one of the new corps was shattered in the middle of October, when the Bavarians captured Orleans. But the corps was reorganised, and two more were already in course of formation. General d'Aurelle de Paladines worked hard to get the new troops into shape. On November 9 he fought an action at Coulmiers which, while it was not exactly a great victory, at least put heart into the men and fresh enthusiasm into Gambetta, since Orleans was recovered. Unfortunately, it did not inspire the same confidence in the breast of the French general, who felt that the troops required to be better in hand before they could do great things, and insisted on giving them further training instead of marching at once upon Paris, although Prince Frederick Charles was now on the way to the Loire. At the end of November, however, D'Aurelle was driven to take the offensive. But on the 28th, and again

Gambetta's Brave Fight with Fate

PRUSSIA'S ROYAL CAPTIVE: NAPOLEON III. AND BISMARCK ON THE MORNING AFTER SEDAN

From the painting by Camphausen, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

TERMINATING THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR: BISMARCK AND THIERS CONCLUDING PEACE AT VERSAILLES
From the painting by Wagner, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

on December 2, his attack was repulsed, not from lack of valour, but owing to the deficient training of the troops. On December 4 the Germans again recovered Orleans, which they had been obliged to evacuate at the time of Coulmiers.

In Paris the dreary defence was varied by a sortie in force between November 29 and December 4. The attempt, however, to break through the investing lines failed completely. The operations in the Loire district during December were notable chiefly for the skilful movements of General Chanzy, who gave Prince Frederick Charles a great deal of trouble with very little to show for it. In the north, about the same time, Faidherbe, with Arras as his base, was in like manner giving serious trouble to the German commander Manteuffel; and Paris was again encouraged to make a not very vigorous attempt to break through the lines of the besiegers to the north. On the other hand, Moltke began, on December 27, the bombardment of Paris, for which he had not hitherto considered that the store of ammunition was adequate.

The Army of the Loire met with its decisive defeat at Le Mans on January 10, at the hands of Prince Frederick Charles. On January 19 Faidherbe in the north, acting against his judgment on instructions from Gambetta, met with a decisive defeat at St. Quentin. In the south-east, where Garibaldi, in his enthusiasm for liberty, had placed his sword at the service of the French Republic, the attempt of the French general Bourbaki to overwhelm the German forces in that region was completely foiled by Werder.

Paris During the Siege

On the same day on which Faidherbe was defeated at St. Quentin, the forces in Paris made the final attempt to burst through the iron lines by which they were engirdled. The attack was fiery; but it met with the accustomed fate. One man was left who still summoned France to continue the desperate struggle. But Gambetta's call fell at last upon deaf ears. The resistance which he had inspired had been in vain. It had cost an immense amount of blood, and had won for the victor no better terms than would have been conceded had the resistance never been offered. And yet, like many another splendid madness, it had in truth not been in vain. If France had yielded after Sedan she would have felt herself abased and degraded among the nations. But the nation which after disasters so overwhelming as those of Sedan and Metz, shorn of a quarter of a million of the troops on whom she most relied, still made that desperate, hopeless stand with raw levies against the best-disciplined troops in Europe—that nation had no reason to feel degraded. If, "immortal and indomitable," as an English poet has called her, France recovered herself after the war in a fashion which made all the world marvel, that she could do so was in no small degree due to the spirit breathed into her by Gambetta.

France "Immortal and Indomitable"

The last sortie from Paris was made on January 19. On the 28th Paris capitulated; an armistice was signed, and France was called upon to elect an Assembly which should be clearly recognisable as representing the will of France. She made it abundantly clear that her will was peace. Thiers was made chief Minister; virtually it was Thiers who arranged with Bismarck the terms of the peace subsequently ratified by the Assembly, and finally formulated in the Treaty of Frankfort. Prussia received as the prize of victory Alsace and Lorraine and an enormous indemnity in cash.

France herself had done with emperors and kings, and she still had evil days to go through before the Republic was established and she was freed from civil broils. The new Government had a sharp struggle with the Paris Commune

A SORTIE FROM PARIS, SHOWING THE PROTECTED ARC DE TRIOMPHE

Against the heavy fire of the attacking Prussians the Parisians erected defence works in the streets of the city, and from time to time sorties were made in the hope of driving the invaders from the strong positions which they held.

and the Republican extremists before the rule of the moderates was secured. But these are matters which belong rather to her domestic history than to the international sphere.

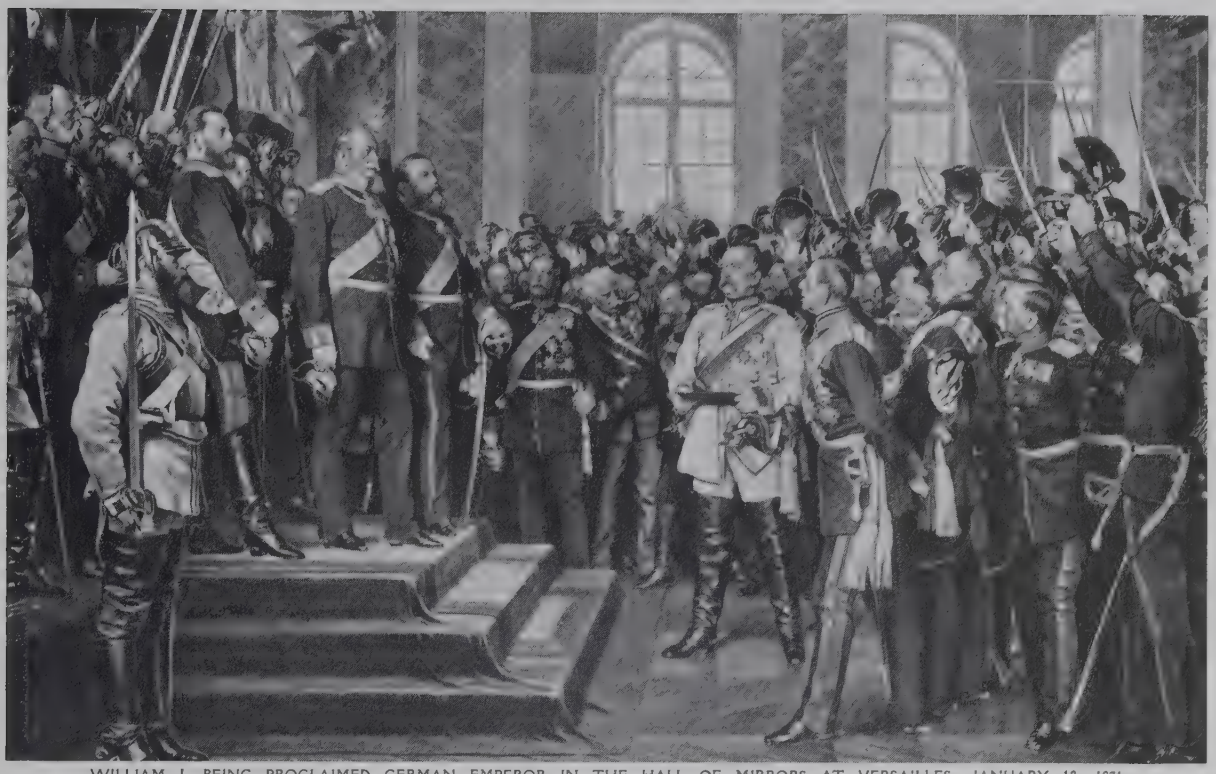
It has already been seen how the Franco-German War removed the last obstacle which stood in the way of the completion of the kingdom of United Italy. Another Power had not been slow to avail itself of the situation in Western Europe to improve its own position in the East. Russia was dissatisfied with her position under the treaty of 1856. France was powerless, and Prussia would certainly not run counter to the wishes of Russia. She announced her right to withdraw from the treaty, claiming both that the terms had already been actually violated on occasion, and that, under the changed circumstances, the conditions imposed fourteen years before could no longer be held binding. At Bismarck's suggestion, a Conference of the Treaty Powers was held, and took place in London. The Conference set aside the claim of individual Powers to repudiate treaties to which they had been parties; but in effect it proceeded to reconstruct the treaty in the sense desired by Russia. The Black Sea was deneutralised, while the entry to it was closed during time of peace.

But of all the results of the war, the most significant was the consolidation of Germany, which received definite expression on the day before the last sortie from Paris. In the Palace of Versailles, on January 18, King William I. of Prussia was proclaimed German Emperor. The South German States, as well as those of the North, had recognised from the outset that the war was a German war. A great tide of national enthusiasm had swept over the whole land, and the men of the South had fought shoulder to shoulder with the men of the North, and no whit less manfully. First Baden and then the rest of the Southern States expressed their desire to join the German federation, whose President should be the King of Prussia with the title of German Emperor. With slight variations in the rights reserved to particular States, and not without some dissatisfaction to the more ardent Prussians, the terms of the Union were agreed to. Bismarck's great aim was achieved, and the new German Empire was born. In 1872 the European significance of the new order was marked by the league of the three Emperors of Germany, Russia, and Austria.

The recovery of France from the disasters of the great war is justly regarded as one of the most remarkable incidents in the pages of history. Besides having to heal the

THE HISTORIC SIEGE OF PARIS, SHOWING THE FORTIFICATIONS ERECTED BY THE FRENCH TO PROTECT THEIR CAPITAL

From the painting by A. Binet



WILLIAM I. BEING PROCLAIMED GERMAN EMPEROR IN THE HALL OF MIRRORS AT VERSAILLES, JANUARY 18, 1871
From the painting by Anton von Werner, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

wounds of a country shattered by the ravages of military occupation, and to suppress internal disorders, France was called upon to pay two hundred million sterling as an indemnity to the victors. To M. Thiers, who had been elected President of the provisional Republic in 1871, belongs the honour of having carried through this complicated and difficult financial act. March 2, 1874, was the date fixed for the payment of the final instalment, it being agreed that German troops were to be gradually withdrawn as the payments were made. Every difficulty was placed in the way by Bismarck. Hampering restrictions were made with regard to the nature of the payments; he at first refused to allow the payments to be anticipated, and prolonged the negotiations with a display of characteristic temper. Nevertheless, on September 5, 1873, two years four months after the Treaty of Frankfurt, the last milliard was paid, and France was freed of her German invaders.

The vitality of France and the French people not only astonished, but dismayed, the German Chancellor. His policy had been to crush France, and then to isolate her so utterly in Europe that no danger from that quarter to the German Empire might be further apprehended. The prompt settlement of the indemnity, and the consequent evacuation of French territory, demonstrated to Bismarck the difficulty of carrying out the policy he meditated. By September, 1873, order had been established in France, the army had been reorganised, and the country was once more a powerful factor in European politics. The work of re-establishing a government was also proceeded with. Till May, 1873, Thiers remained at the head of affairs, where he had been placed by the vote of the National Assembly. But the Republic, as yet, was not secure. The majority of the Assembly were monarchical, and though divided into Legitimists (supporters of the Comte de Chambord), Bonapartists, and Orleanists, they were united in their opposition to the establishment of a Republic.

The Rising of a New France

On January 9, 1873, Napoleon III. died in exile at Chislehurst, and his son, the Prince Imperial, succeeded to the difficult honour of supporting the Bonapartist cause. For a time, the intrigues of his partisans were successful, and on May 24, 1873, Thiers was driven from office and, under the presidency of Marshal MacMahon, a Government was formed strongly Bonapartist and clerical. The Legitimists and Orleanists took alarm, and joined together, in opposition to the pretensions of the Prince Imperial, to promote the candidature of the Comte de Chambord, the heir of Charles X. Undoubtedly the ancient monarchy would have been re-established in France had not an insurmountable difficulty presented itself in the person of the Comte de Chambord himself.

The Third French Republic

With an almost mediæval love of symbolism, he refused to consent to the substitution of the tricoloured flag—the flag with which the greatest military triumphs of France were bound up—for the white flag with the fleur-de-lys, which had been the emblem of his ancestors from time immemorial. His belief in his divine right, and his refusal to give any constitutional guarantees, rendered his candidature impossible. On November 19, 1873, the Provisional Government, formed during the war, came to an end, and the Septennat, giving the President a period of office extending over seven years, was instituted. In May, 1874, Marshal MacMahon's first Ministry, formed under the Duc de Broglie, fell before a coalition of Republicans and Legitimists, and General De Cissey became Premier. As yet, no definite Constitution had been promulgated, and on the new Ministry taking up its duties, the National Assembly refused to agree to any proposals for the drawing up of such a Constitution. The progress made by the Bonapartists, however, excited the fears of the Legitimists and Orleanists. They united with the Republicans in the Assembly, and, by the end of 1874, carried a proposal demanding a Constitution. On February 25, 1875, the third French Republic was formally established.

CHAPTER XXXIV

KING EDWARD'S ILLNESS IN 1871

Showing how the Crown and the People at a Time of Crisis were Brought Together under the Shadow of a National Disaster

ALTHOUGH Great Britain, happily, was not drawn into the wild movements of Continental politics that ended in the establishment of an empire in Germany and the outbreak of civil war in France, yet this country was, at the time, considerably influenced by the revival of Republicanism and Socialism abroad. In 1871 London became the refuge for all the defeated revolutionaries of Europe, and these fanatics, supported, unfortunately, by several English politicians of wealth and intelligence, endeavoured to uproot from the heart of the English working people the feeling and the tradition of loyalty to the Throne.

It cannot be denied that they attained the appearance of a certain measure of success. Even John Richard Green, the greatest English historian since Macaulay, thought that Queen Victoria would be the last monarch of England. Still more significant of the general feeling of insecurity was the action of Lord Selborne, the Lord Chancellor, who was bold enough to tell the Queen that if the new French Republic held its ground it would influence English public opinion in a Republican direction. There can be no doubt that the Queen had lost some of her popularity. This was mainly due to the fact that for nearly ten years she had lived secluded from her people, lost in grief for her dead husband. She still wore her mourning attire, and her Court was severe and gloomy. She was trying to forget her sorrow by immersing herself in the business of State. In foreign politics especially she already displayed a genius for statesmanship which made Bismarck at the height of his glory apprehensive of her power. But the splendid work which she was doing in private failed to reconcile her people to the continued infrequency of her appearances in public. Moreover, she alienated sympathy by promising to attend at ceremonies and failing at the last moment to fulfil her promises.

Throughout the year the most galling criticisms were levelled at her; and it was in vain that she appealed to Mr. Gladstone, who was then Prime Minister, to make some declaration in her defence. Bitter criticisms of her income and her expenditure were developed with a pertinacity which deeply wounded her. It was alleged that instead of spending her official annuity in maintaining the dignity of the Crown, she was, by the saving caused by her seclusion, amassing a gigantic private fortune said to amount to five million pounds. As a matter of fact, even in 1889, her savings from the Civil List amounted to £824,025, and out of this sum much had been spent on entertainments to distinguished foreign visitors. This, however, was not revealed at the time, and men of position compared her income with the modest allowance of the President of the United States. Finding that this pecuniary argument was deeply agitating the country, the advocates for a Republican form of government pressed it to the utmost. On November 6, 1871, Sir Charles Dilke, the Member of Parliament for Chelsea, openly advocated the establishment of an English Republic. Thereupon the Ministers at last came to the help of their Sovereign, and refuted in detail the damaging allegations which had been published against her. But their help was given too late. The conviction that the country was paying an unduly high price for the advantages of the monarchy persisted in the minds of a large section of the population, and even in the highest circles of society there were many persons who took a very serious view of the situation.

QUEEN VICTORIA WITH HER FIRST GRANDSON, PRINCE ALBERT VICTOR, AFTERWARDS DUKE OF CLARENCE

From a photograph by Hughes & Mullins

Great Britain, it seemed, was about to follow the example of her oldest colony, and gradually adopt those republican institutions which, in the opinion of many men of high intelligence but narrow vision, were necessary to bring about a federation of the English-speaking races. At that time there was hardly anybody who foresaw that the person of the English Sovereign would prove to be the real bond of Empire, and that, as our self-governing colonies rapidly grew into great and powerful nations, the Crown would become the real connecting link between the mother-country and her young, strong, independent daughter-states.

England's Loyalty to the Throne

In spite, however, of all appearances, the loyal instincts of the English people were deeper and sounder than ever they were. No one knew, no one even dreamt, how passionate and wide-spread was the attachment to the Crown, until a strange and sad occasion came for its display. On November 20, 1871, it was stated in the "Court Circular" that the Prince of Wales was confined to his room by a chill resulting in a febrile attack. This anouncement excited no great attention; but when, two days later, it was generally known that the heir to the Throne was stricken with typhoid fever—the same disease that had killed his father—a wild feeling of apprehension swept over the whole nation. The Royal physicians naturally endeavoured to allay the general sentiment of fear and terror, but at last even they had to confess that the life of the Prince hung by a thread. This was the moment when the spirit of loyalty not merely revived among all classes of the people, but manifested itself with an incomparable intensity which astonished politicians of every school and excited the wonder of every foreign observer. Everybody felt both a personal anxiety in the welfare of the popular Prince, and a national concern in the imminent peril to the Throne; for if the Heir Apparent were to perish there would probably have to be a Regency, and the last Regency had left far from pleasant memories in the minds of the people.

They at once began to discuss with considerable anger the origin of the Prince of Wales's illness. It was thought, with a certain amount of reason, that so precious a life should have been guarded from every danger. The matter is one on which even now no agreement seems to have been reached. It is still debated whether the seeds of the disease were lodged in the Prince's system in the autumn of 1871, or in the early winter of that year. In the autumn the Prince returned from a stay in Germany, and it was then remarked that he was not in his usual buoyant spirits. This was put down to the fact that he had exerted himself too much, but it is now thought to be due to a curious adventure which had befallen him on the Continent. In the company of his friend, General Teesdale, he had made an excursion to the battlefield of Sedan. He travelled *incognito*, and he was extremely anxious that his identity should not become known. The susceptibilities of the French were naturally almost morbidly keen at that time, and the Prince, who was even then very popular in France, had no desire to appear to be glorying in the great victories obtained by his German kinsmen. He, indeed, rather sympathised with the French people, and it was only a pardonable interest in a great historic event which induced him to go to Sedan.

THE PRINCE AND PRINCESS OF WALES IN 1867

The two children here shown with their Royal parents are Prince Albert Victor and Prince George.

From a photograph by Russell & Sons

He managed to put up at a hotel without being recognised, but when the time came to pay the bill, General Teesdale was dismayed to find that he had come away without any money. By a curious mischance the Prince was in the same penniless condition. Amusing as the affair now seems, it was a serious matter at the time. It was impossible to send a telegram, as this would have enabled either the French newspapers or the French police to discover the identity of the illustrious tourist. In the end, the Prince was forced to pawn his watch. As it was late in the day when the difficulty was thus surmounted, he was then compelled to sleep, after a long and trying excursion, in the pestilential air of a town in the centre of a great battlefield, which for many months had been a vast hospital filled with thousands of wounded men.

The Prince of Wales in a Difficulty

On returning from this interesting but rather dangerous expedition, the Prince went, in the hope of recovering his health, with a shooting party to Lord Londesborough's

A ROYAL FAMILY GROUP

As shown in earlier parts of this work, King Edward had a distinct liking for Highland dress, and in this photograph his two sons, Prince Albert Victor and Prince George, are, like their illustrious father, attired in the "garb of old Gaul." The other children are the Princess Royal and the Princess Mary.

From a photograph by W. & D. Downey

AT THE AGE OF THREE

seat at Scarborough. Unfortunately, the house was in an insanitary condition. Nearly every member of the party began to feel seriously unwell. Among the sufferers were the Princess of Wales, the Duke of Beaufort, and the Duke of Manchester. While they were recovering, symptoms of typhoid poisoning appeared in the Prince of Wales. Then one of the Royal stable-boys, Charles Blegg, was stricken down, and it was also found that Lord Chesterfield, another member of the shooting party, was attacked with typhoid. Everybody followed with intense anxiety the news of the illness of the peasant and the peer. It was felt that on their fate depended in large measure the fate of the beloved Prince. Blegg had returned with his Royal master to Sandringham, and the most famous physicians in the country tended him; and nearly every morning at nine o'clock the Princess of Wales used to leave the bedside of her own dear invalid, and hurry to the room in which the sick stable-boy lay, and bring him some delicacy. Great and deep was the dismay of the people when the news came that Lord Chesterfield was dead, and that Blegg was dying. Everybody gave up all hope; the Queen, the Princess of Wales, and the doctors. The business of the country was suspended, and at every hour when the bells of the cities, towns, and villages began to chime, men started, thinking that the tolling had begun.

In the meantime the Prince was fighting for life in his bedroom at Sandringham. The blue-and-white bed in the blue-and-white chamber, open to the fresh, salt-scented Norfolk air, where the memorable struggle with death was fought, has now an historic interest. In the ceiling is the mark left by the pulley-hook by means of which the Prince used to raise and lower himself during his long illness. For many weeks he was much too weak to move. Indeed, for a greater part of the time he was in a delirium. He began to feel really ill on November 13, and complained of chilliness, shivering, headache, and depression. A week later, the symptoms of typhoid fever were clearly seen.

Day by day the disease gathered strength, and on November 29 Queen Victoria hurriedly travelled up from Windsor to the bedside of her dying son. She found the Prince unconscious, and had his young children sent away from Sandringham for fear they should catch the complaint. Little then was known of the nature of typhoid fever, many persons thinking that it was as contagious as the plague. The nation was, therefore, greatly alarmed lest their Sovereign should also be stricken down. Wild with anxiety, the people fancied that the lives of the whole of the Royal line were menaced. "What news from Sandringham to-day?" This was the first and almost the sole question that men asked, and women feared to ask, in those dark days, throughout the British Empire. Morning after morning crowds collected before the gates at Marlborough House and before the Mansion House, pouring from the streets of the city, and from the parks of the West End; then, after studying the bulletins, they drifted away in silence and sadness, and a new multitude gathered and patiently waited for further news. So profound and universal were the grief and dread that it was arranged to telegraph each bulletin, as soon as it was received, all over great Britain; and in order to allay as much as possible the general solicitude, Queen Victoria on December 1 returned to Windsor.

It was on this day that the first gleam of sunshine came. For a few hours the Prince recovered consciousness. His first words were extraordinarily touching and finely characteristic. He asked the doctor what had happened to him; then he wanted to know how long he had been ill.

"It is the first of December," he was told. Thereupon he exclaimed, "This is my wife's birthday!" In a moment the Princess was at his side. Unknown at times to him, she had been waiting upon him ever since he fell ill, and she had proved herself to be a skilful and a devoted nurse. Naturally she was fully aware of the gravity of her husband's illness, but this, instead of making her nervous, tearful, and worrying, made her steady, collected, and hard-working. Her trial was sharp and prolonged, but it enabled her to show that she was not merely a good woman, but also an able one. With the help of Princess Alice, she nursed the Prince through his illness, and in the opinion of Queen

IN HIGHLAND COSTUME
From a photograph by Hughes & Mullins

THE LITTLE SAILOR PRINCE
From a photograph by W. & D. Downey
KING GEORGE V. IN CHILDHOOD

THEIR ROYAL HIGHNESSES AT THE AGE OF TWENTY-SIX

TWO INTERESTING PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN IN THE YEAR 1870

PORTRAITS OF KING EDWARD AND QUEEN ALEXANDRA IN 1867–70

From photographs by Russell & Sons

Victoria, saved his life. "If my husband," said the widowed Queen sadly, "had been nursed as carefully as my son, he would still be living."

But for some weeks it seemed as though neither the devoted care of his wife, nor the knowledge of his physicians, nor the prayers of his people, would avail the stricken Prince. Soon after the Queen returned to Windsor the fever increased in severity, and the Prince relapsed into unconsciousness. Recovering his senses for a moment, the sufferer murmured, "Has the Queen come from Scotland? Does she know I'm ill?" Then the cloud fell again, and on December 8 it was announced that the Prince was sinking. His frame was shaken by a febrile paroxysm that left him completely exhausted, and inflammation of the air passages had set in. There was now no hope whatever in England. Everybody recognised that the disease was following the same course as it had done in the case of his father. His breathing was difficult and very painful, and the life in his enfeebled, stricken body was slowly being extinguished by a process of suffocation. By a miracle, however, he managed to pass a quiet night, and on Sunday, December 10, when prayers were being offered up for him in every church and chapel of the Empire, and in the temples of the Hindoos, Mohammedans and Parsees of India, he was still living, but terribly prostrate.

The Long Fight with Death

Just before the service began in the village church of Sandringham, the vicar received the following note from the Princess of Wales:

"My husband being, thank God, somewhat better, I am coming to church. I must leave, I fear, before the service is concluded, that I may watch by his bedside. Can you not say a few words in prayer in the early part of the service, that I may join with you in prayer for my husband before I return to him?"

QUEEN VICTORIA ON HER WAY TO THE BEDSIDE OF HER SON

Stricken down with a severe attack of typhoid fever in November, 1871, King Edward, then the Prince of Wales, lay for several days at the point of death, and, as the end seemed near, Queen Victoria and other members of the Royal Family were summoned to Sandringham, where his Royal Highness was being nursed by the Princess of Wales. In this illustration Queen Victoria is seen arriving at Wolferton Station, near Sandringham.

The Princess was, indeed, unremitting in her care for her husband at this critical moment. She could hardly be brought to leave his room for an instant. It seemed that the Prince would pass away at any minute. The Queen again came to Sandringham to be present at the death of her son, and before daybreak on December 11 she received the dreadful summons. The Prince was fighting for breath, but so feebly that it seemed the end was come. Each paroxysm increased the virulence of the fever, and the Royal family knelt around the bed of the sufferer, watching in silent, terrible grief, as the flame of life gradually died lower and lower.

It was sometimes charged against King Edward that he spent too much of his time in sport. In this he certainly did not follow in the footsteps of his noble father. But he had good reason for indulging in his love of open-air enjoyment, and in sharing in the pursuits which have made the English country gentlemen one of the most vigorous races on earth. There can be little doubt that if the Queen had allowed her Consort to follow his native tastes in the matter of horse-racing and horsemanship, he would have preserved and developed his natural vigour and thus survived his illness. It was certainly his love of open-air exercise that enabled the Prince of Wales to live long enough to become King Edward VII. He was just thirty years of age when he was attacked by one of the most debilitating of diseases, but owing in a high degree to his passion for sport, his constitution, which was naturally strong, had become magnificent. He could then ride across country a whole day and preside at a great dinner afterwards, not merely without showing any signs of fatigue, but with a boyish delight in the festivity. It was this marvellous vigour which now enabled him to make so wonderful a fight against death, by suffocation on the one hand, and death from exhaustion on the other. On December 11, as has already been said, even the most hopeful of his physicians gave up all hope. But the day wore through and he still lived.

And so it went on. Not a single favourable symptom appeared during the next three days. The air passages remained clogged and the fever unabated. Almost every breath that the Prince took was a victory over death which did not appear likely in any way to alter the final issue. It seemed merely a prolonged agony, a painful and useless struggle against an inevitable end. During the greater part of it the Prince was stretched on his bed, limp, helpless, and unconscious; but his senseless body was informed with a power of endurance won in the manliest and noblest of sports.

The Prince Consort had died on December 14, 1861, and, by a curious, inexplicable resurgence of superstition, the people expected the Prince of Wales to pass away on the anniversary of his father's death. Even some members of the Royal Family inclined to a belief in this gloomy prognostic. Some colour was given to it by the fact that the Prince naturally grew weaker as the fatal date approached without any lessening of the fever and inflammation. Once it is said that he was actually *in extremis*, and that he owed his recovery to one of those sudden inspirations of genius which give a note of romance to the rather dull history of medical science. Life seemed at last to have utterly gone from his racked and out-worn body, and the signs of death were appearing in his face, when a medical attendant broke two bottles of old brandy, flung the sheets off the bed of the dying man, and rubbed his body vigorously all over with the liquor until the stagnant blood began again to move through the veins. The last crisis occurred in the evening of

The Last Crisis of the Prince's Illness

December 14, the date to which everybody had been looking with melancholy foreboding. The famous physician, Sir William Gull, had left his patient's side for a few minutes. As he was walking up and down the terrace of Sandringham House, a nurse came running to him, her face pale with fear. "Do come!" she gasped. "I am sure he is dying!" The doctor ran into the bedroom, and, to the amazement of the spectators, he gave a sigh of relief on seeing the Prince. "Thank God," he exclaimed, "the crisis is past! I believe that he will recover."

By this time Lord Chesterfield had died, but Blegg, the stable-boy, was still living. On Sunday, the 17th, the Royal Family attended church at Sandringham, when, by special request, the Prince and the stable-boy were in the same prayer recommended to the mercy of God. In the afternoon the Princess of Wales visited the groom, but he died a few hours afterwards; and then, in the midst of her own terrible anxiety, the sweet, noble lady found time to visit the parents of the stable-boy and mourn with them. She also attended the funeral, and had a tombstone erected over the grave, inscribed with the significant words, "One was taken, and the other left."

LONDON'S ANXIETY: THE SCENE AT THE MANSION HOUSE
With feverish anxiety the inhabitants of London waited for news of the Prince of Wales's grim fight with death, and every message from Sandringham was eagerly read. This picture illustrates the publication of bulletins at the Mansion House.

By this time her husband was out of danger, and sincere indeed were the rejoicings by every fireside in Great Britain on Christmas night at the glad news.

Both Queen Victoria and Queen Alexandra have left a record of the feeling that inspired them when their son and husband was given back to them, as by a miracle, from the grave. Queen Victoria, on the day after Christmas, wrote a touching letter of thanks to the people; while the grateful Princess caused this inscription, eloquent in its reticence, to be placed on the brass lectern in the parish church at Sandringham:

To the Glory of God.
A Thank-offering for His Mercy.
14th December, 1871.
Alexandra.
"When I was in trouble I called upon the Lord, and He heard me."

OUTSIDE MARLBOROUGH HOUSE: THE ANXIOUS CROWD WAITING FOR NEWS OF THE ROYAL PATIENT

WINDSOR CASTLE

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CHAPTER XXXV

THE NATIONAL THANKSGIVING

The Widespread Demonstrations of Joy on the Prince of Wales's Restoration to Health and His Gratitude for the Affectionate Loyalty of the People

EARLY in February the Prince and his devoted wife went for a change of air to Windsor. The Duchess of Westminster came to the castle to welcome them. "I cannot say what an emotion it was seeing the Prince and Princess," she wrote. "He is much thinner, but unaltered in face, and so grateful. We had tea with them. The Princess looks thin and worn, but so affectionate—tears in her eyes talking of him, and his manner to her so gentle. The old porter at the castle could scarcely speak. When I remarked to him that the Prince looked wonderfully well, he answered: 'Yes, indeed, my lady. Doesn't he look beautiful?'"

Towards the end of the month their Royal Highnesses travelled up to Marlborough House. On the day after their arrival the people of London had a charming and surprising spectacle. The Princess took her dear convalescent for a drive in the Park, and allowed no one but herself to handle the reins. The people were too deeply moved at the unexpected sight of their beloved Prince over whom, in the dark December days, they had begun to mourn, to break out into loud, long cheers. But many felt the tears come into their eyes, even when they smiled, as the little pony phaeton passed by with its precious load. There was, they knew, to be a great State function in a few days at the National Thanksgiving at St. Paul's; but this was a little homely affair, and more touching because of its sweet homeliness. An affecting incident increased the charming intimacy of the scene. Some of the spectators noticed that the invalid Prince seemed to feel the cold, and his wife then stopped driving and took out another rug and gently wrapped it round him. When they returned to Marlborough House, it was seen that the Prince was still very weak, and, to the dismay of the people, he had to be carried upstairs in a chair. They began to fear that the great ceremony which they had been organising would have to be postponed.

In 1872, London had grown into a vast, shapeless town with a population of three millions, and this unmanageable multitude of souls had for a long time been blindly seeking for a means of expressing itself. At the present day the Titanic city has recovered its feeling of unity, but in 1872 it was an overgrown, awkward, aimless young giant that had lost the ease and unconsciousness of childhood, and had not yet attained the dignity of bearing and the clearness of mind of manhood. What was wanting to it was a common idea, a common enthusiasm, a common aim. Under the impetus of the great industrial revolution of the eighteenth century, it had burst its ancient bounds and grown in all directions with a rapidity unparalleled in the history of the world. But this sudden and tremendous accession of vital power had made for disintegration rather than for an enlargement of the corporate spirit. In fine, London, instead of growing, like ancient Rome, into the mighty metropolis of a mighty empire, had split up into a mere congeries of towns. These, however, were now growing together in a living connection through the deep feelings excited by the illness and miraculous recovery of the Prince of Wales.

LONDON'S DAY OF THANKSGIVING: THE DECORATIONS AT TEMPLE BAR

THE NATION'S REJOICING AT THE RECOVERY OF THE PRINCE OF WALES: THE PROCESSION TO ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL PASSING LUDGATE CIRCUS

The grave news from Sandringham, where the Prince of Wales lay in the grip of the disease which threatened his life, had prepared the nation for the worst, and therefore it was with a feeling of intense relief and thankfulness that the people learned of the crisis being passed. It was felt that the Royal patient's miraculous restoration to health should be marked in a fitting manner, and accordingly a thanksgiving service, attended by Queen Victoria, the Prince and Princess of Wales, and other Royal and illustrious personages, was held in St. Paul's Cathedral, February 27, 1872.

From the painting by Chevalier in the Royal Collection.

Sometimes a terrible war is needed to instil into a country that deep sense of the interdependence of its parts which can alone mould a mere mass of men into a real nation. This, indeed, had been seen only a few years before in the United States; and what is true of great countries is also true of great cities. Fortunately, however, for overgrown London the shadow of a national disaster of a domestic kind had done nearly as much as a long and dreadful war could have done. Week after week the people had been brought together in spirit, even more than in body, by a common wave of deep feeling that swept over all distinctions of class and all differences in politics. Even the Republicans had, in spite of themselves, been carried away by it, and had sent messages of sympathy to the Royal Family. Having at last been united by fear, apprehension, and grief, the people of London now wished to show that they were also united by the general joy The gigantic metropolis at last felt conscious of its power and capable of interpreting and expressing the thought and sentiment of the British Empire. Owing to the progress of invention it had recently been able to establish means of rapid communication with the most distant colonies, so that it was now not only the centre of an Empire greater than that of Rome, but it was intimately connected with that Empire.

What London wanted was an opportunity for displaying its new feelings and its new powers. Great men, it has been said, do not wait for their opportunities, but create them. So it is with great cities. When it was known that the Queen intended to go in a quiet and private way to church to thank the Ruler of the Universe for the life of her son, the people of London at once resolved to transform the affair into a great national ceremony; and without waiting for any official consent or any official suggestion, they at once began to organise themselves, for the first time in the history of modern England, into an instrument of unparalleled grandeur for the full expression of Imperial sentiment. Queen Victoria seems to have been quite unconscious of the significance of the new spirit now animating London, and for some time it looked as if she would have liked the Thanksgiving to be carried out in her own way. It is possible that in her long retirement she had rather lost touch with popular feeling. It is true that in later life she displayed a wonderful power of divining the course of the sentiment of her people, and showed, in this respect, a talent superior to that of the most democratic statesmen of her day. But thirty-eight years ago she was somewhat too much secluded from the life of the nation to be able to anticipate clearly the feelings of her subjects. Undoubtedly she was deeply moved when she was informed of the preparations that were being made to convert the simple service into a National Thanksgiving, and though she does not seem to have been altogether convinced that English Republicanism had been effaced by the extraordinary revival of the spirit of loyalty, yet she graciously consented to come forth from her retirement, and make a long ride through London.

Revival of English Loyalty

The National Thanksgiving at St. Paul's Cathedral was fixed for February 27, 1872. But in response, perhaps, to Queen Victoria's secret wish, Dean Stanley suggested to the Prince that he should first of all attend a private service of thanksgiving in Westminster Abbey. This was done in a quiet way, without the knowledge of the public, and nobody, except the canons of the Abbey, was informed of it. Only the Prince and Princess of Wales, the Crown Prince of Denmark, and Prince Alfred were present; but the Prince was so pleased with the sermon preached by the famous Dean that he ordered it to be published, and the secret was thus revealed. But after the Queen had thus had her own way, the people had theirs; and London on the morning of February 27 was a sight that astonished foreign observers, and surprised even the Londoners themselves. The resources of the great railways were taxed by myriads of passengers from all parts of the kingdom, and the inhabitants of the home counties set out at break of day in great crowds along the highways to the capital. The streets along the double route going to the Strand and returning through Oxford Street were, of course, densely packed. Every window was thronged, every tree, lamp-post, and paling were used as perches, and what was really singular was the way in which the sloping London roofs were somehow converted into standing places, though many spectators seemed to find hanging room rather than sitting room on the dizzy housetops. All this extraordinary trouble was taken with merely a chance of seeing the Prince, for he was still so weak that it was very uncertain whether he would be able to travel for some miles in an open carriage on the cold, wet February morning, and then undergo the fatigues of the ceremony at the Cathedral. Everything depended on his health, which was still precarious, and on the weather, which was then chill and rainy. When the day broke it seemed that the Prince would be killed in order to satisfy the crowd that he was well. The sky was leaden and watery, and the wind raw and cold; but the warning given by days of rain could not damp the ardour of the vast multitude. Even when the rain began to fall they did not disperse, but waited on patiently, upheld by one of the most curious superstitions of modern times. How it was that the strange belief arose that every public appearance of Queen Victoria would be accompanied by fine weather would be a difficult thing to trace; but it was undoubtedly strengthened by the remarkable and sudden change which occurred just before the procession left Buckingham Palace at noon on Thanksgiving Day. For the sky then cleared as by magic, and the sun came out, and bathed the streets of London in the light and warmth and colour of spring. The good star of the Queen had prevailed, and there was now no danger of her beloved son relapsing into sickness at the very moment when he went forth to thank his Maker for raising him up from the grave.

The National Thanksgiving

ONE OF THE EARLIEST PORTRAITS OF THE PRINCE AFTER HIS ILLNESS
From a photograph by Hills & Saunders

On one important point relating to the ceremony, Queen Victoria held to her original plan. One could see by the gay and charming way in which the London streets were decked, and by the general preparations made for the festive illuminations at night, that the people wished to make Thanksgiving Day an occasion of glorious display and joyful festiveness. But the procession which formed up in Buckingham Palace Yard was very short and very simple.

It consisted merely of nine open carriages. It was only at the last moment that the Queen, after much entreaty, allowed a certain State dignity to be given to what seemed a quiet little family affair, by permitting the Speaker, the Lord Chancellor, and the Commander-in-Chief to ride at the head of the procession. There was no show or pageantry whatever. Any minor State of Europe, for a far less important event, would have made a more imposing military display. But there can be no doubt that in this instance Queen Victoria was rightly inspired. She afterwards showed at the celebration of her Jubilee that she loved as much as anybody the pomp and colour and picturesqueness of a great procession, when this was in keeping with the spirit of the occasion. But Thanksgiving Day, she truly felt, was not a day of national glorification, but rather a day of national submission to God. Only by the mercy of Providence could the Prince appear among the people. He was still extremely feeble, and even at the last minute it did not seem safe for him to take any part in the procession. He was still in the Valley of the Shadow of Death, and he went forth in a humble way to pray for health and strength.

The Procession to St. Paul's

But as the first carriage emerged from the central gate, there was a strange, pathetic scene in Buckingham Palace Yard, the historic significance of which was far more impressive than the most gorgeous of pageants. The centre window of the State Room opened, and the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Eugénie stepped out on to the balcony. When the Prince of Wales appeared with his mother and wife, the Emperor took off his hat and bowed. The little procession then passed out into the Mall, and the exiled ruler of France listened, with a strange, wistful smile on his haggard face, to the cheer raised by the masses of people on either side of the road, and this cheer grew louder and louder, and never for a moment stopped. Never at the height of his glory had the descendant of the Conqueror of Europe received from his people the shadow of so spontaneous and unanimous a testimony of love and loyalty. In his continual processions he had merely gone forth in state from his palace in Paris to overawe his subjects by an exhibition of the glittering power of his armed hosts. But he who rose by the sword had fallen by the sword. His magnificent palace had been stormed by the mob and burnt to the ground, and the city which he had rebuilt in beauty had been sacked by revolutionaries, and captured and held by them. And he, the great Emperor, who seemed to hold in his hand the destinies of the world, was now a discrowned, discredited, and fugitive adventurer, staring with mournful eyes at a spectacle that was never seen in any age in any other kingdom of the earth—the spectacle of a young Prince's great but peaceful victory over a moody, headstrong, and self-willed people, a victory which had been won not on a field of battle, but on the bed of sickness.

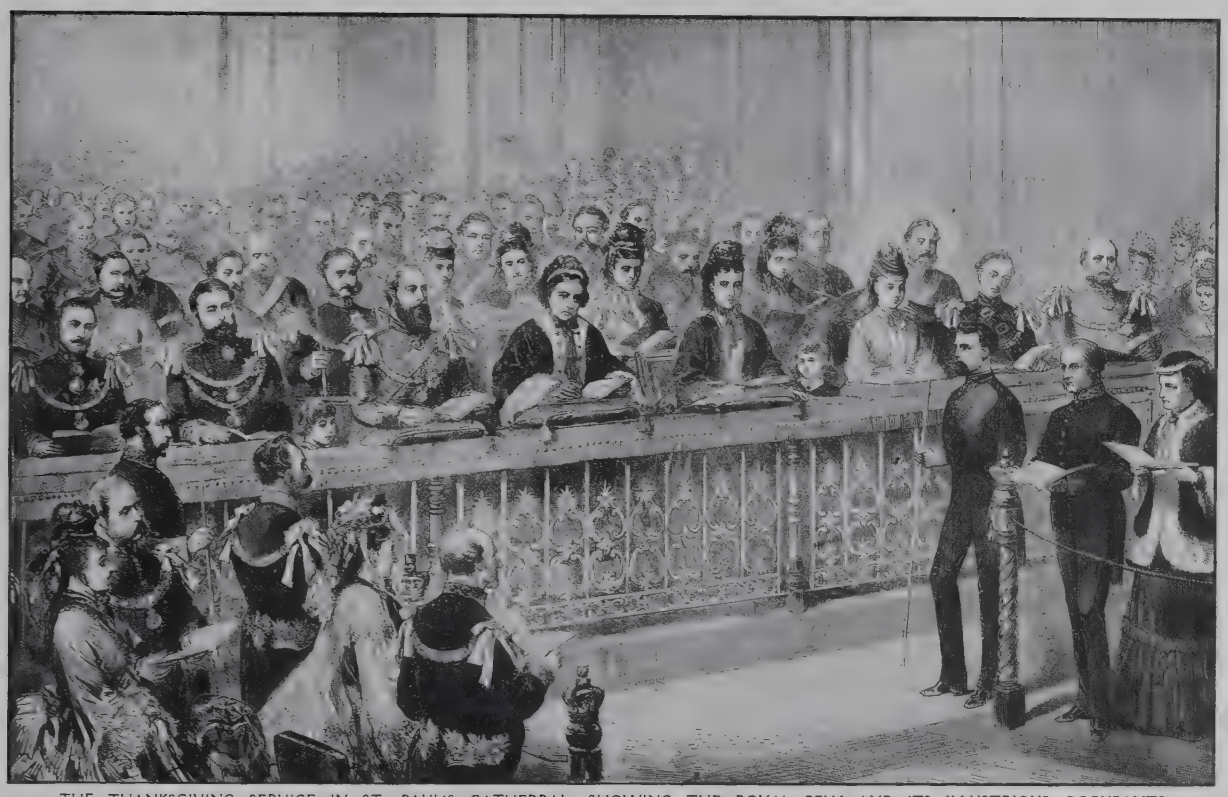
"THANKSGIVING"

Reproduced by permission of Messrs. Bradbury, Agnew & Co., from Sir John Tenniel's cartoon in "Punch," illustrative of the Royal and national thanksgiving in St. Paul's Cathedral.

Even Napoleon, whose knowledge of the workings of the Republican spirit was as deep as it was bitter, could not trace that day in any part of England the slightest symptom of any disloyalty to the English Crown. Everything pointed to the fact that English Royalty was about to receive a new charter and muniment of existence. Not only were all the constitutional parties in the State united and rallied round the throne, but every Republican society in Great Britain had sent Queen Victoria an address in regard to the illness of the Prince which, by reason of the spirit which inspired it, was without parallel in modern history. A few months before the position of Queen Victoria had seemed to be almost as unsafe as the position of Napoleon. But as soon as the people had seen their Royal line overshadowed by a real danger, their theories of Republicanism had blown away into thin air, and left the throne more broadly based upon the popular will than ever it was before. Another Frenchman of some political importance besides the Emperor Napoleon was an interested spectator of the scene in London on Thanksgiving Day. He was an Anarchist who had been despatched by one of the most powerful revolutionary committees on the Continent to study the course of political feeling in England. In his report, which happened to come into the hands of the police, he wrote: "The people are all mad with joy, and will probably be all drunk to-night. There is no chance of a revolution here for the next fifty years."

Truly, the English people were mad with joy. Their numbers, their enthusiasm, their orderliness, made even the Prince marvel. For seven miles they had formed for him a road of love and honour such as no king had ever trod. At some places they strewed the ground with early violets, so that his carriage-wheels might crush the flowers, and fill the air that he breathed with fragrance; in other places they rained confetti down upon him as he passed, and their cheering was really almost too deafening for an invalid to bear. A spectacle of a similar nature was seen at the Diamond Jubilee, but fine and moving as the latter scene was, it had not the astonishing novelty of the celebration of the National Thanksgiving. In 1872 modern London discovered its voice and its power for the first time.

London "Mad with Joy"



THE THANKSGIVING SERVICE IN ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, SHOWING THE ROYAL PEW AND ITS ILLUSTRIOUS OCCUPANTS

Owing to the long period which had elapsed since the people had had an opportunity of acclaiming their Sovereign, a new generation had grown up who did not remember the time when the Queen and the Prince Consort used to come freely among the public. In those days the London crowd was as good humoured as it now is, but its manners were considerably rougher; it was given to practical jokes of a rude sort, and there were times when its boisterous horseplay seemed rather like surliness. But at the National Thanksgiving the multitude was not only very much vaster than it had ever been before, but it displayed a real urbanity and kindliness, which astonished every student of human nature. The quality of affection in its loyalty extended to its manners. The sight of the mother and son had an immediate effect upon all the spectators. A throb of sympathy passed along the ranks of the crowd when they saw how much moved the Queen and the Prince were by their marks of sympathy. A latent magnetism seemed to draw the Sovereign and the people together, and as was noticed afterwards at the later Jubilee, the sad, lonely, widowed Queen appeared to be able to hypnotise her subjects by her very presence.

But even deeper on the present occasion was the impression made on the popular imagination by the pathetic figure of the young Prince. He was still very weak, and it was only by a great effort of will that he had been able to appear. His face bore traces of the almost mortal illness that had stricken him. It had the pallor of ivory; the features were sharp, and the eyes looked sunken, and it was observed that every time he uncovered his head the Queen glanced at him apprehensively. She was afraid that he might catch a cold which would lead to a fatal relapse. The beautiful smile which transfigured her face whenever she turned and saw the happiness of her people faded when she gazed at her beloved son, and it was on these occasions that the cheering grew fainter, and the old feeling of terror revived for a moment in the hearts of the onlookers.

Queen Victoria's Affectionate Fear

Happily, the Prince arrived without any accident at the entrance to St. Paul's Cathedral, but when he alighted from the carriage it was seen that he was still very weak, and he limped as he walked. With characteristic courage, however, he overcame his weakness, and with his mother leaning on his arm, and his wife anxiously following at his side, he passed up the long nave to a pew that had been specially prepared for him. Thirteen thousand persons were assembled in the great Cathedral. All the Estates of the realm were there; Court, Parliament, Church, Army, Navy, Bench, Bar; all the chief authorities of the City; all the corporations in the kingdom; all the foreign Embassies; all the great societies in art, science, and literature, took part in this grand Thanksgiving. It was one of the most remarkable gatherings of the representatives of the Empire, and the Empire, too, joined in the celebration. From Newfoundland to Vancouver, from Cape Colony to New Zealand, wherever Englishmen were gathered together on Thanksgiving Day, thanks were given to the King of kings for saving the life of the future King of England. A hundred thousand people attended services in India, and Calcutta kept the day as a public holiday. Even the fire-worshippers were celebrating, with their strange, antique rites, the recovery of the young English Prince.

The Empire's Rejoicings

But, after all, the service in the magnificent Cathedral built by Sir Christopher Wren was the most striking of all the ceremonies performed that day throughout the world.

The ceremony opened with a "Te Deum," and then, after the prayers for the Queen and the Royal Family, the General Thanksgiving was said, with these inserted words: "Particularly to Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, who desires now to offer up his praises and thanksgivings for Thy late mercies vouchsafed to him." With the last word the reader's voice stopped for some minutes, before going on with the Thanksgiving. This pause, during which the reader was struggling to recover control of his voice, produced on the silent multitude of worshippers a feeling of

deep awe and profound emotion It seemed as if he were about to break down, and a wave of feeling went from him and communicated itself to the vast congregation. The Queen and the Princess began to weep, and the Prince himself could not keep back his tears.

The Queen and Princess in Tears

It was not joy, it was not sorrow that moved them. The Queen and the Princess had gone through their long, bitter trial without showing any sign of weakness, and they had come forth that morning with radiant faces to share in the joy of their people. The Prince had displayed even more control over himself, especially on entering the Cathedral after his trying journey. But their feelings were overwrought; the extraordinary depth and sincerity of the sentiments manifested by the people had touched them to the very soul, and the strange magnetism which the quiet, breathless, troubled multitude now around them was exercising in an unconscious manner over their minds suddenly unlocked the chambers of their hearts. Their tears were born of the sympathy shown to them by the nation.

Both they and the spectators were relieved when the General Thanksgiving was over, and the special prayer written by the Archbishop of Canterbury was read: "O Father of Mercies and God of all comfort, we thank Thee that Thou hast heard the prayers of this nation in the days of our trial! We praise and magnify Thy glorious Name for Thou hast raised Thy servant, Albert Edward Prince of Wales, from the bed of sickness. Thou castest down and Thou liftest up, and health and strength are Thy gift. We pray Thee to perfect the recovery of Thy servant, and to crown him day by day with more abundant blessing, both for body and soul; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen." While this prayer was being read, the Prince and his mother and wife seemed to recover the control of their feelings, and kept their heads lowly and reverently bowed. But when the words of the anthem were sung, "Thou hast not given me over to death," they began again to weep, and the Prince especially was deeply affected.

PRINCE ALBERT VICTOR AND PRINCE GEORGE
From a photograph by W. & D. Downey

The Archbishop of Canterbury gave a touching address, and pronounced the benediction, and then as the music of the National Anthem rang in a majestic volume of sound through the sombre Cathedral, the Prince came forward and bowed twice, and the procession reformed, and he began to move at the head of it down the nave. But the solemn, emotional character of the service had greatly disturbed him. The pallor on his face had increased, and he staggered as he took his place in the procession. Regardless of the order of the ceremonial, his wife ran to his side and lovingly took his arm, and led him with a most touching care gently down the steps of the chancel and along the great nave to the Royal carriage. It was only a little pathetic domestic incident, but it moved the spectators more deeply than anything that occurred during the Thanksgiving Service.

It was then that the acclamations of the multitude rose into a frenzy of sound. As the Prince returned to Buckingham Palace along Holborn and Oxford Street, the people really seemed to be mad for joy; this was the occasion when Tennyson received from them the inspiration for the finest poem that he wrote in his capacity as the Laureate of the Crown. It was the famous epilogue to his "Idylls of the King," addressed "To the Queen":

O loyal to the royal in thyself,
And loyal to the land, as this to thee—
Bear witness, that rememberable day,
When, pale as yet, and fever-worn, the Prince
Who scarce had pluck'd his flickering life again
From halfway down the shadow of the grave,
Past with thee thro' thy people and their love,
And London roll'd one tide of joy thro' all
Her trebled millions, and loud leagues of man
And welcome! Witness, too, the silent cry,
The prayer of many a race and creed and clime—
Thunderless lightnings striking under sea
From sunset and sunrise of all thy realm,
And that true North, whereof we lately heard
A strain to shame us "keep you to yourselves;
So loyal is too costly! friends—your love
Is but a burthen: loose the bond, and go."
Is this the tone of empire? Here the faith
That made us rulers? This, indeed, her voice
And meaning, whom the roar of Hougoumont
Left mightiest of all peoples under heaven?
What shock has fool'd her since, that she should speak
So feebly? Wealthier, wealthier, hour by hour!
The voice of Britain or a sinking land,
Some third-rate isle half-lost among the seas?
There rang her voice when the full city peal'd
Thee and thy Prince! The loyal to their crown
Are loyal to their own far sons, who love
Our ocean-empire with her boundless homes
For ever-broadening England, and her throne
In our vast Orient, and one isle, one isle,
That knows not her own greatness.

Tennyson went on to say that the British Empire had become "a crowned Republic" with a crowning gift of commonsense which had saved it many times in the past and would not fail it in the future. A crowned Republic! In this fine phrase, the great poet marked, with true political insight, the sudden and unexpected change in the temper and character of the people produced by the illness of their beloved Prince. Their attitude on Thanksgiving Day made it clear once for all that the revolutionaries had misread the feelings of the nation, and had mistaken a passing mood for a settled frame of mind. It is not extravagant to say that on the morning of February 27, 1872, the English monarchy recovered the prestige that it had lost on the death of Queen Elizabeth. For some hundreds of years it had been an article of political faith that the English monarch was only the Chief Magistrate of the country. This was now shown to be untrue. No Chief Magistrate could command the veneration and love which had been spontaneously bestowed upon the future ruler of the British Empire; and intelligent politicians of the advanced school were at last convinced of the immense social utility of the monarchy.

A New Era for the Monarchy

This utility is shown in two ways. The throne is at once a symbol of national unity and an important means of attaining and conserving that unity. Modern civilisation and modern systems of parliamentary government tend to split up a nation into warring classes and contending factions. With the increase of wealth, consequent on the progress of finance and invention, the division between the rich and the poor continually grows broader

QUEEN ALEXANDRA

Drawn from life by Mr. Harold Speed

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and more profound. This disunion in the social life of the people aggravates the tendency to disunion among the political representatives of the various classes; and the two-party system of Government degenerates at last, as it has done in the French Republic, into the weak and inconsequent group-system of government.

It was a grave sense of this danger that led King Edward himself a few years ago to infringe the rule he made never to touch on the matter of politics, and say, "The time has come when class can no longer stand from class; and that man does his duty best who works most earnestly in bridging over the gulf between different classes which it is the tendency of increased civilisation to widen." Now, the throne merely by its influence on the popular imagination acts as a link between sections of society that would otherwise be dissociated. We may analyse as we please the feelings that welled up in the hearts of the populace at the National Thanksgiving; and doctrinaire Republicans may, if they like, even resolve these feelings into the simple elements of superstition and ignorance; but they cannot deny the vivifying force in the life of a nation inspired by the sentiment that every man in it feels that he has something in common with the illustrious figure who represents the traditions of a thousand years of national existence, and the glory gained by the virtues, triumphs, and sufferings of a great and ancient race.

Moreover, even the most constitutional of English monarchs is able to exercise in matters of State a considerable influence; it is true he has no initiating power in domestic affairs, but even in this closed field he can do much merely by suggestion, and there are times when the strife between the parties becoming violent and bitter, he is able to act as a moderating power and preserve the balance between the various conflicting interests. In regard to foreign politics, a wise monarch is able to advance the interests of his people by means beyond the reach of the most gifted of his Ministers; and though the time has not yet arrived when the achievements of Queen Victoria and King Edward in the field of international politics can be fully revealed, yet sufficient information in this respect has transpired to enable their subjects to judge how much power in the world they would have lost had not the Republican movement of 1871 been abruptly checked by a renascence of the spirit of loyalty.

One of the most important results of the profound change in the feeling of the nation was the remarkable increase in the popularity of the Prince of Wales. Even in 1872, it was foreseen that when he mounted the throne he would be as popular a sovereign as anyone of his House had ever been. Considerable influence was, indeed, brought to bear upon Queen Victoria to induce her to allow her son to share with her the duties and anxieties of her high position. It was generally felt that the Prince had now arrived at an age when he could at least carry out the work that his father had undertaken, and act as a sort of councillor and secretary to his mother.

Queen Victoria, however, was a woman who concealed beneath a genuine sweetness and amiableness of manner a certain obstinacy and love of power for its own sake. No doubt she had far more knowledge and experience than her son had at that time, but she failed to see that, unless the Prince were given an opportunity of gaining knowledge and experience in matters of State, he would always remain at a disadvantage. He was now much older than his father was when the latter began to guide and counsel the Queen, and having a far closer and far wider acquaintance with English ways of feeling and English ways of thinking, the young Prince would surely have carried out his duties to the general satisfaction of the people. There cannot be the slightest doubt that he was then passionately eager to have at least some small share in the sobering responsibilities of government. He had risen up, as from the grave, a changed man; he had new feelings, new thoughts, new ideals. He felt, as Dean Stanley said in his Thanksgiving sermon, that on him, as by a new consecration and confirmation, had devolved the glorious task of devoting to his country's service that life which, in a special sense, was no longer his but his country's, by reason of the countless prayers which the people had offered up to heaven for its preservation. The sympathy evoked by his illness and the extraordinary rejoicing at his recovery had produced a profound impression on his mind, and had made him resolve to do all in his power to justify and reward the affection shown to him by the people. He had come to a turning point in his career, but unhappily he was unable to take the path that he desired to follow.

THE ROYAL CHILDREN IN 1874

In the first of these photographs, both of which were taken in the year 1874, the present King George is shown at the age of nine years; in the group he is seen at the left of the picture, while his elder brother, the late Duke of Clarence, is standing at the right.

From photographs by Hughes & Mullins

It is now generally known that Queen Victoria insisted on conducting herself every matter touching the business of the Government until the Thursday before her death. Her son was never consulted on matters of State policy, and he was merely permitted to appear at ceremonies and functions of a social character. As time went on, and he saw younger men than himself holding positions of great power and influence, he openly regretted that at the beginning of his career he had been relegated to the position of a mere figure-head. It was always a favourite theory with King Edward, and one on which he has acted in the training of his own sons, that the respect due to Royalty did not begin until the responsibilities of Royalty were undertaken; and when he was in the prime of his life he used sadly to compare his rather aimless existence as Prince of Wales with the important and stirring life of his young nephew, the German Emperor.

There can be no doubt that King Edward always aspired after nobler things than holding levées on behalf of his widowed mother, and bowing and shaking hands for three or more hours at a stretch with an endless stream of people. Yet when he had overcome his disappointment, his commonsense at once showed him that State functions, in the circumstances, were bound for a long time to form the greater part of his duties, and that he could no more put them aside than he could shift the ordinary difficulties that occur in the life of every man. One has since been able to see by the constant opportunities which he gave his own son of travelling about the world, and studying the men and manners of his overseas dominions and making the acquaintance of the statesmen and leaders of opinion of the Empire, how gladly he would himself have adopted a life of travel, adventure, and large and varied observations. As it was, he was limited to the pursuits of an English country gentleman, and his ambitions were bounded by the laying of foundation-stones and the opening of charitable institutions.

The Limitations of the Prince of Wales

Yet on this humble and rather uninteresting work he expended an amount of forethought and energy almost as remarkable as that which he employed in later years on the larger field of international politics. King Edward was a strong man, and, like all really strong men, he showed his strength as well in little things as in great things. After his illness he set himself to perform with all his might the duties within his reach; and though these duties seemed at the time very small, yet in carrying them out he accomplished in the end a task of astonishing importance. He transformed entirely the traditions attaching to the position of the Prince of Wales.

It is the lot of the heirs to most of the thrones in Europe to have their energies directed chiefly to the study of the art of war and the management of vast armaments. In some respects their lot is a fortunate one. It gives them from their youth upward at least a high and interesting object in life; it keeps both their mind and their imagination employed, and, to some extent, it trains and directs their character. Great Britain is, happily perhaps, not a great military State; and, owing to this circumstance, each Prince of Wales has been free to pursue a different career. In the age of George III., however, it was not usual to consider that the heir to the crown had important and onerous duties to discharge for the benefit of the people, or that his time belonged to his country rather than to himself. To be required to take an active interest in every charitable work; to travel hundreds of miles for the purpose of laying a foundation-stone or opening a new building; to attend innumerable dinners with a view to enticing money from the purses of the guests, while making a substantial contribution oneself; to be expected to assist every conceivable object from an orphan asylum to a lifeboat institution; from an international exhibition to a cab-driver's benevolent society—all this was never supposed to form any part of the public or private duty of the Princes of Wales. No kind of serious obligation to the country directed any of their actions. They reckoned that they were born to a great position merely to enjoy it.

A LITTLE-KNOWN PORTRAIT OF QUEEN ALEXANDRA IN THE LATE 'SIXTIES

Such were the traditions that King Edward destroyed. Little men wait for opportunities of distinguishing themselves; great men make their own opportunities. In 1872 the future King, as has been said, resolved, on the solemn and moving occasion of the National Thanksgiving, to justify and reward the people for the affectionate loyalty which they had shown to him. And though for many years no opportunity seemed to be allowed him for doing the good work he wanted to do, yet when a survey of his career as Prince of Wales is taken, it can be seen that, in spite of the great difficulties placed in his path, he accomplished what he had determined to accomplish.

How King Edward Kept his Resolve

At the age of thirty he became one of the busiest men in the kingdom. There were not many days in the year when he had not some public duty to perform, and, unlike his mother, he never failed to keep an engagement. It was largely by the qualities that he showed after his illness that he acquired his amazing popularity among the working classes, who have seen him busy on some errand of kindness in nearly all the great towns in England. He not only gave up a great deal of his time to promoting every good work that was brought under his notice, but he also gave a great deal of his money for the same purpose, and spent a really large fortune in actively supporting every movement of importance for the social, moral, and physical improvement of his people.

Some months after the National Thanksgiving he returned from a holiday in Italy completely restored to health. In a speech then made at Yarmouth, he said, with great feeling, to the townspeople who turned his passage through their streets into a triumphal procession: "I have to thank you for your sympathy during my illness. It is difficult for me now to speak upon that subject; but as it has pleased Almighty God to preserve me to my country, I hope I may not be ungrateful for the feeling which has been shown towards me, and that I may do all that I can to be of use to my countrymen." Such was the noble aspiration which led King Edward, in the days when he seemed to have little scope and opportunity, to find a means of establishing a new and glorious tradition in English history.

CHAPTER XXXVI

AFFAIRS AT HOME AND ABROAD, 1873-1880

Describing the end of the First Democratic Parliament, the Events leading up to the Russo-Turkish War, the Signing of the Treaty of Berlin, and Gladstone's famous Midlothian Campaign

"My mission," Gladstone had said, "is to pacify Ireland," and to that end, as has been seen in an earlier chapter, he had passed two important Bills into law—one disestablishing and partially disendowing the Irish State Church, and the other reforming, in the interests of the tenant, the Irish system of land tenure. He now proceeded, in February, 1873, to attempt the last of his three great Irish projects, namely, the reform of education in that country in accordance with Irish—that is to say, Catholic—ideas. The facilities for university education which existed in Ireland at that day, and for many years to come, were of such a nature that the Roman Catholic population refused to avail themselves of them, and it was plainly undesirable that the country should thus be left practically without the means of higher education.

The Bill was a serious attempt to remove an injustice without disturbing, more than could be helped, existing interests, or offending theological prejudice; but, like all other attempts to settle questions involving religious education, it met with determined opposition even from unexpected quarters. For one reason and another, it was found to satisfy neither the interests of education nor those of the existing colleges; it pleased neither Protestant nor Catholic, neither Liberal nor Conservative.

But, quite apart from the peculiar difficulties of this question and the unpopularity of the Irish University Bill, the country was by this time weary, and even suspicious, of Gladstone's energy. His reforming zeal was monotonous, and was likely to prove dangerous. The minds of the people were becoming coloured by another, and very different, mood from that of domestic reform. It was a growing feeling, which was voiced by Disraeli when he challenged Gladstone with words like these: "You have had four years of it; you have despoiled churches; you have threatened every corporation and endowment in the country; you have examined into everybody's affairs; you have criticised every profession and vexed every trade. No one is certain of his property, no one knows what duties he may have to perform to-morrow."

KING EDWARD IN THE EARLY 'SEVENTIES

From a photograph by Russell & Sons, showing the Prince of Wales, as he then was, in the year 1873

On March 11, forty-five adherents of the Government voting against them, the Irish University Bill was thrown out by a majority of three. Gladstone immediately resigned office, but on Disraeli's refusal to form a Government with that Parliament, he took up the burden again, and carried it throughout the year, passing the Judicature Bill, a measure amending the English system of legal administration. But divisions of opinion in his Cabinet and the unfavourable verdict of by-elections made it impossible for Gladstone any longer to resist the overwhelming change in popular feeling, and on January 24, 1874, Parliament was dissolved. Thus ended the first democratic Parliament, having more than exhausted its mandate.

The General Election of 1874 resulted in a Conservative majority, nominally of fifty, but actually, as Gladstone himself pointed out, of much greater power than that figure would indicate. For among the Liberal majority were counted those Irish members, who at this point had formed the beginnings of

the Irish Nationalist party as it is known to-day. "The Liberal majority," wrote Gladstone, "reckoned to have been returned from Ireland, was found at once to be illusory. Out of the 105 members the Liberals were little more than a dozen. The period immediately following the Church Act and Land Act had been chosen as one appropriate for a formal severance of the Irish National party from the general body of British Liberals. Their number was no less than fifty-eight, an actual majority of the Irish representation. They assumed the name of 'Home Rulers,' and established a separate Parliamentary organisation. On some questions of Liberal opinion co-operation was still continued. But, as regards the party, the weight of the Home Rulers clearly told more in favour of the Conservative Ministry than of the Opposition; and the Liberal party would have been stronger, not weaker, had the entire body been systematically absent." Thus arose that formidable organisation which was to prove the power of its favourite tactics—obstruction—even during the course of its first Parliament.

Start of the Home Rule Movement

Disraeli's Cabinet included Lord Derby as Foreign Secretary, Lord Salisbury as Secretary for India, Sir Stafford Northcote as Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Carnarvon as Colonial Secretary, and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach as Secretary for Ireland. Gladstone, though largely withdrawing from routine attendance at the House of Commons, continued throughout 1874 as officially leader of the Opposition; but this arrangement had great disadvantages for the Liberal party, and he consequently resigned that position in January of the following year, and was succeeded by Lord Hartington.

A ROYAL FAMILY GROUP

Photographed at Osborne in the early 'seventies, this interesting group includes Queen Victoria and the Princess of Wales, with her three eldest children.

The domestic policy of Disraeli's Administration, in great contrast with that of the preceding Government, was very quiet and unpretentious, so that the leading charge brought against the new Premier was that he had taken office without having any policy at all. That, of course, was merely to charge him with not being a Liberal. Loyally accepting, as is the fortunate tradition of British politics, the enactments of his predecessors, Disraeli sought, in accordance with Conservative principles, to give the country a rest from agitations, dealing with contentious questions only in so far as they were unavoidable, but legislating also in the interests of social as distinguished from political reform.

The more contentious Bills of the first year of this Government dealt with ecclesiastical matters. An attempt to amend the Endowed Schools Act, with the object of recovering for the Church of England many schools which had been transferred to the Endowed Schools Commission and had been made undenominational in character, was partly abandoned; the powers of the Commission were handed over to the Charity Commissioners, but Disraeli forbore to press the restoration of the schools in question to the Established Church.

A Scottish Church Patronage Bill was passed, doing away with the system by which the ministers of that Church were appointed to their livings by lay patrons, and introducing instead of it the system already followed by the other sectarian divisions of Scottish Presbyterianism, by which the congregations elected their preachers. This reform, although it embodied precisely the principle for which they stood, was bitterly opposed by these rival institutions.

The Public Worship Bill, introduced in the House of Lords by the Archbishops of the Church of England, was designed to deal with a difficulty created by the rapid extension throughout that Church of a desire to recover as much as possible of the ritual and of certain other characteristics which had been repudiated at the Reformation. The same widely divergent bodies of opinion and practice which are so prevalent to-day existed at that time in the Church of England, though in very different proportions from those which they have since assumed; and cases were frequently arising in which a clergyman did certain things, or did them in certain ways, which were censured by some, or perhaps by all, of his parishioners as suggestive of the Roman Catholic creed and discipline. Disraeli's Bill (for the Government soon identified themselves with it) provided such complainants with a court to which they might appeal for the settlement of the question whether such and such acts, positions, ornaments, etc., were or were not proper to the Church of England. A judge, appointed by the two Archbishops, with the concurrence of the Sovereign, was to hear all such cases in the ecclesiastical courts, and from his judgment there lay an appeal to the Privy Council.

The Irish Coercion Bills having been renewed, and Gladstone's Judicature Bill having been adopted and completed, the Government passed several measures in the interests of the working classes. Among these were a Merchant Shipping Act, enforcing upon shipowners a first instalment of those regulations for the safety of seamen which Mr. Plimsoll had been urging; an Agricultural Holdings Act, providing that, where no arrangement had been made to the contrary, a tenant should receive compensation on leaving his farm for improvements effected out of his own capital; and a Land Transfer Act, facilitating the registration of titles to land, with a view to making its sale and purchase simpler and cheaper. These measures were followed by a Labourers' Dwellings Act, conferring on municipalities the power of compulsory purchase of land or buildings for the erection of houses for working men; a Friendly Societies Act, affording facilities for the examination by Government officials of the soundness, in actuarial and other respects, of these institutions; and an Act to amend the Labour Laws, having the effect that the combination of workmen to strike for better wages or other conditions ceased to be in itself a criminal conspiracy.

The Rising Flood of Imperialism

Disraeli's interest, however, lay not in domestic reforms, but in a world-policy by which England might recover her ancient authority and renown in the councils of the nations. In this respect the feeling of England was with him; the Imperialist sentiment was rising like a flood. An opportunity soon occurred to please the national desire. The Khedive of Egypt, who held 177,000 out of the 400,000 original shares in the Suez Canal, found himself forced by his extravagant expenditure to sell them; and Frederick Greenwood, editor of the "Pall Mall Gazette," conceived

the project that the British Government should buy the whole block. He carried the suggestion to Disraeli, who at once adopted it, and the Khedive's holding in the canal was thereupon purchased, at the end of 1875, on behalf of the Government, at a cost of £4,000,000. The transaction was a wise and important one, since there was no little danger at the time that the canal might become a French monopoly, to the serious disadvantage of British commerce. But the extraordinary enthusiasm with which the British nation welcomed the news of the purchase showed that it was regarded as much more than a commercial precaution. It gratified and whetted the desire that Britain should assert herself abroad, and Disraeli did not discourage the belief that a far-reaching policy lay behind it.

The progress undertaken by the Prince of Wales through the Indian Empire, which is the subject of special chapters of this work, took place in the winter of 1875-6. At the same time Indian affairs were brought more immediately under the hand of the Secretary for India, an administrative change which led to the retirement of Lord Northbrook from the Viceroyalty and to the appointment of Lord Lytton in his stead. Early in 1876 Queen Victoria assumed, on Disraeli's initiative, the title of Empress of

QUEEN ALEXANDRA IN 1875
From a photograph by King

India. These events, which were quite in accordance with the popular wave of Imperial feeling, had also the double object of arousing the loyalty of Indian princes and peoples, and of warning Russia against further advances towards our Indian frontier. A descent by Russia upon British India was at that time regarded as the principal danger against which Britain had to provide, and the announcement that the independence of Afghanistan would be safeguarded by Britain, together with the demonstration of the magnificence of the Crown by means of the Prince's visit to India, were precautions against it.

The unhealthy and scandalous condition of the Ottoman Empire was at this time, as before and after, a standing menace to European peace; but the Eastern Question, as it was called, became specially acute in the spring of 1875, when a revolt in Bosnia and Herzegovina, caused by the cruelties and oppressions of taxation, was thought

KING EDWARD IN 1876
From a photograph by Lock & Whitfield

to have been fostered by Russian agents. Here, too, Russia was the object of British suspicion and alarm; Russia was supposed to have but one end in view, the dismemberment of Turkey and the establishment of herself at Constantinople. In accordance with the Treaty of Paris, 1856, British policy was directed towards securing the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

But the Sultan's miserable misgovernment made this policy a very difficult one. The extravagance and general unsoundness of Turkish finance resulted, in the autumn of 1875, in a humiliating composition with the creditors of the State; and the Mohammedan Turks, with the connivance, if not at the instigation, of their Government, were persecuting the Christian population with fiendish cruelties. Some degree of order in the finances of the country and some deference to the humanitarian sentiments of Europe were necessary if the Turkish Empire was to be maintained in its independence. The alternative disruption of Turkey would certainly have led to disagreement among European Powers, and probably to war; and for that reason, as well as in deference to the theory of the balance of power, every effort was made to preserve its integrity.

A circular note from Count Andrassy, the Chancellor of Austria, recommending the steps which should be taken

QUEEN ALEXANDRA AND HER CHILDREN IN 1876
From a photograph by W. & D. Downey

with this purpose by the European Powers in concert. was agreed to by the Powers concerned, and, after some discussion, was accepted by the Turkish Government; but the Sultan's promises were as usual unfulfilled, and the rebellion in Bosnia and Herzegovina continued, with growing sympathy from Servia and Montenegro.

Meanwhile, Mohammedan rancour rose to such a point that Europeans were murdered in Salonika and threatened in Constantinople; and, in view of the failure of the Andrassy note, a more urgent communication was drawn up at Berlin, embodying the concerted demands of Russia, Germany, and Austria, and intended to represent the demands of Europe. This Berlin note specified measures for the pacification of the Turkish provinces, by a commission including both Christians and Mohammedans, working under the direction of representatives of the signatory Powers. It received the adhesion of France and Italy. But Disraeli, with Lord Derby, his Foreign Secretary, and the British Government, refused to become a party to it. A suspicion that its imperative demands masked the selfish designs of Russia, together with wounded pride because our Foreign Office had had no share in formulating the memorandum, placed England in the ungracious position of defeating the Concert of Europe. The Berlin memorandum was consequently never sent to the Turkish Government; the policy of peaceful representations was at an end, and there was no longer any possibility of avoiding war.

The brief Reign of Sultan Murad

A revolution which took place in Constantinople on May 30, 1876, by which the Sultan Abdul Aziz was deposed and his nephew Murad enthroned, was prompted by the threatening situation. With the new Sultan there was to begin a new era. He proclaimed that his throne rested on the will of his people, and promised radical economies in expenditure. But Murad's power was short lived; three months later he was dethroned, and his brother Abdul Hamid succeeded him.

In June, 1876, England was startled and horrified by the reports, from the Constantinople correspondent of the "Daily News," of the "Bulgarian atrocities." An insurrection in Bulgaria had been repressed by Turkish irregular troops, whose inveterate barbarism broke out into massacres of men, women, and children, accompanied by deeds of the most savage cruelty. Disraeli and Lord Derby sought in vain to discredit the reports; the "Daily News" letters carried conviction with them, and Mr. Baring, sent out from England to investigate the matter, confirmed them in every essential point. Further, the Turkish Government not only did not punish the miscreants, but rewarded them with honours. This was Gladstone's opportunity. He came out from his retirement, and with pamphlets, speeches in the House of Commons, and addresses to vast meetings from the platform, he called for the expulsion of the Turkish Government and its agents from the Christian provinces of the Turkish Empire. The indignation which he inflamed began the reaction against Disraeli's Government, which was to increase during the next four years. Yet, at the moment, popular sympathy was reclaimed, with no great difficulty, by the Imperialist Premier. "The present," he said, "is a state of affairs which requires the most vigilant examination and the most careful management. But those who suppose that England ever would uphold, or at this moment particularly is upholding, Turkey, from blind superstition and from a want of sympathy with the highest aspirations of humanity, are deceived. What our duty is at this critical moment is to maintain the Empire of England. Nor will we ever agree to any step, though it may obtain for a moment comparative quiet and false prosperity, that hazards the existence of that Empire." The appeal to the deeply rooted dread of Russia, which was then so general in England, quenched the fire of humanitarian sentiment, and many people were easily persuaded that Gladstone was the spokesman of Russian interests.

The Bulgarian Atrocities

The Eastern situation darkened to its crisis. Servia and Montenegro declared war against Turkey in June, 1876, the Servian army being largely officered by Russians. The Turkish arms were victorious, and in September the Prince of Servia called for the mediation of the Powers. Lord Derby urged the Sultan to grant an armistice, and to agree to the holding of a general conference to consider terms of peace; but neither Turkey nor Servia was compliant, and war broke out once more. By this time Russia was plainly backing Servia; and when Servia was again defeated, the Russian Government brought strong pressure

A PICTURESQUE GROUP OF THE ROYAL CHILDREN

upon Turkey, threatening to occupy the country. British feeling, on the other hand, was increasingly enlisted on the Turkish side, and Lord Derby had to explain to the Tsar the general fear that he would make use of the present disturbances to occupy Constantinople and remain there permanently. The Tsar having denied any intention of the kind, it was agreed that a conference of all the Powers should be held at Constantinople to consider the measures which should be taken for the government of the Turkish provinces, with due regard to the integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

The Earl of Beaconsfield (for under that title Disraeli had entered the Upper House in August, 1876) sent Lord Salisbury and Sir Henry Elliott, then British Ambassador at the Porte, as the British delegates to the Conference. The appointment of Lord Salisbury pleased Gladstone, whose character-sketch of him at this time, in a letter to a correspondent, is of interest. "I think it right at once to give you my opinion of Lord Salisbury, whom I know pretty well in private. He has little foreign or Eastern knowledge, and little craft; he is rough of tongue in public debate, but a great gentleman in private society; he is very remarkably clever, of unsure judgment, but is above anything mean; has no Disraelite prejudices; keeps a conscience, and has plenty of manhood and character. In a word, the appointment of Lord Salisbury to Constantinople is the best thing the Government have yet done in the Eastern Question." (Morley's *Gladstone*, vol. 2, p. 560.)

The Conference was held at Constantinople, but without any result. The Turkish Government, not perhaps without some degree of justification, counted, in the last resort, upon British aid, and arrogantly rejected every demand made by the Powers represented. The Conference came to an end, but efforts continued to be made to bring the Ottoman Government to reason; and on March 31, 1877, a declaration was signed in London by several of the Powers, setting forth in the strongest terms the reforms which Turkey must make. The alternative was compulsion. This last warning was also rejected, and on April 24 the Russian Government announced its intention of active intervention. The war which ensued between Russia and Turkey is the subject of a separate chapter. But it may be said here that the sympathies of the British public were almost wholly on the side of the Turks; the wrongs of the Sultan's Christian subjects were forgotten, but the rooted mistrust of Russia remained and increased with every Russian victory. It was taken for granted that Russia would occupy Constantinople, or otherwise act prejudicially to British interests in the Mediterranean; and when Parliament met on January 17, 1878, the Queen's Speech declared that although the neutrality of Britain had not been violated by either of the belligerents, yet, if the war should unfortunately be prolonged, some unexpected occurrence might render it incumbent on her "to adopt measures of precaution." A warlike feeling ran high in London. The Government asked for a supplementary grant of six millions for the Navy and Army. The Mediterranean fleet was ordered to Constantinople. But Lord Beaconsfield's Cabinet was not all of one opinion with respect to these preparations. Lord Derby, his Foreign Secretary, and Lord Carnarvon, Secretary for the Colonies, both resigned, though Lord Derby was persuaded to withdraw his resignation when the fleet had been ordered back to Besika Bay. But the danger of war was still increased, even after the Turks had signed an armistice at Adrianople, by a report that Russian troops had advanced upon Constantinople. The fleet was sent into the Sea of Marmora, and to within a few miles of the Turkish capital, and large military and naval preparations were put in hand at home; but the Treaty of San Stefano, embodying all that Russia claimed and Turkey granted, allayed the British fears. Lord Derby now demanded that this treaty should be laid before a conference of the Powers, on the ground that no single nation, acting alone, had any right to determine the Eastern Question; but to this demand Russia refused to accede, in so far as the settlement of her own relations with Turkey were concerned.

British Mistrust of Russia

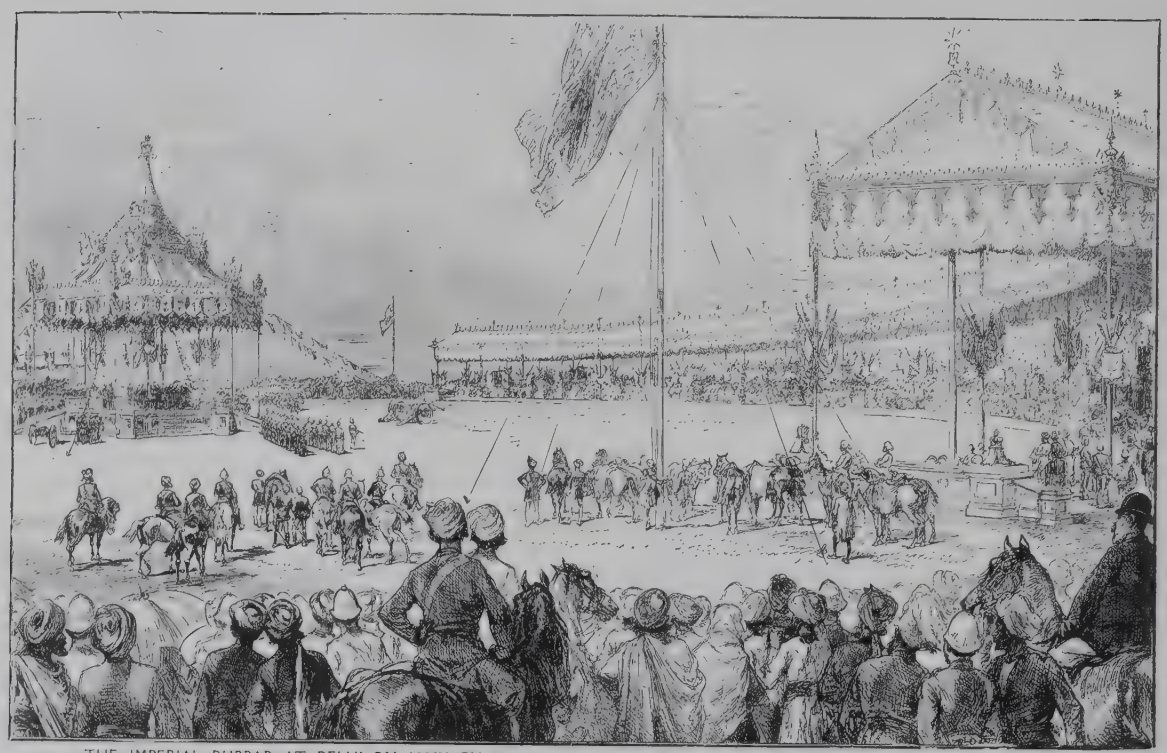
The War Fever in England

KING EDWARD'S SONS IN THEIR BOYHOOD
From a photograph of Prince Albert Victor, the late Duke of Clarence, and Prince George, the present King, taken in 1876.

On receiving this check, Lord Beaconsfield's Government took measures of such a minatory and aggressive nature as led to Lord Derby's immediate resignation. They proposed to call out the reserves, to fetch a strong contingent of Indian troops to Malta, to occupy Cyprus, and to seize a seaport in Asia Minor. Lord Derby was succeeded by Lord Salisbury, who immediately issued a circular to British ambassadors abroad, stating that Britain could take no part in any congress which was not at liberty to revise all the terms of the Treaty of San Stefano.

The announcement, made on April 17, the day after Parliament had adjourned, that Indian troops had been called to Europe, startled the country profoundly. The step created a dangerous precedent; for though Parliament had control of the numbers of the home forces, the Indian army was directly under the Crown; and if the Sovereign were free to bring her Asiatic soldiers to Europe, her armed power would no longer be restricted by the will of the people. The surprise thus sprung upon the country shook public confidence in the Beaconsfield Government.

Both Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury attended the Berlin Congress, which opened on June 13, 1878, having previously entered into a secret agreement with Russia, by which the main lines of the Treaty of San Stefano were



THE IMPERIAL DURBAR AT DELHI ON JANUARY 1, 1877: PROCLAMATION OF QUEEN VICTORIA AS EMPRESS OF INDIA
Early in 1876, Queen Victoria, on Disraeli's initiative, assumed the title of Empress of India, and the above illustration from a journal of the period depicts the proclamation scene at Delhi in the following year.

accepted beforehand. The British Government had also a secret agreement with Turkey, by which the former undertook the defence of the Sultan's Asiatic provinces, receiving possession, in return, of the island of Cyprus. The northern boundary of Turkey was fixed by the Congress at the Balkan range of mountains, the portion of Bulgaria north of that limit becoming an independent principality; and Servia and Montenegro also received their independence. Bosnia and Herzegovina were to be occupied by Austria with a view to the restoration of order. These and other provisions of the Treaty of Berlin, dated July 13, 1878, formed a settlement of the Eastern Question which was in some respects more in accordance with Liberal than with Conservative opinion in England, inasmuch as the Turk was thereby cleared out from provinces which his misrule had long oppressed. Lord Beaconsfield returned, bringing "peace with honour," and received a magnificent welcome. His popularity was now at its highest point. His success was almost universally acclaimed. He had restored his country to a position of importance among European nations, and he was able to show that his policy had been dictated in every particular by the Imperial interests of Britain alone.

"Peace with Honour"

But now the tide of Imperialist feeling began to ebb. There arose instead of it a dissatisfaction throughout the country, due to Lord Beaconsfield's habit of acting without taking Parliament into his confidence, and of startling the nation with sudden and unexpected strokes of policy. There was an increasing uneasiness lest his methods should lead the country into war. No one knew how far he might be prepared to go, or what risks he would run, in his determination to recover a position of ascendancy for Britain.

The Afghan War and the troubles in South Africa, each of which is the subject of a separate chapter of this work, were difficulties into which Britain was, in fact, led by Lord Beaconsfield's policy. It was at this time also that Britain became involved in Egyptian responsibilities. Ismail, Khedive of Egypt, having lavished enormous sums on public works and reduced the population to misery by oppressive taxation, applied to the British Government for the assistance of a financial expert in the reconstruction of his tangled affairs. The report of this official resulted in the appointment of Mr. Goschen and M. Joubert as representatives of the English and French bondholders. They instituted important reforms; but in 1878 a further commission was appointed, with the consequence that the Khedive agreed to the establishment of a Ministry of three—Nubar Pasha, Mr. Rivers Wilson, and M. de Blignières—France and England thus making themselves jointly responsible for the government of Egypt. But the Khedive soon became restive under these restraints; and having dismissed the conjoint Ministry and set up a purely native administration, he was forced by the Powers to abdicate in favour of his son Tewfik. At the same time the joint responsibility of France and Britain for the regulation of Egyptian affairs was recognised by the European Powers.

Wars, agitations, and the increasing burden of responsibilities abroad, at length wearied the country. In addition, England was suffering, in 1878 and 1879, from a great wave of poverty and commercial depression; the harvests were bad, and Ireland was on the verge of famine. Sir Stafford Northcote, who had succeeded Disraeli as leader of the House of Commons, had neither the ability nor the strength of character of his chief, and the Government became weakened both in Parliament and in the country.

Parnell's Methods of Obstruction

The tactics of the Irish Nationalist members in the House of Commons, which came to be known as "obstruction," were devised by the powerful and inscrutable Parnell, who discovered that by taking every advantage of the mechanism of parliamentary procedure, he was able practically to bring the machine to a standstill. Beginning with a few adherents within the Irish party, of whom

Mr. Biggar and Mr. O'Connor Power were the most notable, Parnell succeeded in winning the leadership of the whole body of Nationalists. Obstruction was applied not only in debates upon Irish subjects, but in any debate in which it was possible to vex and to stultify the House of Commons. The object of these tactics was not only to force attention to Irish claims, but also to demonstrate that one assembly was insufficient to carry out legislation both for the United Kingdom and for Ireland.

THE SULTAN ABDUL HAMID II.
Brother of Murad V., he succeeded to the throne of Turkey in 1876, and in the following year gave the country a Parliament, which was soon afterwards withdrawn, not to be restored until 1908.
Photo W. & D. Downey

During the summer of 1879 Parnell also established the Irish Land League, with the object of securing the land of Ireland for peasant proprietors. Landlords were to be got rid of altogether. The plan of campaign was that farmers should combine to demand lower rents; and that until the reduction in rents had been conceded they should refuse to pay any rent at all. Under these circumstances, it was thought, landlords would very soon desire nothing more than to sell their land; and funds were to be collected in America for the purpose of buying the land from them. Parnell himself was not guilty of recommending violence or intimidation, but a considerable proportion of the Irish peasantry were in a dangerous mood. The agitation gathered strength, until the Government found it necessary, in November, 1879, to arrest Mr. Michael Davitt, Mr. Daly, and other Irish leaders for seditious and violent language used in an agrarian meeting in Ireland.

Of Irish legislation, the Government had little to show. They passed a measure dealing with education—the Dublin University Bill, which alienated many of their supporters and gave no real satisfaction to any party concerned.

MURAD V., SULTAN OF TURKEY
When, on May 29, 1876, the Sultan Abdul Aziz was deposed, Murad V., the eldest son of Abdul Mejid, was placed on the throne. His reign, however, was brief, as he was deposed, on the ground of insanity, in August of the same year.
Photo W. & D. Downey

The methods by which they relieved the famine in Ireland, including the advance of money to landlords for improvements, at the low rate of 1 per cent., and other advances for the purpose of public works, aroused the indignation of the Irish, on the ground that the whole of the money for relief was to pass through the hands of the hated landlords. The Government's record for domestic legislation in England was equally barren; the completion of the Judicature Acts, begun by the preceding Ministry, and an Act regulating Army Discipline, were their principal achievements. Their finance, owing to the foreign policy, showed a large increase in expenditure, for which the necessary money had been raised in an improvident manner.

The session of 1879 was the sixth session of Lord Beaconsfield's Government; the Parliament of 1874 was drawing to its natural close; and on both sides preparations were being made for a General Election. The by-elections throughout the country had not as yet shown any clear reaction against the Conservative Ministry; but the municipal elections had indicated a change of feeling in the towns, and many moderate men were fearing, as certain Midlothian electors expressed it, that "if the Government continued much longer the whole nation would be in the poorhouse."

The smouldering Liberal reaction was fanned into a flame, and then into a conflagration, during November and December, 1879, by the fervid eloquence of Gladstone. Early in that year, he had agreed to contest the county of Midlothian against Lord Dalkeith, its Conservative member, and on November 24 he set out to make a series of speeches in the constituency. His journey from Liverpool to Edinburgh was, as he said, "like a triumphal procession." "Nothing like it," says Lord Morley, "had ever been seen before in England. Statesmen had enjoyed great popular receptions before, and there had been plenty of cheering and bell-ringing and torchlight in individual places before. On this journey of a bleak winter day it seemed as if the whole countryside were up. The stations where the train stopped were crowded, thousands flocked from neighbouring towns and villages to main centres on the line of route, and even at wayside spots hundreds assembled, merely to catch a glimpse of the express as it dashed through. At Carlisle

THE LAST VISIT OF THE SULTAN ABDUL AZIZ TO THE MOSQUE AT BAGDSCHA
Turkey's summary methods of high politics are well illustrated in the case of Abdul Aziz, who, after being deposed, was taken to his palace at Chiragan and there put to death by the new Grand Vizier and the Minister of War.

they presented addresses, and the traveller made his first speech, declaring that never before in the eleven elections in which he had taken part were the interests of

THE "MOONLIGHTING" OUTRAGES IN IRELAND

About 1880, secret societies carried out in Ireland a series of outrages, chiefly at night. The notices sent to those who were to be visited were signed "Captain Moonlight," and thus the members of these societies became known as "Moonlighters."

the country so deeply at stake. He spoke again with the same moral at Hawick. At Galashiels he found a great multitude, with an address and a gift of the cloth they manufactured. With bare head in the raw air, he listened to their address, and made his speech. He told them that he had come down expressly to raise effectually before the people of the country the question in what manner they wished to be governed; it was not this measure or that, it was a system of government to be upheld or overthrown."

There were six principles which Gladstone emphasised as those which this country ought to observe—"to foster the strength of the Empire by just laws and by economy; to seek to preserve the world's peace; to strive to the uttermost to cultivate and maintain the principle of concert in Europe; to avoid needless and entangling engagements; to see that our foreign policy shall be inspired by such love of freedom as had marked Canning, Palmerston, Russell; to acknowledge the equal rights of all nations."

With profound moral earnestness and extraordinary eloquence, Gladstone aroused Midlothian and the whole country to all that is noblest in Liberalism. But if Mr. Gladstone was able to show the dangers of Lord Beaconsfield's Imperialism, the Conservative Premier, with astonishing foresight, was able to predict the dangers upon which the Liberal party was inevitably running. In a letter to the Duke of Marlborough, published on March 9, 1880, the day after the impending dissolution of Parliament had been made known, Lord Beaconsfield clearly foretold that his opponents would capitulate to the Irish demand for Home Rule. This suggestion, that they would under any circumstances enter into an alliance with the Irish Nationalists, was indignantly rejected by the leaders of the Liberal party in 1880.

Parliament was dissolved on March 24, and the elections resulted in the return of 347 Liberals, 240 Conservatives, and 65 Nationalists. Gladstone, who had already been nominated and elected member for Leeds without his own concurrence, was returned as member for Midlothian on April 5 by a majority of 209. Of Gladstone's great opponent Lord Morley says: "Lord Beaconsfield was staying alone at that time in the historic halls of Hatfield, their master being then abroad. There, hour by hour, and day after day, news of the long train of disasters reached him. From one in confidential relations with him, and who saw much of him at this moment, I have heard that the fallen Minister, who had counted on a very different result, now faced the ruin of his Government, the end of his career, and the overwhelming triumph of his antagonist with an unclouded serenity and a greatness of mind worthy of a man who had known high fortunes, and filled to the full the measure of his gifts and his ambitions."

The victory was Gladstone's personal victory, and although he was now seventy-one years of age, and desired leisure rather than public life, it was inevitable that he should once more take up the duties of the Premiership. Queen Victoria, indeed, sent for Lord Hartington, but he felt that he could not fill the place so long as his great chief was still a member of Parliament. Gladstone was therefore summoned to Windsor on April 23, and undertook the Queen's commission to form a Government.

AN EPISODE IN THE IRISH AGITATION

The disturbed condition of Ireland is well illustrated by the above illustration, which shows police officers in the act of searching a peasant's house for firearms. Inset is a portrait of Charles Stewart Parnell, the "uncrowned King of Ireland," who exercised wonderful influence both in Parliament and throughout the country, and who was instrumental in bringing the claims of Ireland to the front.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE RUSSO-TURKISH WAR

A Graphic Description of the Struggle Between these Countries in 1877-78, Contributed by a Famous War Correspondent, who was Present at Most of the Battles

DUE to events narrated in the preceding chapter, Russia had, in November of 1876, mobilised six army corps on the Roumanian frontier. A last effort was, however, made by the Russian Government to ensure peace. General Ignatieff was sent on a special mission to Vienna, Berlin, Paris, and London, to explain that his Sovereign had concentrated 500,000 troops on the Russian frontier, and spent £10,000,000 in so doing. If Europe would join with Russia in coercing Turkey to do right and justice to her Christian subjects in obedience to the resolutions of the Conference, the Tsar would willingly put an end to his costly armaments, and decentrate his troops. A draft protocol containing the Russian propositions was signed, with reservations, in London by representatives of all the Powers on March 31, but it was rejected by the Sultan in the most energetic terms. The Sublime Porte, he asserted, refused to be placed under the tutelage of Europe, or submit to any kind of foreign interference with his internal affairs. Moreover, the demands of the Powers amounted to a virtual abrogation of the ninth article of the Treaty of Paris, which secured the dignity and independence of Turkey. It was felt in every Chancellery in Europe that this reply meant inevitable war; and on April 13 debates on the position took place both in the House of Lords and in the House of Commons in which the Liberal Opposition attacked the Government for their line of conduct, and for practically violating the Treaty of Paris.

ALEXANDER II., TSAR OF RUSSIA

Though a lover of peace, he felt that the action of Turkey left no alternative but a declaration of war, and "invoking the blessing of God upon our valiant armies," he gave the order to cross the Turkish frontier.

The war fever throughout all Russia and the Slav-speaking countries in the Balkan Peninsula was raised to an almost unparalleled height, and even the peace-loving Alexander II., despot though he was, was compelled to take action. On April 20 he left St. Petersburg for Kischeneff, on the Russian frontier, where, two days later, he held a great review of the troops, and on April 24 issued a manifesto in which he stated that "having exhausted our pacific efforts to secure an amelioration in the position of the Christians in the East we are compelled by the haughty obstinacy of the Porte to proceed to more decisive acts. A feeling of equity and of our own dignity enjoins it. By her refusal Turkey places us under the necessity of having recourse to arms . . . and to act independently. In now invoking the blessing of God upon our valiant armies we give the order to cross the Turkish frontier." A formal notification of belligerency was sent to all the Powers, including Turkey.

On the same day on which this manifesto was issued, there took place at Kischeneff a combined military and religious demonstration so strikingly dramatic that one has to turn back to the wars of the Jews recorded in the Old Testament to find a parallel. The whole army of the south, numbering over 200,000 men, was drawn up on the plain outside the city in three ranks a mile in length. The Tsar, with his brother, the Grand Duke Nicholas, Commander-in-Chief, and attended by a magnificent suite, passed these serried ranks in review, while the bands played the beautiful and stirring national hymn. Then they proceeded to a mound where, in full view of the grand army, an altar, brought from the cathedral, had been erected, together with banners, lamps, and other paraphernalia by which the Greek Church adorns her most imposing ceremonials. The Emperor and his brother dismounted, and the former, as head of the Church, took part, with the Metropolitan and chief ecclesiastical dignitaries arrayed in gorgeous robes, in the performance of the Mass. It was a moving and solemn scene; scarce a sound was heard from the vast cohorts of soldiers and scores of thousands of civilians. After intoning appropriate passages from the Liturgy, the Archbishop ascended a platform beside the altar, and having read the Tsar's manifesto, he addressed the army in a stirring speech. "Yours," said he, "is a great destiny; to raise the Cross of Christ above the Crescent in the lands beyond the Danube as upon these shores, to raise above the blasting and annihilating domination of the Mussulman, the Tree of Life, the Banner of Victory over Death, the Blessed Cross, and all the rights of citizenship which are dependent upon it." Turning to the Grand Duke Nicholas, the High Priest said: "Leader, Beloved of Christ, of the armies which have assembled in our bounds, I bless thee and thy companions in war. I give you all over to the mighty care of the Queen of Heaven, and I pray that she may lead you from hero deed to hero deed, from victory to victory. God guide you back uninjured and crowned with laurels." The Tsar then advanced towards the aged priest and

attempted to speak, but emotion and the tears which coursed down his cheeks prevented him, whereupon the army and the hosts of civilians, out of sympathy, cheered their beloved Emperor to the echo. This impressive scene and the subsequent sermons preached by all orders of the clergy made it evident that the Russian Church regarded the approaching war as nothing else than a religious crusade on behalf of the Cross as against the Crescent.

Britain's Attitude in the Dispute

The Turkish Government issued a protest against all these proceedings, insisting that Russia had declared war without having recourse to the mediation of the Powers in accordance with the duty imposed upon it by Article 8 of the Treaty of Paris of 1856; while Lord Derby, on behalf of the English Government, reminded Russia that by the London Protocol of March 31, Europe willed that Turkey should be allowed time to carry out her promised reforms; that Turkey, in refusing her consent to that protocol, had nevertheless reiterated her good intentions, and that Russia's isolated action was a distinct violation of the Treaty of Paris of 1871. On April 30 her Majesty's Government, after animated debates in Parliament, issued a proclamation of neutrality during the war—a step which came as a great shock to the Turkish Government, which had always believed that England was the one friend on whom it could rely. Lord Derby on May 6 addressed a letter to Count Schouvaloff, Russian Ambassador to the Court of St. James, in which, while explaining the issue of the proclamation of neutrality, he pointed out in clear language that there were British interests which must not be attacked. Foremost, the Suez Canal or its approaches must not be blockaded or injured; Egypt must not be attacked; Constantinople must not pass into other hands than its then possessors; the existing regulations for the navigation of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles must be maintained. There were also interests in the Persian Gulf which it would be necessary to protect. To this despatch Prince Gortschakoff replied on May 30 that the Imperial Cabinet of Russia would neither blockade nor interrupt, nor in any way menace the navigation of the Suez Canal. Egypt was part of the Ottoman Empire, and its contingents were in the Turkish Army; Russia might, therefore, consider herself to be at war with Egypt. Nevertheless, considering European, and especially English, interests, Russia would not bring Egypt within the radius of her military operations. As to Constantinople, the Imperial Cabinet repeated assurances already given that the acquisition of the capital was excluded from the views of the Emperor. It was important that the question of the straits should, in the interests of peace and the general balance of power, be settled by a common agreement on equitable and efficiently guaranteed bases. As to other British interests, such as the Persian Gulf and the route to India, the Imperial Cabinet would respect these as long as England remained neutral. The one vital interest of Russia was that the Christian populations of Turkey should be placed in a position in which their existence and security should be effectually guaranteed against the intolerable abuses of Turkish administration. It was not opposed to any of the interests of Europe, which suffered, too, from the precarious state of the East. The Imperial Cabinet had endeavoured to attain the desired end with the co-operation of the friendly and allied Powers. Forced now to pursue it alone, their august master was resolved not to lay down his arms without having completely, surely, and effectually guaranteed it.

Nothing remained now but for the Russian army to cross the Pruth and advance by a march of 370 miles towards the Danube—a secret convention having been made with the Roumanian Government to secure the free passage through that country of the Russian troops and their friendly treatment, while the Russian Government on their part undertook to respect the integrity of Roumania. When the Roumanian Chambers met on April 26 the convention was at once agreed to. Prince Charles, who had become practically the armed ally of Russia, put himself at the head of 12,000 troops, and occupied Kalafat and Oltenitza.

As has been said, the chief command of the Russian army of the south was in the hands of the Grand Duke Nicholas. He was in the very prime of life, tall, handsome, and in appearance very like the Tsar. A thorough soldier, he had been inspector-general of cavalry and engineers, had founded the Staff College in St. Petersburg, and had offered a prize open to the world for the best history of cavalry, which was won by a Canadian officer. General Nepokoitschitzki, his chief of the staff, enjoyed a great reputation as a soldier, and was known in military circles in Russia as "our Moltke." The army of invasion consisted of about 200,000 infantry and cavalry, with 800 guns. The Turkish army in Europe consisted of 250,000 men with 450 guns. Of these troops 85,000 were in the western provinces, from Bosnia to Thessaly and Montenegro, 60,000 on the Upper Danube to Widdin, 50,000 in the Quadrilateral—Rustchuk, Silistria, Osman-Bazar, and Shumla. The whole were under the command of Abdul Kerim Pasha, who had distinguished himself in the Crimean War and in the suppression of revolts in Armenia and Bulgaria; but the real director of operations was Ahmed Eyoub Pasha, a born fighter without scientific training. The other Turkish commanders were Suleiman Pasha, who had seen service in the campaign against Herzegovina and Montenegro, and Osman Pasha, who had won some distinction in the Servian War.

The Turkish Army and its Leaders

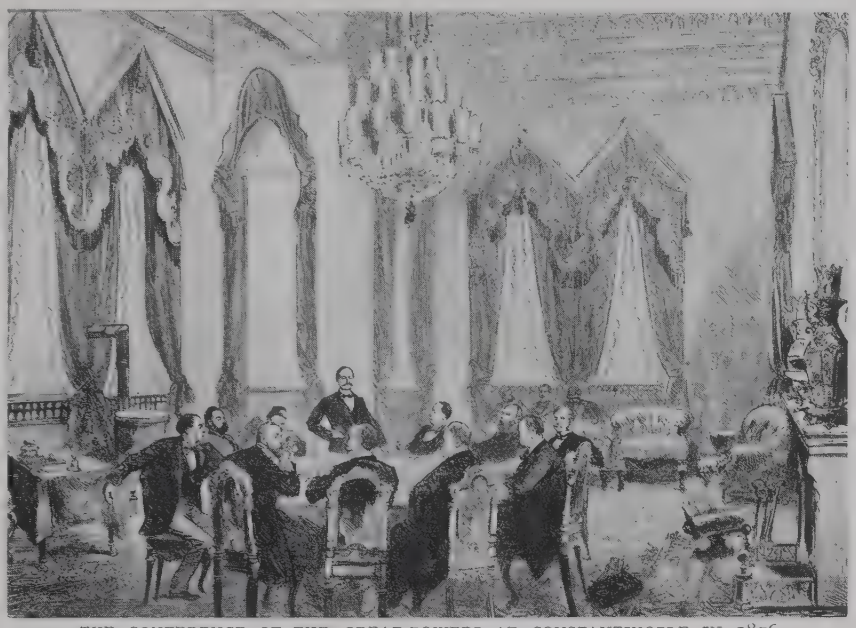
CABINET COUNCIL IN DOWNING STREET DISCUSSING THE EASTERN QUESTION

In 1876 a crisis of an alarming character occupied the attention of the British Government. Misrule in Turkey had brought the European provinces of the Porte into insurrection, and while one party in Britain was desirous of maintaining the rule of the Turk, there was another party equally resolved to terminate the oppression at all costs.

After crossing the Pruth, the Russian army of the south was divided into four columns, one to operate on the

Lower Danube, and the other three to be aligned some distance from, but parallel to, the Danube from the east of Bucharest to Slatina near the Servian frontier, and opposite to the great Turkish fortress of Widdin. The headquarters were established at Ploiesti while preparations were being made for forcing the passage of the Danube. The Tsar, who had returned to St. Petersburg, was seized with sleeplessness brought on by anxiety, and his physician advised him to go as near as possible to the seat of war. Accordingly, he left his own capital on June 2, and five days later reached the Russian headquarters, where he was met by Prince and Princess Charles of Roumania. His Majesty was accompanied by the Tsarevitch and his brothers, Prince Gortschakoff, Marshal Aldeburg, General Ignatieff, General Suvaroff, a descendant of the celebrated Muscovite commander of that name. General Milutine, Minister of War, etc.

The plan of campaign involved the crossing of the Danube at a point between Nicopolis and Silistria on the southern shore, and was originally fixed for June 6. But that was found to be an impossibility on account of the river being fifteen feet above its normal level, and the incomplete preparations of the barges with which to make a bridge of boats for the passage of the troops. Meanwhile there was a considerable fleet of Turkish monitors and gunboats on the river, and it became necessary to protect the waterway from Braila to above Nicopolis in order to prevent the Turkish fleet from destroying communications once the crossing of the Russian army had been accomplished. Accordingly, by daring exploits, two Turkish river ironclads were sunk opposite Braila by torpedoes, and a line of mines was laid across the stream, thus sealing it from the sea. At Rustchuk three ironclads were shut in by lines of torpedoes, and there they remained until the close of the war. Lines of torpedoes shut in two more Turkish ironclads at Nicopolis, and these were captured afterwards at the surrender of that fortress. One of the large ironclads on the lower river was sunk by a stationary torpedo, and the others remained idle in the port of Sulina. Later on the fleet of steam launches which had accomplished these splendid feats was increased to 54, and these policed the river and guarded the torpedo barricades till the end of the war.



THE CONFERENCE OF THE GREAT POWERS AT CONSTANTINOPLE IN 1876

The Eastern crisis increased in intensity when, in June, 1876, Servia and Montenegro declared war against Turkey. An armistice having been agreed upon, through the insistence of Russia, Lord Beaconsfield organised a conference of the Great Powers at Constantinople, Lord Salisbury attending it as the representative of the British Government. The conference proved abortive, the threatened Russo-Turkish War being only temporarily averted.

The Russian plan of campaign was to send a corps across the Danube at Braila into the Dobrudja, in order to protect their rear from any attack in that direction; to concentrate the main army aligned along the north bank of the river at some point between Nicopolis and Rustchuk, and there cross. Thereafter a strong force was to be posted along the line of the Lom, a tributary of the Danube, in order to mask the Quadrilateral. Another force was to act on the Isker, a river west of Plevna, against the Turkish army at Widdin. The main army was to advance, "protected as by two walls," over the Balkans to Adrianople, and thence to Constantinople. General Zimmerman, who was in command of the column at Braila, succeeded in his task by crossing his troops in boats, rafts, and steam tugs at Galatz on June 22, and drove back the Turks south of Trajan's Wall in the Dobrudja.

The Russian Plan of Campaign

By the 20th the main army was halted equidistant from Nicopolis, Sistova, and Rustchuk. The first intention was to cross near Nicopolis, but a personal reconnaissance convinced the Grand Duke and his chief of staff that it would be difficult to force a passage in face of the strong works there, and that the river had fallen sufficiently at Zimnitza-Sistova to allow a passage. Siege batteries established opposite Rustchuk and Nicopolis were ordered to begin a bombardment at these places on the 24th and 25th. On the 26th General Dragomiroff arrived at Zimnitza with a force of 15,000 troops, a pontoon train, and 100 boats and rafts constructed in the neighbourhood. During the night, while a feint at a crossing was made at Nicopolis, Dragomiroff's troops began to embark in the boats and pontoons for a point three miles below Sistova, and were not discovered by the Turkish outposts until near the shore; and by two in the morning of the 27th the Russians had gained positions on the southern banks of the stream and on a neighbouring hill. At five o'clock General Dragomiroff and General Skobeleff crossed the river—the latter by swimming his horse—and took command. The Turkish batteries were silenced, the heights above Sistova and the town itself were occupied after feeble resistance by the Turks, who fled, some to Tirnova and others to Nicopolis. The Russian loss in this remarkable feat was 790, of which 291 were killed, 446 wounded, and 53 missing. Throughout the 27th, Russian troops were brought from different points, ferried across the Danube, and before night 24,000 men were established in good defensible positions on the Turkish shore. Another division was ferried over the next day, and a beginning made with the building of a bridge of boats, which was finished on July 2. Meantime the Tsar and the Tsarevitch arrived at Zimnitza, and, after visiting the wounded, crossed the Danube, and made a round of the Russian troops on Turkish soil, being received with tremendous enthusiasm. After embracing and decorating General Dragomiroff and General Skobeleff, the Tsar went to the Bulgarian church, heard a Te Deum and took the Sacrament.

The Tsar among His Troops

That evening the Tsar addressed a proclamation to the Bulgarian people. "My troops," he said, "have crossed the Danube. They are entering your country, where they

THE SURRENDER OF OSMAN PASHA AT PLEVNA: BRINGING THE TURKISH CAPTIVE INTO THE RUSSIAN HEADQUARTERS

The scene in 1877 of a series of battles between the Turks and the Russians. Plevna, after three months' resistance, fell in December. At last, when Osman's provisions had reached their last limit, and one-third of his army lay sick and wounded, he made a desperate effort to break through the Russian cordon, but failed in his attempt and surrendered to the enemy.

have several times already fought for the improvement of the conditions of the Christian inhabitants of the Balkan Peninsula. . . . I have entrusted to my army, commanded by my brother, the Grand Duke Nicholas, the mission of ensuring to your nationality its sacred rights, which constitute the express conditions of a peaceful and regular development of all civil existence. These rights you have not acquired by force or armed resistance, but at the cost of centuries of suffering, at the cost of martyrs' blood, which you and your ancestors for ages have shed upon the soil of your native country. Men of the Bulgarian land, the aim of Russia is to construct, not destroy. She is called upon by the decrees of Providence to pacify and conciliate all races and worshippers in every part of Bulgaria, where dwell inhabitants of diverse origin and faith. Henceforth, Russia will protect all Christians from violence. No injury shall be done them or theirs with impunity. All crimes shall receive punishment. The life, liberty, honour, and property of every Christian shall be equally protected, whatever his faith. Vengeance will not guide us; the sentiment of strict equity alone prevailing, with the firm determination to introduce progressively order and law in the place of confusion and arbitrary sway. And to you, Mussulmans of Bulgaria, I have a salutary announcement to make. It is painful to me to have to recall the crimes and violence of which several of you have been guilty towards the defenceless Christians. These horrors cannot be forgotten, but the Russian authorities will not hold you responsible for the crimes of some of you. . . . Your property, your life, your honour, your families we shall regard as sacred. . . .

The Tsar's Appeal to the Bulgarians

"Wherever the Russian troops advance into the interior of the country the Turkish power will be replaced by a regular organisation, and the native inhabitants will be at once called upon to participate in the direction of the new authorities. The Bulgarian legion will serve as the kernel of a local armed force to maintain order and security. The anxiety you testify loyally to serve your country, the impartiality with which you perform the great task which duty has imposed on you, will prove to the world that you are worthy of the fate Russia has been for so many years preparing for you at the cost of such sacrifices. Obey the Russian authorities, submit faithfully to their directions, for in these lie your strength and safety. I humbly pray to God to give us victory over the enemies of Christianity and to bless our just cause." Prince Tscherkasse was appointed Governor-General of Bulgaria, and as each town was subsequently occupied by the Russians a municipal administration was at once organised.

Three days after the passage of the Danube, General Gourko was given command of the advance guard, consisting of 8,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry, and 32 guns, and on July 7, with only the loss of two men, Tirnova, the ancient capital of the Bulgarian Empire, with a population of 50,000, was captured. There he found that the main pass at Shipka was occupied by Turkish infantry. He divided his troops into two columns, taking command of the first himself, to turn Shipka Pass by crossing the Travna and Elena Passes, which were only blind trails, and arranging to attack Shipka from the south on the 17th, simultaneously with an attack from the north led by Prince Mirsky, who commanded the second column. The difficulties which Gourko had in crossing the mountains, 3,700 feet high, and cutting a track for his mountain guns, and the opposition he met with at Hainkoi, the exit from the passes into the Tundja Valley, and near the town of Kazanlyk,

Gourko's Great Mountain March

from Turkish detached forces, prevented him from making the joint attack on the north side on the 17th, and he sent a note to Prince Mirsky to delay his movement till the 18th, which message miscarried. The result was that Mirsky made his attack on the 17th, and Gourko his on the 18th, and both proved failures. Early on the morning of the 19th, General Skobeleff arrived at Gabrova at the north entrance of the Shipka Pass, and took a detachment of troops and four guns to reconnoitre Mount St. Nicholas at the crest of the pass, when he discovered the Turkish entrenchments evacuated, and all their tents, standards, and guns abandoned, with a large amount of ammunition and supplies. Before retiring in scattered groups among the mountains towards Philippopolis, the Turks had mutilated the Russian dead and wounded, and in one corner of St. Nicholas was a huge heap of human heads which had been cut from their bodies. Gourko established his headquarters at Kazanlyk.

As soon as the bridge of boats at Sistova had been strengthened, the ninth corps, under General Krudener, crossed into Bulgaria, marched westward, and stormed Nicopolis, with a loss of 1,278 in killed, wounded, and missing. The material losses of the Turks were 7,000 men, including 300 wounded surrendered as prisoners of war, with two pashas, six flags, 110 guns, 10,000 small arms, two monitors, and a great quantity of ammunition and supplies.

Panic at Adrianople and Constantinople

The political effect of the passage of the Danube, followed so quickly by Gourko's capture of Shipka, was great. There was a panic at Adrianople. The Mohammedan population, after massacring many of the Christians and destroying property which they could not appropriate, began fleeing towards Constantinople. In the capital itself the panic was almost as great. There were daily councils in the palace; the Sultan, who also was in a panic, was undecided as to whether he should "display the Standard of the Prophet" and proclaim a religious war, or leave Constantinople and proceed to Brusa, in Asia Minor, which was the capital of the Osmanli before the capture of Constantinople. Finally, however, the Cabinet was overthrown, the Commander-in-Chief, Abdul Kerim Pasha, was disgraced and banished, along with Redif Pasha, Minister of War, to an island in the Ægean. Mehemet Ali Pasha, a soldier of German origin, was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the armies north of the Balkans, and Suleiman Pasha was recalled from Montenegro, with all his troops, to Dédé-Aghatch, from which they were carried at once by rail to Adrianople. Reouf Pasha, Turkish Minister of Marine, was appointed to the command of the troops south of the Balkans.

These generals began at once to concentrate troops to meet the Russian advance across the Balkans on Adrianople. At the same time England sent her fleet to Besika Bay, and made warlike preparations. By the last week of July the Turks had brought together an army of 50,000 regulars for the defence of Roumelia, the possession of which was challenged by Gourko by a forced march across the Lower Balkans. Gourko fought two successful battles on two successive days against Reouf Pasha at Yeni-Zaghra and Dzuranli, but was compelled to retreat by sheep-tracks in the mountains before an immensely superior force under Suleiman Pasha, and retire behind the defences in the Greater Balkans. His right column, which included the Bulgarian legion, was practically exterminated, together with the civil population of Eski-Yaghra, and the town burned by Suleiman.

Great excitement was caused in England in connection with the authenticated reports of the massacres and atrocities committed by the Turkish regular troops and Bashi Bazouks, and also by the civilian Mohammedan people on the Christian population of the districts lately occupied by the Russian advance guard, and even before that event. In the retreat of the Russians to and across the Lower Balkans, and the advance of the Turkish army under Suleiman Pasha, the march of the Turks was accompanied by scenes of slaughter, cruelty, and robbery which completely eclipsed everything that had occurred in warfare since the days of Tamerlane. Counter-charges were made by the Turkish authorities of Russian and Bulgarian atrocities, which were categorically denied by Colonel Wellesley, British Military Attaché, and the English and other correspondents with the Russian army. Mr. Layard, British Ambassador at Constantinople, in a despatch to Lord Derby, thought that the statements of massacres and outrages on both sides were exaggerated, but he brought the excesses of the Bashi Bazouks and Circassians to the notice of the Grand Vizier. Relief was organised in England by a committee working on behalf of the sick and wounded Russian soldiers, by the Stafford House Committee, the National Aid Society for Sick and Wounded Soldiers in Time of War, the Russian Red Cross Society, the British Hospital and Ambulance Fund Committee, and the Turkish Compassionate Fund.

The Barbarous Turkish Troops

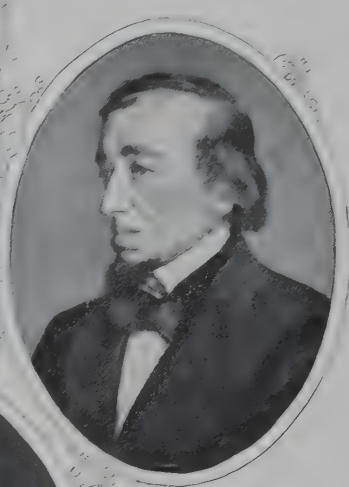
SIGNING THE TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN RUSSIA AND TURKEY AT SAN STEFANO

Following upon the armistice agreed to at Adrianople, the Treaty of San Stefano was signed on March 3, 1878; the war was thus virtually ended, and throughout Russia there were great rejoicings.

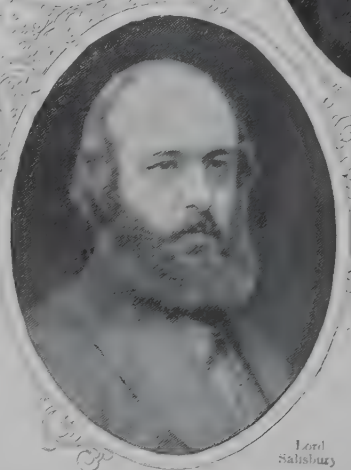
Meanwhile, operations were being conducted on the right flank of the Russian advance which had a far-reaching effect on the ultimate issue of the campaign. Two days after the capture of Nicopolis on July 16, General Krudener was ordered by the Grand Duke Nicholas to occupy Plevna as promptly as possible, and he despatched General Schilder-Shuldner with a force of 7,500 men; but when his troops

went thither it was only to find that Osman Pasha, with an army of 40,000 of the best troops in Turkey, who had been the victors in the Servian war, was on the march from Widdin, and that another army of 12,000 Turkish troops had left Sophia, and was advancing towards the same objective viâ Lovtcha. A desperate fight occurred in the town of Plevna and on the neighbouring hillsides, in which the Russians were defeated with a loss of two-thirds of their officers, including a general, and one-third of their rank and file, while the Turks lost 4,000 men.

After this victory the Turks began constructing that wonderful series of entrenchments and redoubts, the defence and subsequent capture of which after unparalleled losses will ever live in military history. Krudener advanced with all available troops at his disposal from Nicopolis, which was occupied by a Roumanian corps, that for the first time entered Bulgaria and took an active part in the campaign. Krudener's army totalled only 30,000 men, while he had opposed to him 50,000 located in the defensive works in and around Plevna. He was ordered to make the attack, and he did so under protest, because of the disproportionate numbers of the two armies.



Lord Beaconsfield



Lord Salisbury

REPRESENTATIVES TO THE HISTORIC BERLIN CONGRESS OF 1878

Lord [illegible] receives a triumphant welcome on their return.

Meanwhile, Suleiman brought his army of 30,000 men from Eski-Zaghra across the Lower Balkans to the southern exit of the Shipka Pass, which in a series of determined fights he attempted to take by a frontal attack. Fewer in numbers, General Radetzky's Russian and Bulgarian troops, with the utmost bravery, beat back over one hundred separate assaults in a battle lasting five days, from August 22 to 26. Then Suleiman brought up siege guns and mortars and 20,000 more troops, and after a bombardment of Mount St. Nicholas, at the crest of the pass, he made a last desperate effort on the night of September 17 to capture the Russian stronghold; but, though the first trenches were taken, and the Crescent flag flew for a few minutes, the Turks were driven out at the point of the bayonet, and Shipka was finally saved. Suleiman in these desperate engagements sacrificed over 20,000 men, and the Russian losses were also very heavy. Suleiman was immediately afterwards sent to the Lom to try and break the Russian left flank, protected by the Tsarevitch's army, which in two separate engagements drove back the Turks, first under Mehemet Ali, and second under Suleiman. After that the chief command of all the Turkish armies in Europe was entrusted to Suleiman.

Shipka being secure, it became necessary to capture Lovtcha, which was strongly fortified and commanded the road between Sophia and Plevna, to prevent reinforcements and supplies being thrown into Plevna. This feat was accomplished on September 3, with great gallantry, after several days' fierce fighting, by Prince Imerétinsky and General Skobeleff, during which Adil Pasha's defending army was literally cut to pieces. Three days before, Osman, to provide a diversion in favour of Adil Pasha at Lovtcha, made a sortie in force from Plevna, and attacked a strongly fortified Russian position at Pelishat, but he was driven back with terrible losses.

Meanwhile, great preparations had been made for the third effort to capture Plevna. The Roumanian army had crossed the Danube and joined the Russians, Prince Charles being appointed commander of the allied forces, with General Zotoff as his chief of staff. The Tsar changed his headquarters to the village of Redenitza, from which he could drive to the battlefield every morning, and the Grand Duke Nicholas removed his headquarters to Poradim.

The allied army numbered 90,000, of which 74,000 were infantry and 10,000 cavalry; and they had 24 siege guns, 364 field guns, and 54 horse guns. On the other side, Osman Pasha had about 60,000 infantry, 2,500 cavalry, and 80 guns. The allied army moved forward to their positions in front of the Turkish defences covering Plevna on the night of September 6, and began the bombardment of these with both siege and field guns on the morning of the 7th, and continued it, amid continuous rain, till the 10th, when orders were given for the assault on the afternoon of the 11th—the Emperor's birthday. There was a dense fog, with cold, drizzling rain, and the Turks, in the obscurity, attacked the centre of the Russian lines and brought about the assault in some portions of the field prematurely. Briefly, the engagement was fierce and prolonged till nightfall. It failed in the centre disastrously. On the north-east a joint Russian and Roumanian column captured the large Grivitza redoubt, after being beaten back twice, and held it. On the south-west Skobeleff captured, by the heroic efforts of his men and himself, two of the Green Hills redoubts, and held them till the 13th, when he was compelled to abandon them for want of reinforcements. It was a terrible blow for the allies—to be disastrously repulsed under the very eyes of the Tsar and of Prince Charles. Their losses amounted to 18,216 officers and men out of 75,000 present and 60,000 actually engaged, and the Turkish losses were estimated at between 12,000 and 15,000 officers and men.

Councils of war were held on the field on September 13 and 14, under the presidency of the Tsar, and it was decided to fortify their own position on the east against a

Count Károly · Prince Gortschakoff · Lord Beaconsfield · Von Radowitz · Count Andrássy · Prince Bismarck · Count Schuwaloff · Von Bülow · Lord Odo Russell

"PEACE WITH HONOUR": THE REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL THE EUROPEAN POWERS ATTENDING THE BERLIN CONGRESS OF 1878

From the painting by Anton von Werner, by permission of the Berlin

counter-attack, and upon the arrival of reinforcements to proceed with a regular investment.

To assist in these operations General Todleben, the hero of the defence of Sebastopol, was summoned from Russia. That eminent engineer officer arrived in front of Plevna on September 30, and assumed direction of the siege.

Meantime, the Turks had been making efforts to reinforce Plevna, and Chevket Pasha, who had previously commanded a division in Mehemet's army, took charge of these operations, fortified the Sophia road, and succeeded by October 5 in bringing to Plevna 17,000 men and 3,000 waggon-loads of provisions—about 60 days' full rations for 60,000 men. Todleben, in order to complete the investment, determined to throw forward his two wings, and join them on the other side of the Vid River. There was nothing to oppose him on his right wing, but on the left he had to dislodge the Turks from their fortified places along the Sophia road. For this purpose General Gourko, who had returned from Russia with the Guards, was entrusted with an army of 35,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry, and the usual proportion of artillery, and by a series of operations, in which he was sometimes baffled, and at other times victorious, between October 24 and November 1 he captured all the redoubts and fortified places on the Sophia road, with many thousands of prisoners, a large number of guns, and enormous quantities of ammunition and provisions; but his losses in officers and men were terrible. The fragments of Chevket's army fell back on the Balkans. The investment of Plevna was now complete.

General Gourko's Achievements

COUNT GOURKO

A Russian general, he distinguished himself in the Russo-Turkish War, capturing the fortresses of Sophia and Philippopolis.

When Mehemet Ali left the Quadrilateral he was sent to Sophia to supplant Chevket Pasha, to organise a force for the relief of Plevna, and to raise the siege. To check this offensive movement General Gourko organised an army of 36,000 infantry and cavalry, the latter mostly Cossacks, and by a series of magnificent turning movements in the latter end of November captured all the Turkish fortified positions in the Etropol Balkans, including the vast stores of food and ammunition and clothing which had been collected at Orkanie for the relief of Plevna. His task of preventing that relief being accomplished, he remained meantime on observation.

To return to Plevna, during November and the early part of December Skobeleff on the left, and the Roumanian army on the right flank, the former, by specially hard fighting, shortened the line of investment; and there were certain futile negotiations for unconditional surrender on the part of Osman Pasha.

And so a month passed, during which Osman's provisions had reached their last limit. One-third of his army lay sick and wounded without proper medical attendance. Alternating rain and snow for six weeks had rendered his trenches almost uninhabitable, and desertions were increasing every day. He determined to make an effort to break through the Russian lines on the west of the Vid River—over which he built two pontoon bridges—with the hope of reaching Widdin. There he assembled a train of 1,000 ox-carts loaded with ammunition, and the baggage of the Turkish inhabitants of the town. Then, on the night of December 9-10, with his whole army, now reduced to 40,000 men, he made a most impetuous attack upon the position held by the Russian grenadier corps on the Widdin road, and although he carried the first line of Russian works, his army was by noon completely defeated, while he himself was wounded, and his horse shot under him. Osman sent Tevfik Pasha, his chief of staff, with a flag of truce to General Ganetsky, the commander of the corps of grenadiers, which had performed wonders of heroism in beating back the last impetuous assault of the despairing Turks, stating that he and the Turkish army surrendered. The interview took place in a tiled loam hut, where Osman was seated on a wooden bench, his wounded leg resting on an empty cartridge-box. With a sigh and a sob, Osman said: "I submit myself entirely to the wishes of the Commander-in-Chief of your army."

Ganetsky asked Osman to give the order to his men to lay down their arms, which the Turkish general did, and handed his sword to Ganetsky. A carriage was found to take Osman to a Bulgarian house in Plevna, and *en route* he was met by the Grand Duke Nicholas, who shook his hand, saying: "I congratulate you on your defence of Plevna, which is one of the most splendid exploits in history." Smiling sadly, Osman answered in a few agitated words.

The Tsar found quarters for the night in a Bulgarian house, and on the following morning he desired the company of Osman to breakfast, sending his own carriage and escort for his brave foe. In the course of conversation the Emperor directed that Osman's sword should be restored to him, and another member of the suite presented the Turkish general with a sprig of myrtle as a sign that the prisoner's army and its valourous chief should no longer be considered amongst the enemies of Russia. Kharkoff was assigned as a place of internment for Osman, and he was despatched thither in a comfortable carriage, accompanied by an aide-de-camp of the Grand Duke.

GENERAL SKOBELEFF

Also a Russian leader in the same war, Skobeleff rendered valuable service to his country; entering Adrianople at the head of his cavalry, on January 20, 1878, he was hailed as a deliverer.

At noon on December 11 the Tsar attended the celebration of a *Te Deum* in a redoubt on the road between Plevna and Grivitza, in which an improvised altar had been erected; and afterwards there were great felicitations between his Majesty, the Grand Duke, and the Prince of Roumania, and decorations were conferred on a large number of generals and other officers. The Emperor had only awaited the fall of Plevna to return to St. Petersburg, to which he now hurried. In passing through Bucharest on December 17 he was received with great enthusiasm, and like demonstrations were given on his arrival at St. Petersburg on the 22nd. Prince Charles also returned to Bucharest, and met with a perfect ovation.

"There were," said Todleben, "surrendered on the memorable December 10, 10 pashas, 130 field officers, 2,000 company officers, 40,000 foot soldiers and gunners, 1,200 horsemen (total, 43,340), with 77 guns, and immense quantities of ammunition. The enemy lost during the battle 6,000 men, and the Russians, 3,500 officers and men, including one general and two field officers." The fall of Plevna set free 110,000 men, so that the Turks had now in front of them an enemy double their own numbers confident of victory. On the other hand, that enemy had a line of communications 500 miles from the Pruth to the Balkans absolutely cut in two by the Danube, the ice of which had carried away all the bridges, and in front of them a rugged chain of mountains. It was the middle of December. Much snow had already fallen, and the temperature in the Balkans frequently dropped to ten degrees Fahr. There were only two good

After the Fall of Plevna

roads southwards—Sistova to Shipka, and Plevna to Sophia; all the rest were quagmires. But the Turks had no capable general. The War Council of Constantinople had appointed to the chief command Suleiman Pasha, who had shown his recklessness and incapacity both at Shipka and on the Lom. Against the advice of Todleben and all the Russian generals, except Gourko and Skobeleff, the Grand Duke Nicholas determined to prevent the war drifting into the hands of diplomacy, or the probability of England becoming an active ally to Turkey, by making a winter campaign across the Balkans in spite of all hazards, and striking at the Turks before they had time to recuperate. Gourko's task was to defeat the army on his front in the Arab Konak Pass in the Balkans, capture Sophia, and then advance by the old Roman road leading from Sophia to Philipopolis and Adrianople. Radetzky was to defeat the Turks at Shipka, advance over that pass, and join hands with Gourko in front of Adrianople. The Tsarevitch, while commanding all the troops north of the Balkans, was to protect the communications from any attack in the direction of the Quadrilateral, and prosecute the siege of Rustchuk, with the assistance of Todleben as engineer.

Gourko's passage of the Balkans was conducted under terrible difficulties of climate. His strategy was never to attack the Turkish fortifications in front, but to turn them by practically unexplored tracks on either flank. These passes were full of snow and ice. Horses were useless, his guns had to be dragged by hand, his men slept in the snow without tents or blankets—one night over 900 were frozen to death—and they had only two-thirds of a ration of black bread a day, and sometimes very little meat. It was a brilliant campaign, and when he reached Sophia he had captured every defensive work, with all their stores, guns, and ammunition. Just before he entered Sophia on January 4, 1878—which no Christian army had occupied since 1434—the Turkish garrison retreated, after committing awful atrocities on the Christian inhabitants. A column which Gourko sent to cut off the retreat was overwhelmed in a snowstorm in the mountains, and was obliged to turn back, so that the Turkish force escaped capture or complete destruction.

DISRAELI TAKING HIS SEAT IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS

Taking his seat in the House of Lords as Earl of Beaconsfield, on February 8, 1877, Disraeli shocked the Peers by sitting on the Dukes' Bench, this feeling of surprise being considerably intensified when the two Earls by whom he was supported sat down beside him. As Lord Privy Seal, Beaconsfield was quite within his rights in so acting, but his sponsors should have remained standing.

Specially drawn for this work by T. Walter Wilson, R.I.

At the Shipka Pass, Radetzky's army was reinforced by Skobeleff in the first days of January, 1878, and it now amounted to 56,000 infantry, besides artillery and cavalry. His plan was to force the passage of Shipka and attack Vessil Pasha on the south side of the pass and in the villages of Shipka and Shenova, the strong works of which were occupied by 50,000 Turks. Radetzky divided his army into three columns; the centre he himself commanded, the right was led by Skobeleff, and the left by Prince Mirsky. The movement began on January 5, and was expected to be completed on the 8th. But the snow in the passes was ten feet deep, and during the passage fogs and blinding snow showers increased the difficulties of the advance. At first the guns were unlimbered and drawn on sledges, but progress was found impossible, and all were left behind, with the exception of a battery of small mountain guns with each column. Prince Mirsky got through the Travna Pass without opposition, but Skobeleff forced a passage by a sheep trail through a gap in the mountains at Imetli, and had to fight his way into the valley of the Tundja. Mirsky fought all the 8th against superior numbers of Turks. Radetzky attacked the entrenchments at Shipka village on the 9th, and carried the first two lines, but could make no further progress in the blinding snow and frozen mist. When Skobeleff cleared the mountains, he sent his cavalry to join hands with Mirsky, then formed his infantry into line to attack the Shenova redoubts. Nearing these, the men broke into a run, and, with a wild hurrah, rushed into the works, where a fierce hand-to-hand fight took place, till at last a Turkish officer, in the name of Vessil Pasha, surrendered. No fewer than 49,000 prisoners were taken, with 120 guns, 26 standards, and 13 pashas. The victory was complete and triumphant, but in achieving it, the Russians suffered terrible loss.

Capture of the Shipka Pass

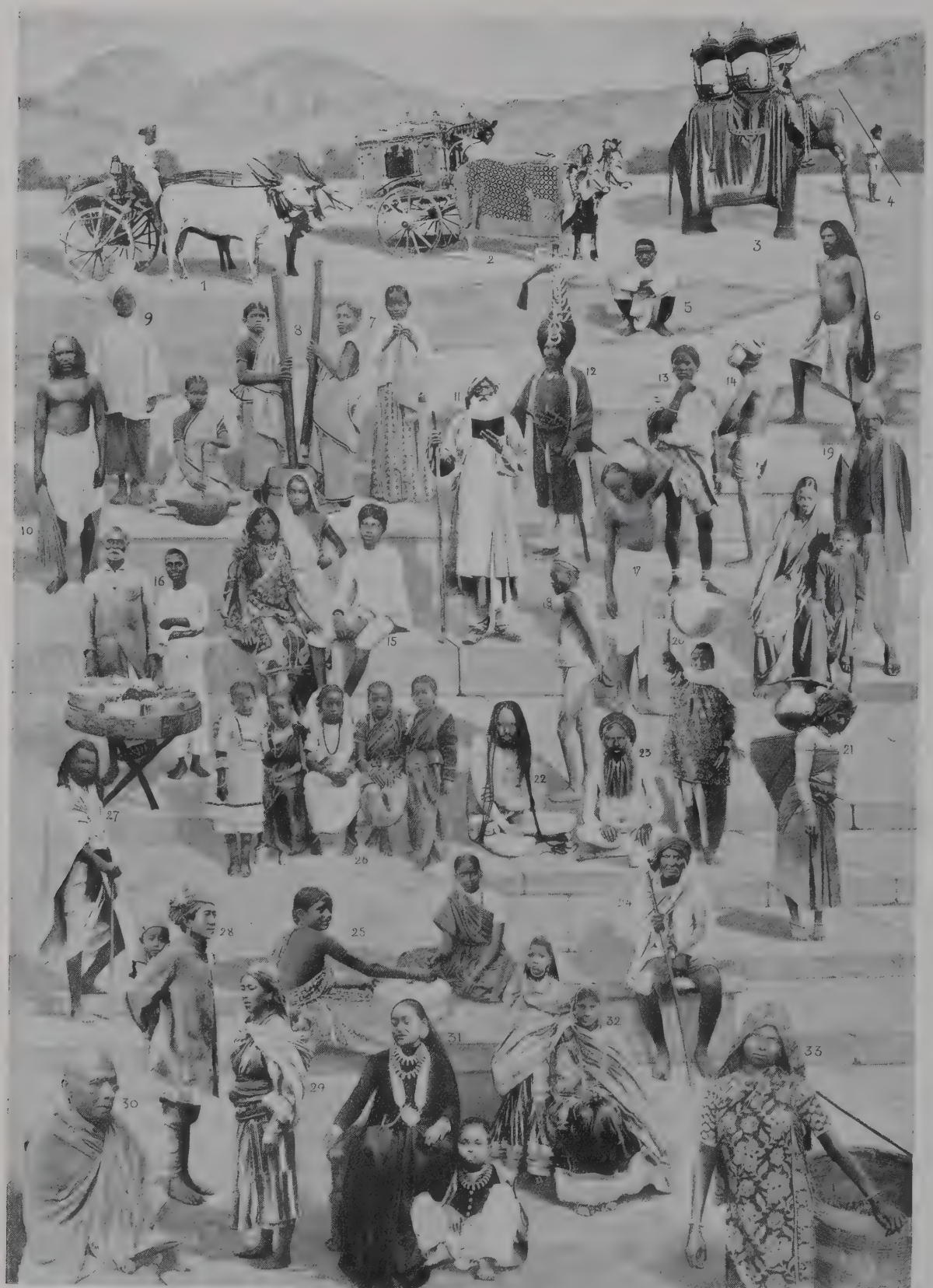
End of the War in Sight

Suleiman received the news of the capture of the Shipka army under Vessil on January 10, and he gave orders for the immediate evacuation of his whole line of defences along the mountains, some of the loftiest of which reached a height of between 6,000 and 7,500 feet.

Thereafter it was simply a race after the Turks by Gourko's army, divided into four columns. On January 16 he entered Philippopolis, after having broken Suleiman's army, captured 114 guns—96 of them in open fight—and all the Turkish ammunition, rifles, and supplies. Suleiman himself escaped into the Rhodope Mountains, and about January 28 his scattered forces began to assemble in small groups on the shores of the Ægean, near Enos, where a fleet of transports afterwards carried them to Gallipoli and Constantinople. Suleiman was placed under arrest, tried by court-martial, and in the following December he was sentenced to complete degradation, and to confinement in a fortress for fifteen years.

The campaign in Asia Minor opened with a number of successes for the Turkish army under Mukhtar Pasha, but the Russians soon reversed the situation, and the capture of Kars on November 18, after two days' hard fighting, in which the Turks lost 5,000 killed and wounded, and 10,000 prisoners and 300 cannon were captured, practically brought the campaign to an end in Asia.

On January 21 an armistice was signed at Adrianople, and this armistice leading to the Treaty of San Stefano, on March 3, was virtually the end of the Russo-Turkish war.



TYPES OF THE NATIVE RACES AND THEIR CUSTOMS UNDER THE BRITISH FLAG IN INDIA

1. Silver reckla, Baroda; 2. Silver bullock carriage, Baroda; 3. Elephant howdah, Baroda; 4. Elephant driver, Baroda; 5. Santala; 6. Native of Benares; 7. Schoolgirl, Pelamcotta; 8. Natives of Southern India; 9. A Punjabee; 10. Native of Calcutta; 11. Sikh priest; 12. Officer of North-West Provinces; 13. Gond woman; 14. Bombay native; 15. Fruit sellers of the East; 16. Native confectioners, Bombay; 17. Native of the South; 18. A Bombay native; 19. Natives of the West; 20. A woman of Sind; 21. A woman of the Rajbongst tribe; 22 and 23. Holy men; 24 and 25. Natives of the South: 26. Bengal children; 27. A Benares native; 28 and 29. Nepalese; 30. A Buddhist priest; 31. Woman and boy of Nepal; 32. Natives of the North-West Provinces; 33. Coolie girl, Calcutta.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

STATE VISIT TO INDIA, 1875-76: THE VOYAGE

The Preparations for the Visit of the Prince of Wales to his future Empire in the East, the Departure from England, and the Incidents on the Voyage as far as Aden

It is said that Lord Canning, the first Viceroy of India, suggested while he was still in our great dependency that a visit to the Indian dominions of Queen Victoria should be made part of the education of the Heir-Apparent. Whether that be so or not, it is certain that the Prince Consort included such a progress in that wise scheme of instruction which he early devised for the Prince of Wales; and the Prince himself, in one of his first deliverances on landing on "India's coral strand," said that it had long been the dream of his life to meet and make friends with the peoples of the vast Asiatic Peninsula, and to see with his own eyes its wonders and enchantments of nature, and of the artistic and material evidences of its high and ancient civilisations.

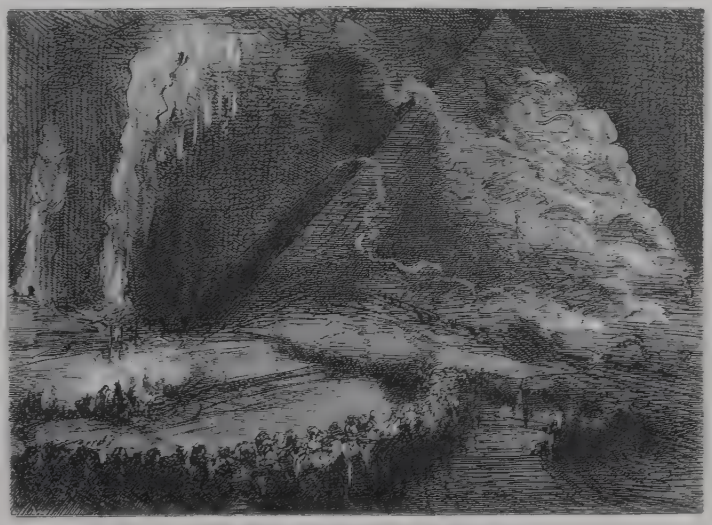
When Queen Victoria's Proclamation was read to the chiefs assembled at Allahabad, on November 1, 1858, announcing the transfer of the authority of the East India Company over the British possessions in Hindostan to the Crown, the Prince of Wales was only seventeen years of age, and circumstances connected with the death of Lord Elgin and General Bruce, together with the assassination of the Earl of Mayo, all postponed the projected tour which had already been in part undertaken by the Prince of Wales's younger brother, the Duke of Edinburgh, when, as an officer in the Royal Navy, his ship had occasion to call at various Indian ports.

Preliminary negotiations took place in the winter of 1874 between Queen Victoria, the Home Government, and the Imperial authorities in India as to the manner of the visit, and the "Times," of March 22, 1875, contained the official announcement that "The report of the intention of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to visit India is well founded," that he would leave England in November, and that "Sir Bartle Frere would accompany the Prince of Wales at the express wish of his Royal Highness." When the Marquis of Salisbury communicated officially the fact of the intended visit to the Council of India, that body passed a resolution that the expenses of the journey actually incurred in India should be charged on the revenues of India.

Great care was taken in the selection of the suite to accompany the Prince. Sir Bartle Frere's name was already known to millions of people in the Bombay Presidency and the North-Western Provinces. The Duke of Sutherland was a personal friend, and his rank lent weight. Lord Suffield was head of the Prince's household. Colonel Ellis, his equerry, was acquainted with India and the customs of its feudatory courts. Major-General Probyn was engaged to make arrangements for horses, transport, and sporting. Mr. Francis Knollys, the Prince's private secretary, was, of course, included. Lord Alfred Paget, Clerk Marshal to the Queen, represented the Imperial Court. The Rev. Canon Duckworth was appointed chaplain; and Dr. Fayrer to watch over the Prince's health.

The other members of the entourage were the Earl of Aylesford, Lord Carrington, Colonel Owen Williams, Lord Charles Beresford, Lieutenant FitzGeorge of the Rifle Brigade, Mr. Albert Grey, private secretary to Sir Bartle Frere, Dr. W. Howard Russell, hon. private secretary to the Prince and historiographer; and Mr. S. P. Hall, who received a commission to sketch the incidents of the tour.

Among the preliminary arrangements were that the presents customary in the East to be made to the princes and great officials of India should be placed in charge of a special staff from the India Office; that gold and silver medals should be struck for presentation to the chiefs, and that Queen



THE GREAT PYRAMID ILLUMINATED

En route to India, the Prince of Wales visited Cairo, where the Viceroy of Egypt treated him with every hospitality. On the evening of October 25 the Great Pyramid was beautifully illuminated in honour of the Royal visitor.

From a drawing by S. P. Hall, who accompanied the Prince of Wales to sketch the incidents of the tour.

Victoria should issue a warrant to authorise the Prince of Wales to hold a special Chapter of the Order of the Star of India at Calcutta.

The Expenses of the Tour

On July 8, 1875, Mr. Disraeli, Prime Minister, made a statement to the House of Commons with regard to the objects of the Prince's intended journey. "His Royal Highness," he said, "did not go to India as the representative of the Queen, but as the Heir Apparent of the Crown." He was to be the guest of the Viceroy, the expenses of which, £30,000, would be charged against the Indian Budget. The Admiralty estimates of the expense of the voyage to and from India, and the movements of the fleet connected therewith, came to £52,000, and the personal expenses of the Prince would amount to £60,000. Mr. Fawcett moved, "That it was inexpedient that any part of the expenses of the general entertainment of the Prince of Wales should be charged on the revenues of India," but in a House of 446 he found only 32 supporters. There was, indeed, a very generally expressed opinion that the total sum asked for was far too inadequate; as a fact, not only was the sum not exceeded, but there was a small surplus at the close of the tour.

The date fixed for departure was October 11, 1875. The Queen was then at Balmoral, and the Prince of Wales had taken leave of his Royal mother some time before. Sunday, October 10, was very quietly spent, as was natural, in view of the near approach to a prolonged separation of a very intimately affectionate family. The Prince and Princess of Wales attended Divine service in the Chapel Royal, and received at luncheon the Duke of Edinburgh and the Duke of Connaught. In the evening there was a farewell dinner at Marlborough House, to which the members of the Royal family then in London and a few personal friends were invited. In the forenoon Dean Stanley preached in Westminster Abbey one of those illuminative and appropriate sermons for which he was famous, from the text Esther viii. 6, chosen probably because of the fact that India had recently been rescued "from the jaws of famine." "For how can I endure to see the evil that shall come unto my people, or how can I endure to see the destruction of my kindred?" The Dean, who had been so closely associated with the Prince of Wales, both before and after his previous expedition to Egypt and the Holy Land, "expatiated on the journey of the first heir to the English Throne who had ever visited those distant regions which the greatest of his ancestors, Alfred the Great, one thousand years before so ardently longed to explore"; and concluded with an earnest prayer that the visit might leave behind it on one side, "the remembrance, if so be, of graceful acts, kind words, English nobleness, Christian principle; and, on the other, awaken in all concerned the sense of graver duties, wider sympathies, loftier purposes. Thus, and thus only, shall the journey on which the Church and nation now pronounce its parting benediction be worthy of a Christian Empire and worthy of an English Prince."

THE PRINCE OF WALES SHOOTING BIRDS ON BOARD THE SERAPIS
From a drawing by S. P. Hall

An immense crowd of friends and the general public assembled at Charing Cross railway station on the evening of October 11 to bid the Prince "God speed." "When the Prince and Princess made their appearance," says the historiographer, "and walked slowly down the platform towards the train between the lines of soldiery and the great concourse of people there was a demonstration, in which it would be hard to say whether a feeling of sadness at the Prince's departure and at his wife's emotion, or the desire to assure the Royal couple of enduring affectionate loyalty predominated." The train started at 8 o'clock, but stopped at Ashford, where the Duke of Edinburgh and the Duke of Connaught bade the Prince adieu.

At Dover, amid cheers of thousands of citizens and the Corporation of the port, and salutes from the guard of honour and the fort batteries, the Royal party embarked on board the Castalia, and sailed at 10.10 p.m. for Calais, which was reached two hours later. "Here was the saddest moment of the many which had been casting their solemn influence over the day. The Princess of Wales was not going on shore, but had resolved to stay on board and return to England in the early morning." The grief of that hour can only be imagined from the restrained words used by the Prince of Wales at Glasgow on his happy return. "Just a year ago I was separated from all those I hold most dear to commence a long journey to a distant land, and I can assure you I shall not easily forget the ordeal through which I passed on that occasion."

A Day in the French Capital

On arrival at Paris next morning the Prince was received by Lord Lyons, British Ambassador; and, by a happy accident, he met on the railway platform Marshal MacMahon, the French President, who was about to start on a shooting expedition. The Prince stayed at the British Embassy, and on October 13 he exchanged visits with the French President, and lunched with him at the Elysée, leaving by train that evening for Brindisi. A night was spent in Turin for a rest, and Brindisi was reached on October 16 at 8 a.m.

One half of the suite had gone on in advance to make arrangements for the reception of the Prince of Wales, and to complete the bestowal of the baggage and the furnishing of the cabins for a comfortable voyage through varied seas in H.M.S. Serapis and her consorts—the Osborne, Hercules, and Pallas. Brindisi was dressed as for a fête, and the Prince was received by Sir A. Paget, the members of the English Embassy from Rome, Vice-Admiral di San Bon, Italian Minister of Marine, the Prefect, and other officials of the city, while the civic band played the National Anthem. No time was lost in getting on board the Serapis, where the Prince was received on the main deck by Captain Glyn and the other officers of the ship, behind whom was drawn up a guard of honour of marines. Salutes were fired from the English and Italian men-of-war in the harbour; the Royal Standard was run up to the main and the yards manned. At 11.15 p.m. the Serapis, with her escort, left Brindisi under renewed salutes, with a fair but strong breeze, for Athens. Wind and sea abated during the night, and on Sunday, October 17, the Church pennant was hoisted, and Canon Duckworth read Divine service in the saloon before the Prince, suite, and domestics.

KING EDWARD VII AT THE TIME OF HIS VISIT TO INDIA IN 1875-6

From an etching

TO FACE PAGE 276

STATE VISIT TO INDIA: SHOWING THE ROUTE FOLLOWED BY THE PRINCE OF WALES OUTWARD AND HOME

Off Cerigo there was a dead calm, "a glorious sunset—beautiful exceedingly—a great fire on the western horizon, which cast a purple glow over the sea, and flung a broad hemisphere of saffron, gold, and green into the sky. All the company turned up on deck, and watched the radiance in silence."

The Serapis was timed to arrive at the Piræus at 9.30 a.m. on October 18, and as the huge vessel passed to her anchorage it was through an avenue of British, Greek, Russian, American, Austrian, and Turkish men-of-war, merchant ships, yachts, and small craft. As soon as the stately Serapis was anchored, King George of Greece came off from his yacht Amphitrite, which flew both the standards of Great Britain and the Hellenic kingdom, amidst salutes and manned yards, was received by the Prince of Wales and conducted to the saloon, where his Majesty was presented to the suite. Shortly after, the officers of the foreign warships came on board to pay their respects. Then the Royal party were rowed ashore, drove through the decorated town, and passed a vast assemblage of Ministers, clergy, magistrates, and town councillors, amid cheers and more salutes from the warships. A special train conveyed the party to Observatory Station on the outskirts of Athens, where a State procession was formed, and, escorted by cavalry and cheered by multitudes, it passed slowly, in full view of the Acropolis with its classic and modern historic memories, which "looks down proudly on what is, take it all in all, the newest city out of the United States," to the palace at the base of Mount Lycabettus, and commanding a fine view of Hymettus. On the steps of the palace were the officers of the Court in picturesque national dress, and the King of the Hellenes led his Royal and other guests to the saloon, where the Queen was standing with her children, the Duke of Sparta, Prince George, Princess Alexandra, and Prince Nicholas, and ladies-in-waiting. The suite, one by one, were presented by the Prince of Wales to her Majesty, whose manner was exceedingly gracious. She had for each a kind word, and for those she had known before a little speech, which proved she had a royal memory. Nor yet did she forget to express her great regret that circumstances prevented the Princess of Wales coming so far with the Prince on his way to India. Later the King and the Prince of Wales took a drive in mufti, and the suite were conducted by Mr. Mallet, of the British Legation, to inspect the Acropolis and other classic buildings and modern institutions. In the evening, after the State banquet, the Rock and Temple of Jupiter Olympius were lit up, and a display of fireworks followed.

A Royal Welcome at Athens

On October 20 the King and Queen held a reception after breakfast, and then the Prince and suite took their departure, as they had come, by driving in state to the Piræus, where the King, Queen, and family, Admiral Boutakoff, Admiral Drummond, and other officers of the British and foreign men-of-war were entertained to luncheon. The King and Queen of Greece remained on board the Serapis for an excursion to sea, and that stately ship and her consorts steamed away into the gulf in glorious weather. Off the Island of Hydra the Serapis slowed down, and their Majesties returned thence home in their own yacht Amphitrite, amid a wonderful display of fireworks. The course of the Prince's squadron was then set for Port Said.

Pleasant Hours on the Serapis

At dawn on October 21 Crete was in sight, and during the voyage to Egypt, as well as afterwards when the ships were in mid-ocean, there were entertainments by the Serapis Christy Minstrels, tennis, chess, and the study of books from the library, so that, as the recorder said, "by the time we reached India most of us probably knew more of the Empire and its history than we did before."

Port Said was sighted early in the morning of October 23, and when the Serapis, with her consorts, entered the canal to moorings off the Customs House, they were greeted with salutes from British and Egyptian war vessels and a guard of honour stationed on the quay. Princes Tewfik, Hussein, and Hassan, accompanied by Nubar Pasha, Mustapha, and other officers of the Khedive's Court, came on board to welcome the Prince of Wales, who received them with warmth in the undress uniform of a field-marshal.

From the shores of Lake Timsah, on which Ismailia is built, a special train conveyed the Royal party to Cairo, which was reached at nine o'clock. The Khedive, in gala uniform and orders, surrounded by his Ministers and the Consular bodies, was waiting on the platform of the station,

along with the Grand Duke Alexis of Russia in naval uniform attended by his officers. Soldiery were much in evidence. The reception was a brilliant function, and the drive to the Gezireh Palace was accomplished amid cheers and music and much Egyptian clatter. The Khedive, having installed the Prince in his sumptuous quarters, took leave, and was driven to his Palace of Abdeen on the other side of the river. At 11.30 a.m. on October 24 the Prince, his suite, and servants assembled in the Saloon of Audience for Divine service, Canon Duckworth reading the prayers and lessons for the day to the little congregation. When the service was over, the Prince of Wales drove to the Palace of Abdeen, and then to the Palace of Kasr-en-Nil, to pay ceremonial visits to the Viceroy and the Princes of his family, and in the evening there was a State banquet.

The Viceroy's Son Honoured

Next day the Prince of Wales, in one of the handsome saloons of the Gezireh Palace, which had been especially arranged for the purpose, invested Prince Tewfik, the Viceroy's eldest son with the Order of the Star of India, stating in doing so that the Queen had determined to confer this special mark of consideration because of the goodwill her Majesty bore towards his Highness the Khedive, himself a member of the Order, who had always shown himself a true friend to the English nation, and had done so much to promote the safety and convenience of the communications between England and India, and in facilitating the transit of our troops and commerce.

Visits were afterwards paid to the bazaars and the Pyramids, which latter were brilliantly illuminated in the evening, and at the close of a long day the Royal party saw a French play at the Opera House. October 26 was the last day at Cairo. In the course of the forenoon the Khedive, his sons, and his Ministers paid a visit to the Prince of Wales, and presented members of his suite with the decoration of the Medjidie, and at 2.10 p.m. they likewise appeared at the railway station to take farewell ere the special train sped to Suez, where the Royal party once more were received with the usual salutes from the British and Egyptian men-of-war, and cheers from great crowds who had come teeming out from the bazaars. Amidst general illuminations the Serapis and her consorts steamed down the sea of Jubal towards India.

Morning of the 27th found the squadron in the Red Sea, and on November 1, Aden was reached. There were several cases of exhaustion, but the tension was relieved by a gale of wind on the 30th, which, however, abated on Sunday, 31st, when Canon Duckworth was able to conduct Divine service for the Prince and suite in the saloon, and for the ship's officers and crew on the main deck. Salutes having been fired from the British and foreign men-of-war, the Resident, Brigadier-General Schneider, and staff came off to pay their respects. The Prince of Wales and suite landed later in a State barge, amid more salutes, and were met at a triumphal arch by the Resident, officers of the garrison, a guard of honour of the King's Own Borderers, the foreign Consuls, and officials.

The Prince and party were entertained at the Residency by General, Mrs., and Miss Schneider, and after luncheon his Royal Highness held a levée, at which the foreign Consuls presented an address. Next came a reception of the Arab chiefs: "Very real men to look at, with a sort of proud suspicion and disdain in their glances at all save the Prince, and all picturesque and sufficiently graceful. The most interesting was the Sultan of Lahej, who was introduced by the Resident to the Prince of Wales "as a faithful ally of the Queen." In a few graceful words the Prince expressed his acknowledgment on behalf of the Queen of the services rendered by the Sultan to the garrison of Aden, and, as a souvenir, pinned one of the medals struck for the Indian visit on his left breast by a blue riband, and put a massive gold ring, with the initials "A. E." on the Sultan's finger. After dark, the town, the lines, and the batteries were illuminated, and at 10.30 p.m. the Serapis and her consorts got under way and steamed out into the placid ocean for Bombay.

Arab Chiefs at the Prince's Reception

A RECEPTION OF ARAB CHIEFS AT ADEN: THE PRINCE OF WALES DECORATING THE SULTAN OF LAHEJ
From a drawing by S. P. Hall

CHAPTER XXXIX

STATE VISIT TO INDIA: THE WELCOME

Describing the Brilliant Scenes at Bombay, the Homage of the Native Princes and Chiefs, and the Visit to Baroda

THE voyage across the Indian Ocean, with the thermometer at an average of 85°, was uneventful, except for an occasional breakdown of some of the steam machinery; but these were speedily repaired, and time passed pleasantly enough with entertainments of all kinds, or an occasional shot at flights of birds winging overhead. On November 8, soon after a glorious sunrise, the highlands over Salsette and the Ghauts to the south and east of the city of Bombay were plainly visible. The Prince of Wales went up on to the bridge, and the principal features of interest in the fair landscape were pointed out to him. At eight o'clock the ships of the East India squadron, under the command of Rear-Admiral R. J. Macdonald, the harbour ironclads, and the vessels of the Flying squadron, under the command of Rear-Admiral Rowley Lambert, dressed and fired a salute with magnificent effect. Just at nine o'clock, when the Prince's stately yacht entered between the lines of the warships, the marines drawn up on deck presented arms, the officers in full uniform with uncovered heads and the crews on the yards cheered ship after ship. The fleet then fired another salute, the bands on board each ship playing "God Save the Queen" and "God Bless the Prince of Wales." "There might be naval displays with more lively backgrounds, greater life and animation in flying yachts and countless boats and steamers crowded with people and gay with flags, elsewhere, but where out of India could be seen such a stretch of coast fringed with tropical vegetation and lighted by such a sun?"

When the Serapis came to her moorings the members of the staff of the Viceroy and of the Governor of Bombay came off to pay their respects, along with the officers charged with the conduct of the Prince's tour—Major-General Sam Browne, V.C., Major Ben Williams, Major Sartorius, V.C., and Major Bradford—to the last-mentioned being entrusted the difficult and arduous duty of looking after the safety of the Prince's person. Major Henderson was also there, specially attached to his Royal Highness because of his great attainments and acquaintance with Oriental etiquette and knowledge of native Courts. All these, the two rear-admirals and the senior officers of the fleet, were presented to the Prince. A salute from a battery on shore, immediately taken up by the ships of both squadrons, announced that his Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, accompanied by his staff, had embarked at the dockyard; and punctually at three o'clock the Governor-General stepped on board the Serapis, was received with all the honours due to his official rank, and conducted by Lord Suffield between the lines of the Prince's aides to the companion leading to the saloon, at the top of which stood the Royal traveller. Presentations of the suites were exchanged, and the Prince and Viceroy entered into conversation until the arrival of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bombay, Sir Philip Wodehouse, attended by the Commander-in-Chief of the Presidency. The visit lasted half an hour, and the Lieutenant-Governor returned to the dockyard to join those who were waiting for the landing of the Prince.

The Viceroy's Welcome

The Landing of the Prince

A flotilla had been collected to convey the Prince and Viceroy ashore. A vast triumphal arch, gay with banners and branches of palms of many varieties, spanned the waterway between the two piers, and gathered beneath it was perhaps the most strange and picturesque assemblage ever seen of late days in any part of the world. On each side, under the vaulted roof, were long lines of benches rising in tiers draped with scarlet cloth. In the front rows sat or stood, in eager expectance, chiefs, sirdars, and native gentlemen of the Presidency, multitudes of Parsees, Hindus, Mahrattas, and Mohammedans—"a crowd glittering with gems, and presenting, as they swayed to and fro to catch a sight of the Prince, the appearance of bright enamel, or of a bed of gay flowers agitated by a gentle breeze—the officers of the Government, the Corporation with its address, the municipal body of Bombay, and the naval and military officers who could be spared, representatives of the faculties, corporate bodies, dignitaries, and all the ladies who could be found within the radius of some hundreds of miles, and who had hastened to greet the Prince with their best smiles and bonnets."

An abundance of sweet-smelling flowers, many of rare variety, commingled with shrubs of new forms, were arranged in masses near the entrance, and banners, with words of "Welcome" in various characters inscribed in gold, hung from the roof. When the Prince landed, "the anxiety of the chiefs to see him was almost painful." The proudest departed from the cover of their habitual reserve. When they could identify the Queen's son amid the mass of cocked hats, plumed helmets, uniforms, and European dresses, "the frankness of his smile and the candid look with which he surveyed them produced in an instant a favourable impression; and when he paused to return their salutations, with hand uplifted to his helmet, a closer inspection more than confirmed their idea which their quick perception of character enabled them to form of his courtliness."

When the strains of "God Save the Queen" died away in the hum of many voices, the Corporation, headed by Dosabhoy Framjee, the Parsee chairman, in his white robe, advanced and read a loyal and dutiful address of welcome

ARRIVAL OF THE PRINCE OF WALES AT BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1875

on the part of the Corporation and all the inhabitants of the city. After referring to the great trade and prosperity of the "Royal City," its revenues and contributions to the Imperial Treasury, the address went on to say that "all this material prosperity Bombay owed to the wise and strong government which had secured her in the enjoyment of peace and order, of equality before the law, of religious liberty, and of freedom of trade, and had thus given confidence to men of all races and creeds — Europeans, Indo-Portuguese, Hindus, Mohammedans, Parsees, and Jews —to pursue their various callings under the shadow of the British flag. They gladly seized the occasion of his Royal Highness's presence to record their sense of the blessings of British rule, and to assure his Royal Highness of their devotion to the throne, which had become the enduring symbol of concord, liberty, prosperity, and progress to all the multitudes of nations that own the benign sway of Queen Victoria." After regretting that the Princess of Wales had been unable to accompany his Royal Highness, the address ended with a prayer that the God of all nations might watch over the Prince, and bring his happy design of visiting India to as happy a conclusion, so that it might be blessed with good fruit hereafter in the strengthening of the ties of mutual interest, esteem, and goodwill which already bound the Imperial State of Great Britain to its greatest dependency.

The Blessings of British Rule

In a happily conceived reply, the Prince of Wales "expressed the great pleasure he had in beginning his travels in India at a place so long associated with the Royal family of England, and to find that during many generations of British rule this great port had steadily prospered . . . In Bombay's various and industrious population he gladly recognised the traces of a rule which gave shelter to all who obeyed the laws, which recognised no invidious distinction of race, which afforded to all perfect liberty in matters of religious opinion and belief, and freedom in the permit of trade and of all lawful callings. He noted with satisfaction that under British rule men of varied creeds and nations lived in harmony among themselves, and developed to the utmost those energies which they inherited from widely separate families of mankind, whilst all joined in loyal attachment to the British Crown, and took their share, as in his native country, in the management of their own local affairs." In conclusion, he assured the Corporation that the Princess of Wales had never ceased to share his regret that she was unable to accompany him. From her very earliest years she had taken a most lively interest in that great country, and the cordiality of their greeting would make her still more regret the impossibility of her sharing in person the pleasure their welcome had afforded him.

Then the Prince, with Lord Northbrook by his side, advanced slowly along the carpeted avenue, at the end of which a band of Parsee girls in white awaited him with garlands and baskets of flowers. His Royal Highness stopped from time to time to speak to the princes who were presented to him by the Viceroy. He shook hands with most of them, and was specially gracious to the younger chiefs. A bystander wrote of this scene: "Even the Mahratta sirdars were charmed, apparently, with the gracious presence and winning smile of the future Emperor of India; and when he spoke to each of them in turn, and seemed to take a real interest in them, even Oodeypoor smoothed his troubled brow, and forgot his grievance against the Government which had set the Gaekwar above him. We doubt if a native noble left the pavilion without feeling gratified at the notice taken of him; and it only shows what a mighty power lies hid in that little word 'tact,' when a kind smile and a courteous phrase can efface, in a moment, the remembrance of innumerable imagined slights inflicted by a generation of stiff-necked and narrow-minded officials."

Carriages were now entered for the progress through the city of Bombay to Parell, the mansion of the Governor of Bombay, an old Jesuit convent, situated in the midst of a magnificent park. It is impossible to describe the scene in the many miles of streets through which the cortége passed. Every yard presented extraordinary types of dress and effects of colour. Those who were ahead of the Royal carriage heard a roar piercing through the wild tumult of voices for a moment, as a gun at sea breaks through the noise of wind and wave. As night fell, and the illuminations began to take effect, "there was something almost supernatural in those long vistas winding down banks of variegated light, crowded with gigantic creatures tossing their arms aloft, and indulging in extravagant gesture, which the eye—baffled by rivers of fire, blinded with the glare of lamps, blazing magnesium wire, and pots of burning matter —sought in vain to penetrate." "Up to the gates of the park, through crowded streets, endless salutes from guards of honour, at last came the official instalment in the mansion, which was ablaze with lights, and prepared for the occasion with the utmost regard to effect—clusters of turbaned, scarlet-coated servitors in the hall and on the steps, the Governor's bodyguard lining the corridor and staircases." For the accommodation of the Prince's suite and attendants there was pitched in the park broad avenues of tents, while the guard was provided by a battery of artillery and a detachment of the Second Queen's Royals. In the evening there was a banquet and State reception, but the departure of the Viceroy for Malabar Point was the signal for breaking up the company at midnight.

Celebrating the Prince's Birthday

November 9 was the Prince of Wales's birthday, and the anniversary was celebrated all over India. In the forenoon the Prince held a reception of native princes and chiefs, not a grand Durbar, which, according to Court etiquette of the East, can only be held by a representative of the Queen. It took place in the Audience Hall of Parell, at the entrance

of which stood two gorgeous footmen in scarlet and gold surcoats and turbans with massive gilt maces in their hands. Servants similarly dressed, with gilt batons of curious form, held like swords, were ranged along the sides of the hall. Twenty-four chairs were placed to the left of a silver throne, which had been prepared for the Prince, at the end of the room, on a cloth of scarlet and gold. Behind the throne stood four servitors, two with peacock feathers and horses' tails, and two with broad fans, which were moved by the bearers to and fro. On the right of the throne were ranged twenty-four chairs, with a second row behind them. On the wall behind the throne was a portrait of the Queen. In front, and extending about three-quarters of the length of the hall, was "the carpet" of purple cloth, with gold lace borders, and an emblazonment of the Royal Arms.

The Prince entered the throne room wearing the uniform of a field-marshal and orders, attended by his whole suite in full uniform and decorations. Each prince was received separately with the most punctilious ceremonial of Eastern Courts, which it would be wearisome to describe, and each came attended by sirdars and troops of splendid horsemen to the entrance of the mansion. On arrival, each native prince was greeted with the salute of guns to which his Highness was entitled from the Royal Artillery battery in the park outside. On entering the hall, the great chiefs were met in turn by the Prince of Wales at the regulation spot on "the carpet," and led to the silver throne, where a few compliments of an official character were exchanged, the Prince invariably paying his with a pleasant smile, and then the political agent conducted them to the chairs set apart for them on the right of the throne. They were received in the following order: The Raja of Kolhapoor, a Mahratta, twelve years of age, belonging to the Bhonsla family, attired in purple velvet and white muslin, and encrusted with gems. His turban was a wealth of pearls and rubies. The Maharaja of Mysore, an intelligent lad of thirteen years of age, the adopted son of the Maharaja who died in 1867. The jewels which literally hung on him were of enormous value. One stone of the many of his necklace was said to be worth nine lacs of rupees. Neck, wrists, arms, and ankles were encircled with strings of pearls, diamonds, and rubies; his turban was graced with an aigrette of brilliants of large size, and a large tuft of strings of big pearls and emeralds hung down from his shoulders from the top. Some of the suite smiled as the band outside played the duet of the brave gendarmes, "We'll run him in," by way of prelude to his entrance to the audience chamber. The Maharana of Oodeypoor, who "boasts the oldest pedigree in the world, and looks a gentleman all over," was dressed all in white, tall, good-looking, and fair. On his head-dress was an aigrette of magnificent diamonds; on neck and arms were pearls and rubies; his gold sash was ornamented with a buckle set with the finest brilliants, and his sword hilt and sheath were richly studded with precious stones. The Rao (Pragmul) of Cutch, a portly old man, who rose from a sick-bed to pay homage to the Prince, and only returned to his State to die. Maharaja Syajee Rao, a boy twelve years old, bright and pleasant of face, whom the Government of India had installed as Gaekwar of Baroda, came into the hall "a crystallised rainbow."

Reception of the Great Chiefs

The Homage of the Princes

The most interesting presentation of the day was that of his Excellency Sir Salar Jung, G.C.S.I. Minister, and other members of a deputation representing his Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, a child who was too ill to come. Sir Salar was dressed with studied simplicity. Keshree Singjee, the Maharaja of Edur, a handsome, soft-faced youth, was quite at his ease, invited the Prince of Wales to visit him at Edur, and congratulated him on his birthday. Meer Ali Morad, of Khyrpoor, a man sixty-one years old, though he seemed of much greater age, and had a dyed beard, followed. Then came the Nawab of Joonagurh, the Jam of Nowanugeur, the Thakoor Sahib of Bhownuggur, the Raj-Sahib of Dhrangdra, the Raja of Rajpeepla, the Dewan of Palanpoor, and the Nawab of Radhanpoor. This was a very interesting group of personages, mostly in bare feet, but with fine turbans. Next came the Raja of Baria, the Raja of Loonawara, the Nawab of Balasinoor, the Raja of Chota Oodeypoor, the Raja of Soonth, the Sir Desai of Sawant-Wari, the Raja of Dharmpoor, and the Nawab of Jinjera. These were chiefs who belonged to the Rewa Kanta States.

After the native princes and chiefs had departed, the Viceroy was received and had a long conversation with the Prince of Wales before the latter left Parell Hall to visit the Serapis, where the crew were enjoying a birthday dinner provided by the Prince, the men of the Osborne being similarly treated. The Royal host cut the birthday cake, and his health was drunk with much feeling. Telegrams were exchanged between Sandringham and Bombay, and in the evening there were illuminations of the fleet and town, a spectacle, it was said, which had never before been equalled for beauty and splendour. The Prince, attended by the Viceroy, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bombay, the officers of the Navy and Army, native chiefs, etc., drove through the principal streets, and among the inscriptions in letters of golden light were "Tell mama we are happy," "Welcome thee, our future Emperor," "Welcome, our future Father and King." A State banquet was given by the Lieutenant-Governor, and in reply to the toast of his health, the Prince of Wales said; "It has long been my earnest wish—the dream of my life—to visit India, and now that my desire has been gratified, I can only say, Sir Philip Wodehouse, how much pleased I am to have spent my thirty-fourth birthday under your roof in Bombay. I shall remember with satisfaction the hospitable reception I had from the Governor and all here as long as I live, and I believe that I may regard what I have experienced in Bombay as a guarantee of the future of my progress through

THE ENTRY OF THE PRINCE OF WALES INTO BARODA

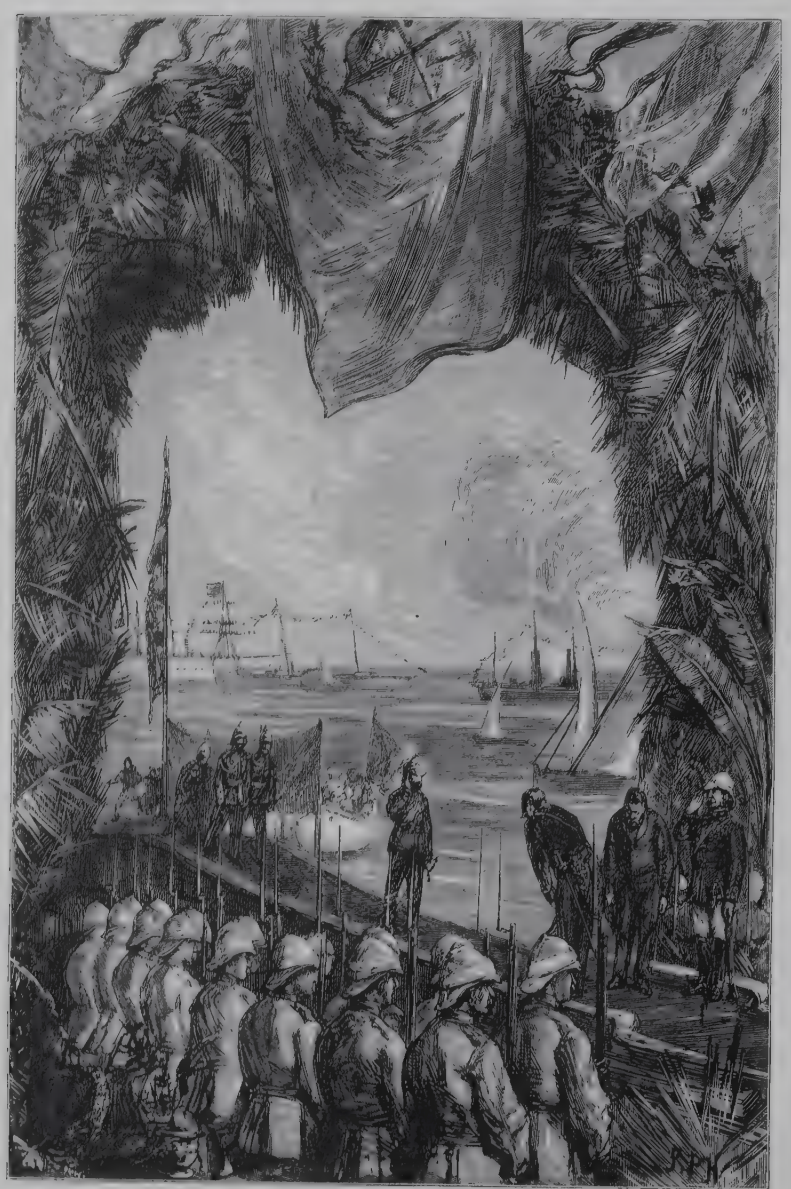
this great Empire, which forms so important a part of the dominions of the Queen." A reception attended by many native chiefs and the elite of the European community followed.

Next day, November 10, the Governor-General and his staff and bodyguard departed to make a State visit to Rajpootana, and after breakfast the Prince of Wales held a reception for the minor chiefs, and a levée at the Secretariat, which was attended by a vast crowd, including the Chief Justice, the Commanders-in-Chief of her Majesty's naval forces in India, and at which the Prince had to make two thousand bows. Then came a children's fête in an open space near the harbour, given to 7,000 boys and girls of all classes, creeds, and nationalities. Songs were sung by them in honour of the Prince and he was almost smothered in showers of flowers.

The Prince's Two Thousand Bows

The evening was spent in making return visits to the great native princes, with whom he spoke unreservedly, and the effect of his Royal Highness's kindness was magical. At every one of their residences he was received with great splendour, and presents were given and exchanged. Later, a grand ball given by the Byculla Club, about which the European community had been talking for weeks, was a great success.

The outstanding event of November 12 was the banquet in the Caves of Elephanta. Two steamers conveyed the Prince and the favoured guests of the Lieutenant-Governor from the bay across to the island. The sun had set, and the disembarkation was effected by torchlight. There is a steep, winding ascent of one thousand and one steps to Garipuri, "the City of Caves," and these were lit up by lamps suspended from a continuous framework of bamboos. "When the visitor enters the excavations, passing through a double row of pillars which looked as though they were supporting the mountain or the squared mass of it, here chiselled into a grand portico, he sees the work of men who must have been," as Mr. Maclean remarks, "imbued with a religion in which there was an element of sublime mystery and awful grandeur now completely lost in practices which are grotesque and contemptible. . . . The idols, with their stony eyes, seemed to be glaring on the great array of tables covered with cloths and plates and dishes. The faces, of extraordinary power and beauty, the gigantic forms, cut with decision and boldness, challenge admiration and wonder. They are the efforts of sculptors to convey their impressions of beings of divine, not of human type . . . to express in stone the attributes of beauty, power, strength, fecundity."



THE PRINCE OF WALES LANDING AT BOMBAY

From a drawing by S. P. Hall

The Prince and the Lieutenant-Governor, and the *dii majores* sat at an elevated table at right angles to the tables of the general company, and when the feast was over, and the toasts of the Queen and the Prince had been given by Sir Philip Wodehouse, and received with acclamation, the party made an inspection of the chambers of the temple, specially admiring the massive columns, with their beautiful carved capitals, and then escaped into the outer air, where there was a display of fireworks amongst the island rocks and from the ships of the fleet—the most impressive of all the many displays of the kind made for the Prince's honour. The boats bringing the party back to Bombay seemed to float in some new innocuous Phlegethon.

A departure was made from Bombay on the morning of November 13 by special train up the Bhore Ghaut, the magnificent scenery of which was much appreciated, to Kirkee, the scene of the battle which determined the fate of the Mahratta Empire, the fall of the power of the Peishwa, and the establishment of that of the East India Company in the Deccan. A British battery fired a salute; Sir Charles Staveley and Lord Mark Kerr,

A DURBAR AT BOMBAY: THE PRINCE OF WALES'S INTERVIEW WITH THE YOUTHFUL GAEKWAR OF BARODA
From a drawing by S. P. Hall

with their staffs and everyone who could get there, were waiting to receive the Royal visitor, who drove in state through the cantonments, under arches of triumph, and along miles of streets and roads, lined with soldiers, British and native, and crowded with Mahrattas. The procession halted at one point, and a venerable chief with a noble beard, representing the elders of Poonah, read an address, and presented it to the Prince in a fine casket of silver, whereon was an image of Gunputty, God of Wisdom, with a lotus in one of his four hands, and his faithful mouse in attendance. The Prince made a gracious reply, and was much cheered. The train was re-entered, and Poonah reached at five o'clock. There was a long drive to Government House of Ganesh Khind, a palace which cost £175,000, on a commanding site, with a view over the undulating plains and strange tumultuous scenery of the Deccan. The Prince was received here in state worthy of him, and his standard flew out from the tower as he set foot within the threshold.

Sunday, November 14, was a day of rest, the Prince attending Divine service in Government House. At six on the morning of the 15th the Prince started on a visit to the famous fortress-like Temple of Parbuttee, where numerous devotees, fakirs and beggars welcomed the visitors. Cholera having broken out generally in Madras and Southern India, the sporting expedition there was, in the meantime, abandoned, and after a review of the Poonah division of native troops under Lord Mark Kerr, and other functions, the Prince and party returned to Bombay, where, among many official and social ceremonies, the Prince presented new colours to the 21st Bombay Native Infantry—a corps raised a hundred years before, which had done good service for the British arms. The old colours were in turn presented to the Prince to grace the walls of Sandringham. It was now determined, with the approval and concurrence of the Governor-General, that the Prince of Wales should honour the young Gaekwar of Baroda with a visit. The journey to Baroda was accomplished by special train, and on arrival there on the morning of November 19, the Prince and suite were received by the Gaekwar, Sir Madhava Rao, his Premier, groups of resplendent sirdars, Mr. Melvill, the agent of the Governor-General, and a mighty gathering of Mahrattas, counted by tens of thousands, in turbans of every hue, from beneath which dark eyes were fixed on one object only, the son of the Empress, the Shahzadah of Hindostan. Greetings were exchanged, and the Prince, taking the little Maharaja by the hand, sat down and spoke with him for a time. A stately procession was formed and marched in single file to the famous Residency three miles distant, with the pomp and circumstance which only the East can show. Every inch of the way was bordered by a light trelliswork of bamboos and palm strips, hung with lamps and festooned with bright green leaves and flowers, and there were at intervals grander arches and clusters of banners.

Varied Ceremonies at Bombay

The Prince Visits Baroda

On arrival at the Residency there was a Durbar for the Gaekwar and his sirdars, and afterwards a levée for European officers. In the afternoon the Prince paid his return visit to the Maharaja amid many vestiges of barbaric and costly state, and a parti-coloured crowd of two or three feet deep stood or sat, keen-eyed, curious, and quiet, along a mile and a half of winding streets through which the cortége passed. The little Maharaja had all his jewels on when he received the Prince of Wales in his palace, and hung a wreath around his Royal Highness's neck. Utter (a few drops of perfume spread on the handkerchief) and pân, a betel nut wrapped in fresh green leaf covered with gold foil, went round, and then the Prince was led by his host to the door of the apartment of the

Maharanee Jumnabaae, an exceedingly engaging and graceful lady, with a pleasing face, bright eyes, and agreeable smile. The Prince presented his suite, and the party started for the Agga, or arena for wild-beast combats. After exhibitions of wrestling, there were combats between elephants, rhinoceroses, buffaloes, and rams. When the contests were over, zoological curiosities were shown—a nylghau driven in harness, a pair of black bucks drawing a small carriage, parrots in cages, and a Bengal tiger, lank, fiery-eyed, and savage, uttering growls, with legs and body bound with ropes, and held by ten men at arms' length on both sides. The Prince now rose, thanked the Gaekwar and his Minister, and returned to the Residency.

The Marvels of Baroda

Next day the Royal party were conveyed by special train to the Gaekwar's deer preserve, where a day's sport was enjoyed. On Sunday, November 21, Divine service, conducted by the Rev. Mr. Polehampton, garrison chaplain, was held in the large reception-room of the Residency. In the evening there was a State dinner at the Palace of the Mohtee Bagh, and the Prince saw nothing in India more curious than what he witnessed on the way thither. "Outside the cantonments there was a bridge spanned by triumphal arches most brilliantly illuminated. Men holding blazing torches stood along the parapets. But, placed at the corners, and perched on stages and towers along the battlements, were the most grotesque and terrible things I ever beheld out of a dream," says Sir W. H. Russell. "They looked like plaster statues. From beneath glistening tiaras, or bonnets, wigs of snaky hair flowed over opaque white faces, which were set on tinselled bodies decked with wings of scarlet, picked out with gold and silver tinsel, which projected from the shoulder. . . . In the inanimate hands were held stiffly bouquets, fans, swords, or lances; but we started with horror when we saw the eyes—veritable coals of fire—set in those white stony faces of the wildest, aspect, turn as we passed them. Some thought the spectacle ludicrous—to me it was horrible."

THE PRINCE IN A "MANCHEEL" AT OLD GOA

Known as a "mancheel," this primitive mode of conveyance consists of canopied seats slung from bamboos and borne on men's heads. The above illustration shows the Prince of Wales "enjoying" a ride in this native contrivance on the occasion of his visit to Old Goa.

From a drawing by S. P. Hall

The Gaekwar and his Ministers received the Prince and party at a dinner served in a pavilion in the garden. Towards the end of the feast, the young Gaekwar was introduced, and sat by the side of the Prince of Wales, who expressed his gratification at the cordiality of his reception, and, in the course of a reply to the toast of his health and that of the Queen, proposed by Sir Madhava Rao, assured the Maharaja and the Maharanee that he could never forget his visit. He predicted that the Gaekwar, under the able counsel of his Ministers, would exert himself to promote the welfare of his people and the development of the resources of his country, so as to ensure the continuance of friendly relations between the two Governments. Sir Madhava Rao, on behalf of the Maharaja and the Maharanee, said that they regarded that as the happiest moment of their lives, and were grateful for the motives which had prompted the visit of the Prince of Wales, and for his Royal Highness's right Royal affability and graciousness. The occasion would be commemorated in history, and would ever be associated with renovated strength and renewed stability of the State.

At 11.25 p.m. the Royal party took special train for the shooting ground south of Mehmoodabad. Just as the sun rose on November 22 the Prince and his suite got out of the train, prepared for immediate action, and had a most successful day's shooting, the Royal sportsman contributing his full share to the bag of quail, peacock, partridges, cranes, and hares.

At noon on November 25, the Prince landed from the Serapis to take leave of the Lieutenant-Governor, and *en route* visited the house of Sir Munguldass Nuthoobhoy, where there was a wedding festivity. The bride and bridegroom, and everybody connected with them, including Bombay merchants said to be worth millions of money, were in a flutter of delight at the unexpected visit. The farewell call at Parell was very grateful to Sir Philip Wodehouse, most of all to the chief of police, Mr. Francis Henry Souter, on whom the Prince conferred the honour of knighthood. When returning to the Serapis there were many friends, European officials, rajas, sirdars, to bid his Royal Highness good-bye at the dockyard, the decorations of which had been furbished up, and instead of "Welcome," there was "God speed." The Prince shook hands with almost everyone present, being anxious that none of those introduced to him should be missed. The State barge pushed off amid deafening cheers, and the Royal traveller joined the Serapis, which, with her consorts, sailed at 5 o'clock.

The Prince's stately yacht, with her attendant men-of-war, kept a course some fifteen miles off the coast, and the next afternoon, November 26, the Osborne was sent on ahead with despatches to announce the arrival of the Prince and make arrangements for his reception at the Portuguese settlement of Goa, where the Serapis anchored two miles from the shore, and was received with the usual salutes. Next morning his Excellency Tavares de Almeida, Governor of Goa, put off in a double-banked galley, pulled by eighteen men in picturesque costumes, boarded the Serapis, and graciously welcomed the heir to the British throne. In response to his Excellency's invitation, the Prince landed at New Goa, where he was received by an immense mass of a mixed population, and a force of military, consisting of European and sepoy battalions. He also proceeded up the river to Old Goa, deserted 230 years ago on account of its unhealthiness.

Festivities on the Serapis

The squadron weighed anchor early in the morning of Sunday, November 28. On the following morning, the squadron anchored a couple of miles off the bar of Beypore, in Southern India, and after the Royal party had enjoyed a short shooting trip up the river, sailed again at 7 p.m., and steered for the island of Ceylon. The course was inshore in full view of the mountain ranges of Cochin and Travancore. The night of November 30 was squally, nevertheless there were festivities on board the Serapis, presided over by the Prince, in honour of the promotion of Lord Charles Beresford to the rank of commander.

CHAPTER XL

STATE VISIT TO INDIA: CEYLON'S RECEPTION

Describing the Prince of Wales's Arrival at Colombo, his Enthusiastic Receptions at Kandy and elsewhere, an Elephant Hunt, and a Narrow Escape

COLOMBO lights were seen before daylight on December 1, and three-quarters of an hour later the Serapis found her way to her anchorage, the fleets of Admirals Macdonald and Lambert thundering forth salutes. At one o'clock, on signal to the fleets, a Royal salute from the ships and forts and a *feu de joie* from the troops on shore celebrated the anniversary of the Princess of Wales's birthday. The Governor, Mr. W. H. Gregory, Major-General Street, C.B., commanding the forces, and the higher officials of the Government, came on board to make arrangements for the landing of the Prince of Wales, which was accomplished at four o'clock, the Royal visitor wearing field-marshal's uniform, white trousers, and plumed helmet. The warships fired another salute, and the steam launch was under escort, so to speak, of hundreds of native boats, from the occupants of which, and the Europeans on shore, there was tremendous cheering mingled with wild yells of delight. Everywhere were flags, fruit, cocoanuts, flowers, palms, triumphal arches, and in the pavilion at the end of the landing platform was a throne for the Prince, on each side of which were ranged all the State of Ceylon—members of the Legislative Council and of the municipal corporation, ladies, some in British and others in Anglo-Cingalese dresses, naval, military, and civil officers, groups of officials in Cingalese costume, and outside a guard of honour of the 57th Regiment, the "Old Die Hards."

When the Prince entered the pavilion there was another burst of hearty cheering, oftentimes repeated. Then came the presentation of addresses and the answers, which inevitable ceremony over, the Prince and the Governor led the way up an avenue of seats and terraces, windows and roofs, crowded with figures and faces, while the wide-eyed Cingalese, not much weighted with clothing, but wild with joy, ran, shouted, leapt up to get a view of the waving plumes and white helmet of the Prince. A triumphal drive through the town and for miles round by the sea-wall, the cinnamon groves, Colpetty, surrounded by cocoanut trees, and Galle-face, to the place whence they set out, to enable the Prince to see, and be seen, gave renewed occasion to admire the enthusiasm of the population, and wonder at the exuberance and riches of fruit, wreaths, festoons, garlands, and at the quaintness of fancy in decorations, and grotesque representations of the elephant, the creature which typifies the island. The drive was over as evening set in, and the Prince and suite returned on board the Serapis, where he gave a State banquet to the Governor and the higher naval, military, and civil officers.

During the journey by rail on the following day up to Kandy, the Prince and the Duke of Sutherland enjoyed the scenery from the engine; and at the "Sensation Rock," the whole party realised "that supreme delight—a safe danger—contact, all but actual, with destruction, which is exceedingly charming to all who have nerves fit for the peculiar pleasure."

At all the stations there were crowds, inscriptions, arches, to welcome Queen Victoria's son, and at one of them, a few miles from Kandy, in addition to the ordinary floral embellishments, monkeys and birds of all kinds of hue flew about the platform as far as the length of their tethers would let them. At beautiful Kandy itself, as elsewhere, the natives turned out in force; all the men, women, and children had flowers in their hair and nosegays in their hands. There were greetings by quaintly-dressed chiefs, addresses from municipal councils, a State banquet in the Governor's mountain retreat, and the Pera-hara, or procession from the Buddhist Temple to the Garden Pavilion of the Residency.

THE PRINCE OF WALES LANDING AT COLOMBO
From a drawing by S. P. Hall

Hundreds of years ago this ceremony took place at the new moon, and was of a very grand and imposing character, in which the King of Kandy took an important part. "What the Prince of Wales saw was far different from the great ceremonial There was only a procession of elephants, devil dancers, and priests belonging to the temple, but it was exceedingly grotesque and interesting. The 'devil dancers,' in masks and painted faces, were sufficiently hideous.

An Entertainment by "Devil Dancers"

Their contortions, performed to the tune of clanging brass cymbals and loud horns, presented no feature of agility or grace. The elephants, plodding along in single file, carried magnificent howdahs occupied by the priests, and were covered with cloth of gold and silver, and with plates of metal which shone in the light of the torches. The better bred of these animals, and most of them were exceedingly polite, salaamed, and uttered a little flourish of trumpets through their probosces, as they came opposite to the place where the Prince was standing. Some knelt down and made obeisance before him; but the propriety of the procession was somewhat disturbed by the cupidity of one which, finding that the Prince had a small store of sugar-cane and bananas, resolved to make the best of his time, and could not be induced to go on without difficulty."

Next day, December 3, a visit was paid to the Botanical Gardens, where there is, perhaps, a more exuberant and greater variety of trees, plants and flowers than in any other part of the world. Indeed, the avenues and park-like expanses form one of the most marvellous exhibitions of the glories of the vegetable kingdom. Birds of all kinds were innumerable, and there were flying foxes in thousands, one of which, shot by the Prince, was about four feet from one wing-tip to the other, and was covered with red hair, the skin on the face black and naked, the teeth exceedingly sharp. The party were warned that if they made excursions into the jungly ground near the river, there were venomous spiders, voracious ants, ticks and centipedes to be avoided. Nor were they more inclined for a walk on being informed that the *Tic polonga*, a deadly snake, the terror of the natives, was to be met with. One of the European servants (a Highlander) said: "It's not the tigers and lions that I'm afraid of, it's the serpents!" Before leaving, the Prince planted a small shoot of the Peepul, the Bo-tree, or *Ficus religiosa*, to commemorate his visit.

In the evening there was a banquet in the pavilion, and the ceremony of conferring knighthood (K.C.M.G.) on the Governor, Mr. W. H. Gregory, and the decoration of C.M.G. on Mr. Birch, Colonial Secretary, and Mr. Douglas, in the Audience Hall of the Kings of Kandy, now used as a court house. The most eminent of the chiefs were decorated with the blue riband and the Indian gold medal; and their jewelled wives, "dignified and stately as so many Mistresses of the Robes," were introduced to his Royal Highness, who received from their husbands a handsome silver casket. Whilst the presentations were going on the thunder roared, the lightning flashed, and the rain fell with tropical violence outside.

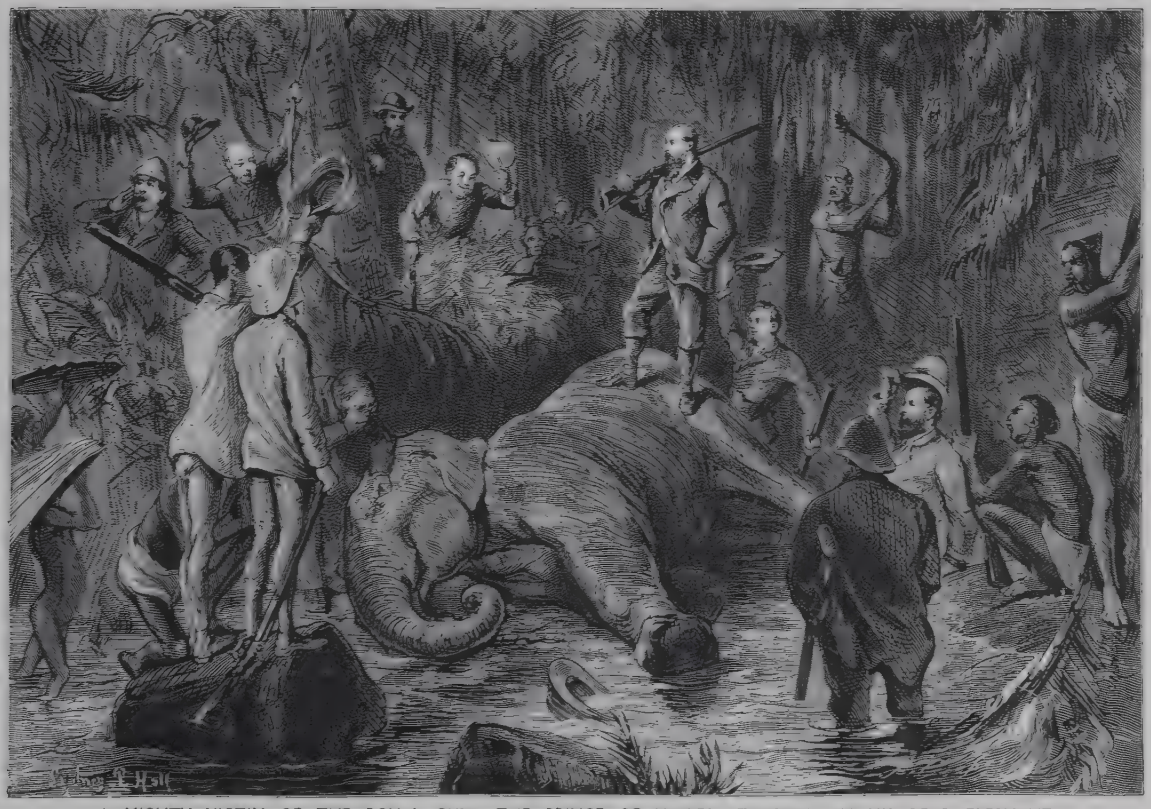
Native Chiefs Decorated

From the Audience Hall the Prince and suite passed through narrow passages and serried ranks of Buddhist priests and mounted many steps to the Malagawa Temple to see the Sacred Tooth of Gotama Buddha, taken, it is said, from the body of Gotama, who was burned at Kusinara about 2,500 years ago. The Wihara, or sacred chamber, in a tower adjoining the temple, is approached by a narrow staircase, and the apartment is hung with curtains

THE "DEVIL DANCERS" PERFORMING IN THE PRESENCE OF THE PRINCE OF WALES AT KANDY

Among the many curious spectacles witnessed by the Prince of Wales during his Indian tour was that illustrated above. Wearing masks, the "Devil Dancers" performed to the "music" of clanging brass cymbals and loud horns, but their contortions "presented no feature of agility or grace."

From a drawing by S. P. Hall



A MIGHTY VICTIM OF THE ROYAL GUN: THE PRINCE OF WALES STANDING ON HIS DEAD ELEPHANT

An elephant hunt in Ceylon provided the Prince with exciting sport. While engaged in the chase, the Royal sportsman observed a huge animal, and taking deliberate aim he fired. The great beast tapped its forehead with its trunk, and then fell dead in the stream where it hammed up the water!

From a drawing by R. Hall.

embroidered with curious devices, and redolent with sickening perfume. The Carandua, the bell-shaped golden casket enclosing the tooth, which is called the Dalada, stands on a silver table. The case glitters with emeralds, diamonds, pearls of great price, and bears a large stone on the cusp at its summit, said to be of enormous value. It is hung round with chains, of which the links are diamonds, emeralds, rubies and pearls of very great worth, and is elaborately chased and worked in an intricate pattern. At one side of the table, surrounded by as many as could crowd in after him, the Prince took his place. One priest produced a bundle of keys from some secret receptacle, and then unshrined the relic. A sliding spring was touched, and the outer case opening, revealed inside another of gold, also jewelled; again came in view a new casket like unto its fellow. And so on, the operation was repeated five times, until at last Buddha's Tooth was revealed reposing on a golden lotus leaf. All these caskets or shrines were presented by the Kings of Kandy, the most recent dated 1464, and the inside case 200 years before.

"No hand might touch this Holy of Holies. There was an expression of awe on the faces of the priests which could not have been feigned. The eldest, a venerable man in spectacles, who quivered with emotion, taking up the gold lotus leaf in one hand, was supplied by another of the priests with a small piece of cambric. Placing this carefully between his fingers, and not allowing his hand to come in contact even with the golden lotus, he took up the tooth and held it for the Prince's gaze. There was, of course, not much to see in the tooth, and, without faith, nothing to admire; and so the Prince, having duly looked at it, departed. But it was very curious to think that so many millions of people, some of them, no doubt, wise and good, spread all over the East, constituting the population of great empires, not destitute of culture, should hold such an object in veneration." Before his final departure from the temple, a deputation of Buddhist priests presented his Royal Highness with a set of the Holy Books; exhibited what they asserted were the "most ancient Buddhist manuscripts in the world"; and one of the younger priests chanted in minor from one of the books in a manner not unmusical, reminding one sometimes of the intonation of the Russian ritual. The *séance* ended, the Royal party returned to the pavilion. An attempt was made at a display of fireworks and a second procession of the Pera-hara, but a drenching rain washed all the animation out of the "devil-dancers," put out the lights, soddened the drums, choked the musical instruments, and spoiled everything but the good temper and patience of the vast crowd who had come from all parts of the island.

The Sacred Tooth of Gotama Buddha

In the "Royal City of Light"

On December 4 the Duke of Sutherland and other members of the Prince's suite went by rail over the Rambodda Pass, 6,000 feet high, to Newera Ellia, "the Royal City of Light," and enjoyed some sport. The Prince and the rest of his party went by special train through one of the most lovely countries imaginable to Nawala-pittya, and thence by carriage to Ruanwella, a secluded spot forty-five miles from Colombo, where it was reported there were two herds of elephants in the forest. The Prince and Governor were lodged in an old Dutch house, and the others in huts.

There was some bird-shooting on the morning of December 5, and the party tried for deer in the afternoon, amidst heavy rain, but only succeeded in bagging a buffalo!

At 6 o'clock a.m. on December 6 the Prince appeared in a broad-brimmed solar topee, sober-hued jacket, knickerbockers, and "leech gaiters." The jungle where the elephants were supposed to be was seven and a half miles from Ruanwella, and the hunting party who accompanied his Royal

Highness included Lord Aylesford, Lord Charles Beresford, Lord Suffield, General Probyn, the Prince himself being escorted by lancers of the Governor's bodyguard. A kraal had been constructed in the forest during the previous fortnight by a body of from 1,200 to 1,500 men, who had also been keeping an eye on the elephants. Within two barriers was a sort of grand stand which commanded a view of an immensely high and strong stockade, extending across a narrow wooded valley, and outside this stockade running up the hillside there was a stake-net of woodwork, into which the beaters were to drive the elephants after these had been forced past a high rock on which the Prince was placed, within sight of whom Mr. S. P. Hall, the artist, was perched on a tree. After a wait of three and a half hours a tremendous commotion was heard in the jungle.

Elephant Hunting in the Jungle

"There were two herds, one of only three, led by an old tusker, charged with the death of four European sportsmen, and of many cattle; the other of seven lady elephants. When the beaters came up, the latter put themselves under the old tusker, who proved himself to be a leader whose courage and coolness were only equalled by his sagacity and strategical skill. He not only refused to be driven, but, charging at the head of his column, he broke through the beaters again and again, driving them up trees for shelter and utterly spoiling sport." Five hours passed, and the two herds separated again. At last it was resolved to apply the ordeal which elephants so much dread. Timber was piled up in the jungle to windward of the female herd, and set on fire. The beaters were marshalled and permission given to some of them who were armed to fire into the rear of the elephants. Presently branches crashed and trees shook violently; a couple of shots were heard—an elephant rushed, like some great rock, down the hillside within twenty yards of the Prince, who fired, and hit the beast in the head; but it went on and was lost in the forest. In a few minutes Mr. Fisher (one of the Governor's party) ran up, "steaming," and said, "Sir, if you will come with me, I think I can get you a shot. I have wounded an elephant; I know where he is, and you can kill him." The Prince descended from his post and set out with him, creeping through the dense jungle as well as he could. The heat was great; it was impossible to see two yards ahead. Shooting hats were lost, clothes torn. Suddenly the elephant which had been wounded was discovered through the jungle. The Prince fired—the elephant dropped at once, and lay as if dead. Mr. Hall stopped to take a sketch; but after a while the elephant first began to move, then to kick, and finally to get on his legs, whereupon Mr. Hall, doubting whether he could challenge the *revenant* to an encounter with a lead pencil, prudently sought safety in flight. Meantime, the Prince and his companions were advancing in the jungle towards the place where the principal herd was supposed to be. There was a crashing in the forest ahead. The beaters got up trees. A halt was called. Elephants were close at hand, though they could not be seen. At any moment an elephant might rush out; evasion and escape were hopeless, for in such a jungle no man could do more than very slowly creep, while the elephant could go through the bush as a ship cleaves the water. All at once Mr. Fisher perceived an elephant not ten yards off, in the very act of charging. The Prince caught sight of it also, fired, and it disappeared in the jungle.

"The huntsmen continued in pursuit cautiously, but the creepers and thick undergrowth made stout resistance, so that their progress was slow, and not unexhausting. In a few minutes more another elephant was seen where the bush was not so dense by the side of the rivulet. The Prince took deliberate aim and fired. The great beast toppled and fell over on its side in the stream, where it dammed up the water! Then ensued a scene of great excitement. The Prince descended the bank, but they called to him to take care. They approached and watched for a moment. The creature did not move; it was 'dead, sure enough!' Then the Prince, assisted by the hunters, got into the water and climbed upon the inert mountain of flesh. Down came the natives from trees, stockade, and hillside. European and Cingalese dashed into the stream and cheered again and again, and the whole party whooped and woke up the glade with their cries as the Prince was seen standing on the prostrate body—which was not that of the redoubtable tusker. The Prince, according to custom, cut off the tail. He was streaming with perspiration, his clothes were wet and torn to shreds. It was getting dark, and quite time to get out of the jungle. The party mounted their horses and returned to the road. Carriages were waiting to take them to Hanwele, where Governor Gregory and others, having gone down the river by boats, were waiting to receive the Prince. But ere he arrived he met with a little accident, which might easily have been a serious one. At the corner of a small bridge, where there was a deep ditch, the carriage went right over, throwing the occupants on each other. Lord Aylesford was on the box beside the driver. General Probyn, Lord C. Beresford, and Mr. Fitz-George were inside with the Prince. The vehicle was broken, but the Prince emerged unhurt, and acting on the principle of the Duke of Wellington, 'not to be afraid of a danger when it is over,' the first thing he did was to inquire after 'his elephant's tail'!"

COLOMBO HARBOUR
As seen from the Customs wharf

After spending the night in a bungalow at Hanwele, the Prince next morning, December 7, drove into Colombo, where, notwithstanding his fatigue, he held a levee, paid a visit to the Agri-Horticultural Exhibition, where a very instructive collection of the products, fabrics, and manufactures of the island, with specimens of the precious stone found in Ceylon and of native jewellery, were laid out. There were representations of a Cingalese wedding and an exhibition of bow-and-arrow shooting by Veddahs, supposed to be the original inhabitants of the island, and a State banquet, followed by a ball. December 8 found the Royal party in a general state of lassitude from the effects of the shooting excursion in the forest. Some suffered from fever, others from sore throat, but the Prince was all right, and he paid visits to the bazaars and cocoa manufactories, received deputations of native literates and learned Buddhists, who presented addresses and presents, laid the foundation stone of the new breakwater, and then, followed by the whole population of Colombo to the water's edge, went on board the Serapis, on which in the evening he gave a farewell dinner to the Governor and leading notabilities. The town and the country round about were illuminated—the fleet and shipping, bright as lanterns, blue and red lights, rockets, maroons, and bombs could make them. With the expression of his perfect contentment to all concerned for his reception at Ceylon, and many acknowledgments of the pleasure he had derived from his visit, the Prince bade farewell to the island. As was remarked by one of the Royal suite, "The memory of Ceylon will always be as green as the island itself."

Farewell to Colombo

CHAPTER XLI

STATE VISIT TO INDIA: AT MADRAS & CALCUTTA

A Full Account of the Ceremonies and Functions Arranged in Honour of the Prince of Wales, including the Imposing Chapter of the Order of the Star of India

IN the middle watches of the night the Serapis left her moorings in the roadstead of Colombo, and proceeded to sea, and on the afternoon of the 9th was brought up five miles to the south of Tuticorin with difficulty on account of the high sea. A landing was, however, effected on Tamil country by the Prince and some of the party—the rest being *hors de combat*. The whole population thronged to see the son of the great White Queen, and a finer race of men it would be difficult to find in any part of the world. Their attitudes of wonder and joy were singularly graceful and attractive. After the inevitable address, the Royal party took train for the Nilgherries, a mountain range which rises to the height of 8,000 feet. At Maniachy, in the district of Tinnevelly, a deputation of 6,000 native Christians, including a large body of clergy, and a thousand boys and girls from the Church of England schools, awaited the arrival of the Prince. The head of the mission, the Rev. Dr. Caldwell, of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Rev. Dr. Sergeant, of the Church Missionary Society, presented addresses. They represented Christian congregations in 600 towns and villages, numbering in all 60,000, with 54 native clergy, 590 catechists and teachers, 10,378 communicants, and 13,000 boys and girls in the schools. A presentation was made to the Prince of a handsomely bound Bible and Prayer Book in the Tamil language, and some exquisite embroidery and lace, the handiwork of the girls in the schools. The Prince replied in gracious and encouraging words, and a Tamil lyric, composed in honour of the occasion, was sung by the children to a quaint air. His Royal Highness handed to the representatives of each school mango and other seedlings to be planted in the school compounds in memory of his visit. After stopping at various places where there were mighty multitudes to meet the Prince, Madura, the end of the Southern India Peninsula Railway, was reached at 5 p.m., and his Royal Highness declared it to be open.

NATIVE CHRISTIANS AT TINNEVELLY

At Maniachy, in the district of Tinnevelly, a large deputation of native Christians awaited the arrival of the Prince, and presented to him a handsomely bound Bible and Prayer Book in the Tamil language.

From a drawing by S. P. Hall

Madura, it is said, was once the capital of a kingdom which sent ambassadors to Augustus at Rome, and an hour's drive brought the Prince to his charming quarters in front of the celebrated Teppa Kollum, where he received the Raja of Pudukotta and other native chiefs in Tamil land who are described to be "the oldest and truest allies of the British in Southern India." The Raja showed the Prince a most interesting book, consisting of letters, despatches, and correspondence between Clive and others and his ancestors relating to the wars against the French, Hyder Ali, and Tippoo.

On December 11 the Prince visited some of the ninety-six temples and palaces built by Trimal Naik, the king who reigned in Madura between 1621 and 1657. In front of the choultrie, or lodging-place for the idol, there is a gate tower, the doorposts of which are of single blocks of granite 60 feet high, and the interior has another row of sculptured columns 25 feet high. The figures on the facade of monsters, elephants, tigers, and men are carved in the most elaborate detail. At the entrance to the palace the Prince was received by the trustees of the great temple and a large body of zemindars, one of whom, S. Subramania Tyen, LL.B., B.A., Vakil of the High Court of Madras, read an address in excellent English. Although a silver chair like a throne had been placed for his Royal Highness, he stood during the ceremony, and delivered a reply. When being conducted round the palace, the Prince had an interview with the widowed representative of the chiefs of the Shivagunga, a most charming old lady, says Dr. W. H. Russell, who had been engaged in a long litigation with the Indian

Government, which had been decided in her favour by the Privy Council, and this decision the Ranee insisted in accepting as the act of Queen Victoria. "It was the Empress who had done her justice, and she wanted to thank her son," and so she brought all the treasures of her house, and her son and heir "to express what she felt, and to offer everything she had to the Shahzadah."

"I have seldom seen anything more touching on or off the stage," continues Dr. W. H. Russell, "than her gesture and action when, thanking the Prince, she took her son's hand and placed it between her own, as if in supplication, that the Prince might take it."

THE PRINCE RECEIVING NATIVE CHIEFS AT MADRAS
From a drawing by S. P. Hall

The Royal visitor next visited the shrine of Linga Sunadara, "the beautiful Linga," founded between the fifth and sixth centuries, and then went on to the great Temple of Minakshee, the "fish-eyed" goddess Parvati, who was the wife of Shiva, at the entrance of which he was received by the chief priest and a crowd of inferior ecclesiastics, who presented an address. "This temple is a rectangle, with sides 730 feet and 830 feet long, and covers 20 acres of ground. A hall of 985 sculptured columns surrounded by arcades; grand gateways, porticos, shrines; mysterious passages; monster idols, one, 'the belly god,' with many worshippers; fearful faces, which glared from stony eyes; gliding priests; oppressive odours; the recess, specially illuminated, in which dwelt the deity Minakshee, of which—favour almost without precedent—the Prince and followers were vouchsafed a glimpse. It was all very strange and curious, but somehow impressed one with a feeling of deep melancholy." The tank of the Golden Lotus, the Golden Dome, etc., were also inspected by the Prince, who afterwards drove to the railway station, where a very fine pavilion had been specially built for the occasion. Here breakfast was partaken of, and the inhabitants of Madura, the Ranee, and other notabilities presented magnificent gifts, the latter including a sword so finely tempered that it could be worn as a belt.

In the course of the journey from Madura northwards, a brief halt was made at Dindigal, famous in Tippoo's wars; and Trichinopoly, the chief military station of Southern India, was reached in the afternoon. At the railway station there were a guard of honour of British and native troops, triumphal arches, officials in uniforms, addresses and official presentations. Driving through streets decorated with extraordinary richness and taste, the Prince paid a visit to the famous temple of Seringham, which is built on an island formed by two arms of the Cavery river. There he was received by the priests and guardians, who conducted him into the interior. One of the halls, 450 feet long by 130 feet broad, contains no fewer than 1,000 columns of granite, each of one block, carved most elaborately from top to bottom with images of deities. The temple was turned into a fortress by the French during the struggle with the English for the sovereignty of Southern India, of which Trichinopoly was the centre. The old palace of the Nawabs of the Carnatic, now turned into public offices, was also visited. There were numerous deputations of zemindars, one of which from Tanjore presented a finely worked silver and gold casket, with addresses, at the Main Guard of the ancient fortress, illuminations, and State dinners.

"A heavenly repose" was enjoyed in the early part of December 12, when Divine service was held in the drawing-room of the Residency. Then came irruptions of workers in gold and silver, in brass and ebony, and in all things for which Trichinopoly is famous; and in the afternoon the Prince and party started by special train for Madras, amid the usual military honours and enthusiastic cheers by the European and native inhabitants. The journey was somewhat delayed, but the train arrived at 8.10 a.m., December 13, at Roypooram, outside Madras, where the distinguished traveller was received by the Duke of Buckingham, Lieutenant-Governor of the Presidency, his staff of civil and military officers, the municipal body, dignitaries of the Presidency, including the Rajas of Cochin, Travancore, Arcot, Vizianagram. When the usual salutations had been exchanged and presentations made, a State procession set out to Government House, passing through the streets of the native town, and the wide, avenue-like thoroughfares which divide the immense compounds of the European quarters of Madras. A golden umbrella was held over the Prince's head, the Duke of Buckingham having seized on this Oriental idea as a special means of identifying the Prince, thereby gratifying thousands of people. At the Wallahjah Bridge no fewer than 126 different schools and colleges, with 12,500 students, boys and girls and teachers,

BARGAINING FOR BANGLES WITH THE NATIVES
From a drawing by S. P. Hall

were ranged on both sides on elevated stands, each school with its own distinctive banner, the pupils wearing badges, all dressed in their best, "some singing, some non-singing, some mixed-singing."

Government House was reached at 9 a.m., and after breakfast with the Duke of Buckingham's family, the Prince, in full uniform, proceeded to the Audience Chamber to receive the private visits of the chiefs. He gratified the Maharaja of Travancore, who came in great state, by his special attention and expressions of regret at his inability to become the Maharaja's guest at Trivandrum, and to enjoy the hunting expedition which had been organised for him. The sirdars of each chief were presented and offered homage in the usual manner. More conspicuous than any of these chiefs was the Raja of Vizianagram, by his fine presence and face. His public works and generous charities made him beloved by his people. He claims descent from the Ranas of Oodeypoor, the most illustrious Rajpoot family in India, whose ancestors conquered Oude at a very remote period, and more than three-quarters of the Madras Presidency in 519, and established a dynasty which reigned over the land for 921 years. A levée held by the Prince was attended by every European and native who could obtain access and a carriage to it; and a State dinner to the chief personages in the city and Presidency was given in the evening, followed by a reception, and a drive to Guindy Park, the country seat of the Governor, eight miles from the city, to spend the morrow—the anniversary of the death of the Prince's father—in seclusion. There were, consequently, no functions on that day, December 14, but the suite visited the sights and public institutions at Madras. On the following day there were races at Guindy Park, under St. Thomas's Mount, where tradition has it that St. Thomas Aquinas suffered martyrdom; in the afternoon presentations of addresses by the chancellor and other dignitaries of the university, from the freemasons of the Presidency, the Mysore Commission, and by deputations from Coorg and Coimbatore. Return visits were made to the Rajas; then a Durbar was held, at which there was an interchange of presents, many of which were curious and valuable. The widowed Princess of Tanjore was permitted to visit the Prince of Wales in a room at Government House, which was partly screened off to allow him to put out his hand to be shaken; but he could not see, or it was supposed he could not see, the Princess's face. The Princess, however, said in English, "I am glad to see my Royal brother," and she asked after "the Queen, my Royal sister," in right regal fashion. Later, the Prince laid the foundation stone of the new harbour works, and inspected the old Fort St. George, where the keys of Pondicherry and the Carnatic fortress, cannon and arms belonging to Tippoo and other famous chiefs, are stored. Another State banquet and ball closed the day.

FORT ST. GEORGE, WHICH DEVELOPED INTO THE CITY OF MADRAS

In 1639 a southern potentate, not yet a subject of the Moguls, granted the English trading rights on the Coromandel coast, where their factory of Fort St. George was built in 1641, and afterwards developed into Madras. The old fort was one of the many places of historic interest visited by the Prince of Wales during his Indian tour.

There was a representation on the following day by boys belonging to a very ancient warrior race, called Uryas, of a part of the great epic "Ramayanam," by Valuniki, which gives the history of the wars between Rama and Ravana, the demon king. Part of the properties of the play was a life-size image of Sita, who was carried off to the land of demons by Ravana, but rescued by Rama, who destroyed the demons and their king. This image was presented to the Prince, and sent home to Sandringham. There were also wonderful displays of jugglery and snake-charming, and on the 17th the Royal party lunched at the Madras Club to partake of the world-famous Madras curries; attended a children's fete, held a review of the garrison, and dined with the Commander-in-Chief. That night, at 10 o'clock, the Prince and the Duke of Buckingham, with their personal following, drove to the pier to witness the "illumination of the surf," than which, says Dr. W. H. Russell, "man never saw any spectacle more strange—nay, awful," after which there was a native entertainment at Roypooram, when the Prince was presented with an address from the native community in an exquisite gold casket, surmounted by a finely worked tiger. The dancing girls were dressed in the richest and heaviest robes, from throat to ankles, and from shoulder to finger-tip; they wore armlets, bracelets, and rings; their noses and ears sparkled with diamonds, and on their toes were rings of precious stones. Just beneath the droop of their scarlet satin trousers were revealed the sparkling anklets and bangles, which kept time to their movements and to the click of the castanets with a sharp metallic tingle as they danced. The Prince did not wait to see a native four-act drama.

THE ROCK AND FORTRESS OF TRICHINOPOLY

In the course of his journey from Madura northwards, the Prince of Wales visited Trichinopoly, the chief military station of Southern India, where he was received by a guard of British and native troops.

The forenoon of December 18 was spent at a meet of the Madras pack of hounds at Guindy Park, when there was a run of nine miles after a jackal, and a kill; and in the afternoon his Royal Highness and suite took their departure from Madras amid a silence on the part of the many thousands of natives, "which had in it something of reverence such as that which prevails in a place of worship" —no cheering, except from Europeans.

The Arrival at Calcutta

The party reached the Serapis and her consorts by means of massoulahs, or surf-boats, escorted by catamarans.

The voyage of the squadron from Madras Roads to the Hooghly was made in splendid weather over a smooth sea, and anchor was cast opposite the lightship in the eastern channel of the great river off the Sand Heads on the afternoon of December 21. The depth of water suiting, the Serapis started at 7 a.m. on December 23, and proceeded slowly up the muddy Hooghly. There were crowds on the banks wherever there were villages, and discharges of arms and fireworks showed the anxiety of the natives to do honour to the Prince of Wales. Shortly after noon the men-of-war in the Garden Reach saluted, and the crews manned the yards. The guns at Fort William thundered, and the batteries on shore re-echoed the sound. There were countless multitudes on the Maidan, and lines of troops from Fort William to Government House. The Duke of Sutherland, who had gone overland from Bombay to Calcutta, and a host of officials came on board, and a grand array of eminent personages, military and civil, of the Indian hierarchy, all in full uniform, were received by the Prince very graciously. When all on board had been properly ordered, the Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, put off from shore to welcome his Royal guest, and once more the fleet, the forts, and the field artillery thundered. His Excellency came in full state, and was very ceremoniously conducted by officers and equerries to the saloon. The meeting between the Prince and the Viceroy was most cordial, and after the usual presentations, Lord Northbrook and his staff returned on shore and took their places in the grand reception hall which had been erected on the margin of Prinsep's Ghaut. There was a magnificent multitude on tiers of seats, and in pavilions, the walls of which were decorated with flags, banners, and flowers. Beyond was a very lofty and massive arch of triumph, with the word "Welcome." The whole of the personnel of the vast administration of the seat of empire was there, and the crowds of rajas, chiefs, and authorities of all lands were even larger than at Bombay; but the Prince's welcome was not comparable in noise and in the excitement and variety and picturesqueness of the multitude to that of Bombay, though it was, perhaps, more dignified. The Prince was much gratified, and seemed surprised at the grand appearance of Government House and the splendour of the Viceregal state. There was the usual State banquet in honour of the Prince in the evening.

The Great Chiefs at Government House

The reception of the great chiefs on December 24 took place in the Audience Hall of Government House, which is divided into centre and aisles by two rows each of twelve massive columns. The walls and pillars are covered with a peculiar Indian cement which, when polished, is whiter than the finest marble; the ceilings are beautifully decorated, and the floors are of marble. A guard of honour of the 109th Regiment, with band and colours, was stationed in the sweep of the carriage drive in front of the noble portico, at the top of the steps to which was the Viceroy's band. Mace-bearers, in scarlet and gold liveries, guarded the

THE WONDERS OF THE EAST: ILLUMINATION OF THE SURF AT MADRAS IN HONOUR OF THE PRINCE OF WALES'S VISIT

During his stay at Madras the Prince of Wales witnessed from the pier at 10 o'clock one night the illumination of the surf, than which, wrote Sir W. H. Russell, who accompanied the Prince on his tour, "man never saw any spectacle more strange—nay, awful."

From a drawing by S. P. Hall

AN IMPOSING CEREMONY AT CALCUTTA: INVESTITURE OF THE STAR OF INDIA

When the delicate Court etiquette, on which the Indian princes and peoples place so much importance, stood in the way of a grand Durbar, it was suggested by Lord Northbrook that a Chapter of the Order of the Star of India, in which the Prince of Wales should act as High Commissioner, should be held. This stately and imposing ceremony accordingly took place, and passed off with every success.

From a drawing by S. P. Hall

entrance. Between each pair of columns in the hall stood, sword in hand, a gigantic trooper of the Viceroy's bodyguard, in scarlet and gold tunic, cummerbund of the same, quaint, zebra-striped turban, buckskin breeches, and jackboots. In an inner room was the throne, running at right angles to the hall. Mace-bearers, janitors in handsome liveries, were stationed at the entrance and inside the Throne Room, the walls of which were adorned with portraits of George III. and Queen Caroline. In an antechamber was a portrait of "Major-General Arthur Wellesley, 1803," and facing Wellington one of Queen Victoria in her robes. The Prince's suite, in full uniform, stood in line in the Throne Room to the right of the entrance.

The first chief to be received was the Maharaja of Puttiala, who had done Britain good service in the Mutiny of 1857, and he was delighted when the Prince referred to that. Then came the Maharaja Holkar of Indore, G.C.S.I. His two sons, his dewan, and a train of sirdars, took their seats with the suite after being presented to the Prince. The Maharaja of Jodhpoor, a most picturesque chief, followed by a splendid sirdaree, came next—"proud beyond the pride of the proudest." A wealth of gems glittered all over his neck and breast, and on his bright yellow turban was an aigrette of diamonds and rubies of great beauty. His sirdars were attired in a similar style. The Maharaja of Jeypoor, with the reputation of being one of the most enlightened Indian potentates, was next presented. He had come up to the portico in a carriage drawn by four white horses covered with trappings of cloth of gold, and his sirdars were in very splendid costumes. The Maharaja of Cashmere, with his dewan, arrived in a state coach, preceded and followed by immense lifeguardsmen in gorgeous uniforms and armed with enormous sabres; while his sirdars filled five other carriages. The Maharaja—a handsome, upright, well-made man—wore the Sikh headdress, a tuft of bird of paradise feathers in front with aigrette of diamonds. The Maharaja of Gwalior, eager and courteous, followed. He nearly lost his throne for loyalty to the cause of England during the Mutiny. Then came the Sultana Jehan, Begum of Bhopal, G.C.S.I., with shawl and silk hood, which completely hid her features, accompanied by her daughter, dressed in the same way, and attended by her Minister and two highly jewelled nephews as sirdars. The Begum was very much at her ease, and chatted very pleasantly with the Prince, while her daughter engaged in conversation with Sir Bartle Frere. The last chief was the Maharaja of Rewah, a dignified personage, with family claims to antique ancestry. The great chiefs were all presented with the Indian gold medal and riband. The reception finished, a levée was held in the Throne Room, in which the illustrious visitor stood for more than two hours bowing to a stream of native and European personages who passed before him. The inevitable banquet followed, after which the Prince honoured an entertainment given by a committee of native gentlemen at Belgatchia, five miles from Calcutta.

The Prince and the Native Chiefs

Medals for the Great Chiefs

On Christmas Day the Prince and Viceroy, with Miss Baring and their respective suites, attended Divine service in the Cathedral, where Bishop Milman preached a charity sermon for distressed Europeans, making no reference to his Royal Highness's visit, but appealing earnestly to Christians to set an example to the heathen. Christmas festivities on board the Serapis were witnessed by thousands of natives and Europeans. The Prince paid a visit to the stately yacht, which had been decorated with holly and ivy leaves fabricated on board, and shrubs covered with

MEMORIAL OF THE TRAGEDY OF THE "BLACK HOLE OF CALCUTTA"

The view illustrates the monument, surmounted by an obelisk, which was erected to commemorate the victims of Suraj ud Daulah. Behind the memorial of this shameful atrocity is the Writers' Building in Calcutta as it was at the end of the eighteenth century.

cotton-wool to represent snow. The health of the Heir to the Throne was drunk with Highland honours, and he, in turn, proposed the health of Captain Glyn, in conjunction with that of Commander Durrant, of the Osborne. Afterwards the Prince, with Lord Northbrook and Miss Baring, and members of his personal suite, drove out to the Viceregal lodge of Barrackpoor for rest, and there was a quiet reception in the saloon of the lodge in the evening.

After church on December 26, an excursion by water was made to the French settlement of Chandernagore, which has been called "an Eastern Arcadia." The Prince was enthusiastically entertained by the President of the French Tribunal in the absence of the Governor at Pondicherry, who said, in drinking his Royal Highness's health: "Soyez le bien venu sur cette terre française, qui conservera longtemps le souvenir d'un si beau jour." When the Prince took his departure, all Chandernagore was there to cheer him and cry, "Vive le Prince de Galles!"

Next day the Royal party, accompanied by Lord Northbrook, proceeded by water to Chandal, and drove to Government House, where there was another reception of chiefs, beginning with emissaries from the King of Burma. The Envoy-in-Chief wore a circular casque of beaten gold, surmounted by a sort of steeple with fantastic sprouts of the same metal. Then came in quick succession the Maharaja of Punnah, a very splendid person, who boasted a pedigree of 350 years of Royalty; an embassy from the Nepalese Government, some of whom wore the Indian medal and Lucknow clasp; the Raja of Jheend, whose father first marched against the Delhi mutineers, and whose ancestors held fast to the British Government in the Sutlej campaign; the Maharaja of Benares, a Brahmin with a pedigree of 900 years; the Maharajas of Nahun and Johore, in the Malay Peninsula. Everybody was tired now of chiefs and sirdars, and diamonds and pearls, emeralds and rubies, and glad when the ceremonial was over.

The return visits to the great chiefs were paid on December 28 and 29, and in the afternoon the Prince attended the Calcutta races. On the 30th the Viceroy and Miss Baring lunched on board the Serapis with the Prince, who, in the evening, dined with Sir Andrew and Lady Clarke. On the last day of the year there was a display of tent-pegging by the troopers of the 10th Bengal Cavalry. The Prince was so pleased with the feats that he gave a splendid hunting knife to the best man. Afterwards he made a round of the hospitals of Calcutta, attended by the Duke of Sutherland, General Probyn, Dr. Fayrer, and Canon Duckworth, and the day was wound up with a garden party at Belvedere, a dinner, and a grand ball at Government House.

Instead of a grand Durbar, which could only be held by a direct representative of the Queen, according to the minute and delicate Court etiquette on which the Indian princes and peoples place so much importance, Lord Northbrook suggested as a way to escape all difficulty that a Chapter of the Order of the Star of India, in which the Prince should act as High Commissioner, should be held on New Year's Day, 1876. This course was followed with the happiest results.

At a distance of a mile from the Government House canvas walls were erected in a long parallelogram. Along these were ranged tents for the rajas and other personages who were to take part in the imposing ceremonial. Opposite the entrance to the Chapter Tent, which was carpeted with cloth of gold with the Royal arms emblazoned in the centre, was an elevated dais, above which was a canopy covered with light blue satin and supported on silver

A NAUTCH DANCE IN THE PALACE OF A NATIVE PRINCE

A scene such as that illustrated above was witnessed by the Prince of Wales at Roypooram. Dressed in rich and heavy robes, the dancing girls wore armlets, bracelets, and rings; their noses and ears sparkled with diamonds, and on their toes were rings of precious stones.

THE GRAND STATE RECEPTION OF INDIAN POTENTATES BY THE PRINCE OF WALES AT CALCUTTA

pillars. Beneath the canopy were two chairs with silver arms, one with the Prince of Wales's plumes, the other with a crown embossed on the back. On each side and behind these chairs were tiers of seats, those in front for members of the Order. Outside the tent were platforms for invited guests. Inside the enclosure were drawn up marines from the Serapis and a military band, and on the left were infantry of the line. In front of the outer canopy was a tall flagstaff.

A salvo of artillery and a flourish of trumpets announced the beginning of a magnificent pageant. Scarlet and gold liveried servitors, two by two, bearing maces, spears and wands of office, preceded by the Grand Marshal and Mr. Secretary Aitchison and the Companions of the Order, two by two, one-half natives, and one-half Europeans—the servitors ranging themselves right and left of the entrance. Then came, one might almost say, a dazzling and impressive procession of the Knight Grand Commanders S.I. First entered the Begum of Bhopal, veiled and swathed in brocaded stuff of many colours, over which was the ample light blue satin robe with white shoulder-knots of the Order, attended by two native pages in handsome dresses and bare feet. Following were the sirdars and an officer carrying a silken banner with quaint devices. Then came Sir Salar Jung, the Maharaja of Puttiala (with many fine diamonds in his turban and the Sancy diamond as a pendant), Lord Napier of Magdala, the Maharaja of Travancore, Sir Bartle Frere, the Maharaja of Rewah, whose sirdars "were animated nuggets, ambulatory mines of jewels"; one especially, who wore a suit of chain armour, arabesqued breast and back pieces, jewelled plume, casque of gold, and enamelled gauntlets." Rewah himself wore a golden crown exquisitely worked and blazing with gems. Afterwards, with stately carriage, stepped the Maharaja of Jeypoor, attended by doubletted Thakoors; the Maharaja Holkar of Indore, with pages in Vandyck brown and gold. The Maharaja of Cashmere, whose train was carried by pages in green velvet tunics and pink turbans, himself bore the ransom of a kingdom on his person; while his eight sirdars were nearly as resplendent. Last of all was the Maharaja Scindia, in gorgeous attire and brilliant jewels.

A Stately and Glittering Pageant

Now advanced the Prince of Wales, who wore white helmet and plume, field-marshal's uniform, almost concealed beneath the folds of his sky-blue mantle. His train was carried by naval cadets in cavalier costume, pretty to look at, and as he took his seat on the dais the band played "God Save the Queen," all the assembly standing. The Viceroy ordered Mr. Secretary Aitchison to read the Roll of the Order, and each member stood up as his name was called, bowed, and sat down. The Chapter was then declared open; the Secretary reported the business to be the investiture of the persons named in a warrant from the Queen, dated Balmoral, October 25, 1875. The Viceroy and the members of the Order rose, bowed to the Prince, and sat down. The Prince then received from the Secretary the grants of the several dignities, and, after further formalities, directed the investiture to proceed.

The Prince Confers Dignities

First, the Maharaja of Jodhpoor was conducted from the tent in which he had been robed to the presence, the Under-Secretary bearing the insignia on a blue satin and velvet cushion. He was met at the entrance of the Chapter Tent by two junior knights, and led up to the footstool of the Prince by the Secretary, and after the Queen's grant had been read, the Maharaja, having been decorated with the knight's riband, badge, star, and robes, stood before the dais. He made two obeisances, and knelt. The Prince then placed the collar of the Order round his neck, delivered the prescribed admonition, after which, bowing with his

face to the dais, the Maharaja retired backwards to the seat allotted to him. There his banner was unfurled with a flourish of trumpets, all standing. The Secretary proclaimed the titles of the newly-made Knight Grand Commander, and all resumed their seats. The same ceremonial was observed for the other Grand Cross, the Raja of Jheend. At one part of the proceedings the prescribed number of guns to which each member of the Order was entitled were fired. The investiture of Knights Commanders was then proceeded with—Mr. Robinson, the Maharaja of Punnah, Raja Mahun Kasee (Holkar's brother), Major-General Ramsay, General Runodeep Sing (Nepalese), Gunput Rao, and Faiz Ali Khan. Mr. Chapman, Mr. Bullen Smith, and Baboo Degumber Mitter received the badges of the Companionship, or third class, of the Order. The Chapter was then closed.

A Native's Petition to the Prince

When the Prince emerged from the Durbar tent, to the sound of a grand march played by a military band, he was greeted with a Royal salute, and the guard of honour presented arms. The spectacle of the processions leaving was by far the most picturesque part of the pageant. The only other incident of the imposing function was that when the Prince was returning to Government House a native rushed towards the carriage to present a petition. The Prince was not at all perturbed, knowing that the natives had the Oriental idea that if one could get a petition into the Prince's hands, redress of grievances was certain

In the afternoon his Royal Highness, accompanied by the Viceroy, unveiled an equestrian statue of Lord Mayo on the Maidan, near Government House, and witnessed a polo match on the racecourse. After dark, on the same ground, there was a grand display of fireworks, which immensely delighted scores of thousands of natives, as did the illuminations of the fleet. The veteran comedian, Charles Matthews, by Viceregal command, gave a performance of "My Awful Dad" in the theatre, which the Prince and Lord Northbrook, with their suites, attended.

On Sunday, January 2, 1876, the Prince, Viceroy, and party went to church at Fort William, subsequently visited the Arsenal, then by steamer to the Botanical Gardens, from which they drove back to the Howrah, which was brilliantly illuminated, and halted at the Bishop's College by the way. In the evening there was a concert of sacred music at Government House.

Polo matches, tent-pegging, a regatta on the Hooghly filled in the forenoon of January 3. The Prince conferred a knighthood on Mr. Stewart Hogg, Chief Commissioner of Police, and afterwards drove to the University, where he received the degree of LL.D. "honoris causa." Finally, Miss Baring, Lady Temple, and others arranged for a visit by the Prince to the zenana of a wealthy native of Bhawanipore, Mr. Mookerjee. There he was greeted by hundreds of children, and out of devotion to the Prince they pelted him, to his great amusement, with tiny bouquets.

The Departure from Calcutta

"The delightful visit to Calcutta was over. In the noble reception-room of Government House there was one more gathering of notables to pay their respects to the Prince before his departure. Certainly no host could have done the honours of his house with greater taste and with more success than Lord Northbrook. The route from Government House was lined with troops and people, the station, beautifully prepared for the parting guests, was like a scene in a Christmas pantomime," and the parting of the Prince from Lord Northbrook was pleasant and kindly. The strains of the military bands were drowned in the cheers and voices wishing "God speed" as the train moved from the platform.

INDIA'S ROYAL VISITOR HUNTING IN THE JUNGLE: ELEPHANTS CROSSING A NULLAH, OR WATERCOURSE

From a drawing by S. P. Hall

CHAPTER XLII

STATE VISIT TO INDIA: CENTRAL INDIA AND THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES

Being a Chapter Describing Further Incidents in the Royal Tour and the Visits to the Sacred and Imperial Cities of Benares and Delhi

THE immediate objective was Bankipoor Station, which Sir Richard Temple, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, had made his head-quarters during his terrible but triumphant fight against the famine in that Presidency. That place was reached early in the morning of January 4, and Sir Richard, with all the civil and military officers in the district, including a fine corps of mounted Volunteers, the Behar Riflemen, together with a vast concourse of natives, gave the Prince a right royal welcome. The avenue to the Durbar tent was lined by nearly four hundred elephants caparisoned with great richness, the howdahs filled with people in gala dress. On an elevated dais under a canopy, whereon was placed a regal chair, the Prince of Wales held a levée, those distinguished during the time of the famine relief being specially presented. This function was followed by a déjeûner, to which the wives and families of the opium and indigo planters of Behar were invited, and a procession of the four hundred elephants previously referred to. Much amusement was caused by one merry little fellow who hopped about, danced, and waved his trunk in a comical manner. Among the gifts to the Royal visitor were a panther from the sergeants of the 109th Regiment, and a pair of very beautiful oxen not bigger than Shetland ponies, which drew a light carriage resembling an artillery limber.

After three hours thus spent, the Royal party returned to their special train, and sped on to the Ramnagar Station of Benares, which was reached after dark, although there was light enough to give an ideal grandeur to those marvellous terraces descending from temples and palaces to the river's edge, for which the sacred city is so famous. From the railway station the party drove across the bridge of boats to the left bank of the Ganges, and through streets and roadways, the sides of which were crowded with people, out to the camp of the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Strachey. Next day, January 5, the municipality of Benares came to camp half an hour after noon, and presented to the Prince an address of welcome to "the most sacred city of the Hindus, justly regarded, and famous as the seat of their religion, philosophy, and learning, and associated from time immemorial in their minds with all that was pure and holy in their faith." Under British rule they had the fullest freedom for their worship, their rites and ceremonies. In reply, his Royal Highness said it was a great pleasure to be received so warmly in the centre of all the nations and peoples of Hindu origin, and to hear from those who knew so well the feelings of their countrymen in all parts of India that under the British administration they enjoyed in the fullest freedom rites of worship according to the usages of their faith, and that privilege which was highly appreciated, perfect toleration. There was also an address from six lineal descendants of Mirza Jehan dar Shah, heir-apparent to Shad Alum, the last independent King of Delhi, and of the Timour Dynasty, who had found protection and support under British rule in Benares. After a levée, the Prince laid the foundation-stone of a new subscription hospital, halting on the way to hear the native pupils of the Church Mission College sing very prettily. A visit was paid to the Raja of Vizianagram, and an inspection made of the Town Hall, built by the Raja in commemoration of the Duke of Edinburgh's visit; and then the party proceeded to view the Golden Temple, the great temple in the Ganesa, and the Sacred Pool. From these the usual crowds of priests, fakirs, devotees from all parts of India, had been cleared, and there were only a few trusty Brahmins and a strong body

THE PRINCE OF WALES AT THE DELHI REVIEW, JANUARY 12, 1876
drawing by S. P. Hall

of police to exhibit the shrines, sacred bulls, and holy places. Thence there was a drive to the Temple of Dourga Khound, over the pinnacles and ornaments of which hundreds of impudent, ugly, red-haired monkeys clustered.

Shortly before sunset the Prince sailed four miles up the river in a handsome galley to the old fort of Ramnagar, where the Maharaja of Benares received him on a canopied and garlanded landing-stage. The river-bank was blazing with *feux de joie*; the air lighted up by the discharges of artillery from the ancient parapets. The battlements of the fort were illuminated; silver flambeaux and torches were held by people on the parapets, walls, and river-banks, which were thus made as light as day. Preceded by mace-bearers, spearmen, and banners, the Prince and the Maharaja were borne in gold and silver chairs on men's shoulders up the ascent from the river to the castle gates, between lines of matchlock-men and cavalry. Elephants, accompanied by wild music, marched on the left; sowars rode on the right. Before the massive gateway, flanked by men in chain armour, the Maharaja's infantry presented arms. In the courtyard was a line of elephants, bearing gold and silver howdahs. The Prince and the Maharaja were received by countless retainers with profound salaams, and led upstairs, where, in a handsome hall, examples of gold brocade of the famed kinkob of Benares, Dacca muslin, and costly shawls were laid at the feet of England's heir. "The Maharaja sat, like a benevolent old magician in spectacles and white moustache, smiling with his hands joined in a deprecating way, as each tray containing these and other beautiful presents was laid on the ground, as though he would say, 'Pardon that unworthy offering!'"

Costly Gifts for the Prince

THE CITY OF BENARES, WHERE BUDDHA PREACHED HIS GREAT SERMON

Visiting this sacred city, the Prince of Wales, on January 5, 1876, received an address of welcome to "the most sacred city of the Hindus, justly regarded, and famous as the seat of their religion, philosophy, and learning, and associated from time immemorial in their minds with all that was pure and holy in their faith."

Leaving the palace, the Prince and party floated down the river from Ramnagar, pursued by flights of fire-balloons, to the landing-ghaut at Benares. Thence they drove to the camp, a distance of nearly six miles. The road was brilliantly illuminated.

A start was made at eight o'clock the following morning, January 6, in a special train to Lucknow, and when the Prince was taking a final leave of the Maharaja—who, with many other native chiefs and civil and military officials, saw him and his suite off—the Maharaja tendered as the best proof of his regard his own walking-stick, ornamented with a gold handle and gold studs. A short halt was made at Fyzabad, the ancient Awadiah, one of the most holy cities of India, and at 4.40 p.m. the Charbagh Station of Lucknow was reached, whence there was a processional drive to the Royal quarters in the bungalow of the Chief Commissioner, through avenues of soldiery and Oude police, in streets filled with crowds of natives. "Lucknow has been improved off the face of the earth. Hundreds of acres once occupied by houses have been turned into market gardens. Swarded parks, vistas, rides, and drives, far prettier than those of the Bois de Boulogne, spread out where once were streets, bazaars, and palaces."

On January 7 his Royal Highness held a levée for native chiefs, and a second for Europeans, and he and his suite later drove to the Dilkoosha, where he was much interested in the building which was the scene of many of the eventful struggles during the siege and the two reliefs of Lucknow. He asked particulars about Peel's battery, and the room in which the gallant sailor lay wounded. Thence to the Martinière to see the vault where lie the remains of Claude Martin, a native of Lyons, "a simple soldier who died a general, and who bequeathed an enormous fortune to charitable purposes in the land where he had gained it." Then the Prince mounted the roof commanding a view of the country through which Lord Clyde advanced to the relief of the Residency, and on his way back he drove round the walls of Secunderabagh, past the Kaiserbagh, and through the Wingfield Park.

In the afternoon the Prince laid the foundation-stone of the memorial to the natives who fell in defence of the Residency, which owes its origin to the happy idea, and its execution to the private munificence, of Lord Northbrook. The survivors of the native defenders, who had been collected from Oude and other parts of India, were there in their old uniforms. Sir George Couper, in addressing the Prince, and presenting the veterans, said that "the behaviour of the sepoys at Lucknow was simply without parallel in the history of the world. Their fidelity had been tested by resisting the adjurations of their brethren, comrades, and caste-men, not fifty yards off, calling them by name to desert the alien and infidel. That humble scene and scanty gathering would be historical, for this monument to Indian fidelity, bravery, and worth, would stand as a memento of the Prince's presence, and would be regarded with pride by Englishman and Asiatic alike when splendid pageants and stately ceremonials had been forgotten." In laying the foundation-stone at the request of the Viceroy, the Royal visitor made one of his happiest speeches. He was glad, he said, "to have a share in doing honour to the memory of the gallant men who had set such a noble example of fidelity and devotion to duty. Lord Northbrook, in erecting a monument to the soldiers, had done what would be gratifying to the whole army. As they passed it on their way to or from their camps, European soldiers—officers and men—would feel that they had in such men as those whose deeds were commemorated comrades worthy to stand by their side in defence of the Empire, and sepoys would feel proud of the honour done to the valiant soldiers whose courage and faithfulness reflected such lustre on their race and country." By a happy, unpremeditated thought of the Prince, it was suggested that the veterans should be presented to him, and this was done. The scene was most touching, and the hearts of the old soldiers were rejoiced at his kindliness. He spoke to each one, "ragged as he might be." "One touch of Nature makes the whole world kin."

The Prince and Lucknow Veterans

After dinner at the Chief Commissioner's, the Prince, accompanied by Sir G. Couper, drove to a native entertainment

TYPES OF NATIVES IN CEYLON AND OTHER COUNTRIES WHO OWN ALLEGIANCE TO THE BRITISH FLAG

1 and 2. Natives of Ceylon; 3. A fakir, Rangoon; 4. A native of Murat, British [illegible]; 5. [illegible]; 6. Musicians of Bengal; 11. Samoan girls; 12. The [illegible] Samoan village; [illegible]; 18. Kandyan Korat; 19. A Dyak chief; 20. Many [illegible]; 21. Native of Borneo; [illegible]

THE PRINCE OF WALES VISITING THE CAWNPORE MEMORIAL

Erected on the site of the "Fatal Well," this building is "in memory of a great company of Christian people, principally women and children, who were cruelly slaughtered here." The memorial, as shown in the above illustration, was visited by King Edward during his Indian tour.

From a drawing by S. P. Hall

given in the Kaiserbagh, once the palace of the Kings of Oude, now Government offices, a vast stretch of buildings, covering more ground than the Louvre and the Tuileries together. He was met by the Talukdars in the Throne Room, with "their modest tribute of allegiance and gratitude, which they fondly hoped he would accept as a fit emblem of their fealty." This was a crown set with jewels. A great procession of these nobles made obeisance, and after a time Major Henderson, on behalf of the Prince, expressed the pleasure he had in meeting so many native gentlemen, and his regret that time would not permit his making the acquaintance of each. Of course, there were fireworks, and a banquet, to which the Prince paid a short visit to please his hosts.

A pig-sticking expedition was organised for January 8, in which his Royal Highness rode hard, and many boars were killed. The casualties included a collar-bone broken for both Lord Carrington and Lord Napier of Magdala. On the following day, Sunday, the Prince and suite attended Divine service in the pretty church near the Chief Commissioner's bungalow, and afterwards visited the scenes associated with the siege and relief of Lucknow, the monument to Havelock, and the cemetery where it is believed rest the bones of Sir Henry Lawrence and the men and women who died during the investment. On the 10th the Prince drove to the Cantonments, where he presented colours to the first battalion of the 8th Foot, a regiment with great traditions, and there was also a review of the garrison, native and British.

In the afternoon a special train was taken for Cawnpore, where the Prince and following were received by the officials of the station. Driving first to the Memorial Church, still gay with Christmas emblems, they walked round the building and read the inscriptions. The tombs outside the church and the site of Wheeler's entrenchments were next examined, and again the carriages were in request. Close to the gateway, which no unauthorised native may enter, the Prince descended, and he and his suite walked to the building which marks the place of the "Fatal Well." "There was a deep silence as the Prince read in a low voice the touching words: 'To the memory of a great company of Christian people, principally women and children, who were cruelly slaughtered here.' The name of the great criminal and the date of the massacre are cut round the base of the statue—Marochetti's Angel—which stands over the well." Later, in the cemetery, his Royal Highness examined the graves, and gathered some leaves from a shrub growing over that of Woodford, who gallantly fell in Windham's engagement with the Gwalior Contingent. Ere night fell, the Royal party left these sad scenes, drove to the residence of the Chief Commissioner, and departed by special train at 10 p.m. for Delhi.

The arrival at Delhi and the entrance of the Prince into the "Imperial City" early in the morning of January 11 were attended with pomp and circumstance well fitting the place and the occasion. Inside the station were Lord Napier of Magdala, the staff of the army, a glittering crowd of authorities, British and native officers, regiments of all arms, guards of honour of the Rifle Brigade and Sikhs, and an escort of artillery, hussars, and Bengal cavalry. The Prince, on horseback, wearing his field-marshal's uniform, had Sir H. Davies on his left, and Lord Napier on his right, followed by the Duke of Sutherland, Lord Suffield, Lord Alfred Paget, and Major Bradford, with the staff four deep, while the suite came in Royal carriages. Lines of soldiery extending for five miles kept the route to the Royal camp, which was of grand proportions and beautifully ordered, with the Prince's marquees and enclosure at the extremity of the main street, surrounded with shrubs and flowering plants. The regiments nearest the Royal camp were the 10th Hussars and the 4th battalion of the Rifle Brigade, in both of which the Prince held the rank of colonel.

The municipality of Delhi were introduced to the Prince, and presented the usual address of welcome and an expression of profound loyalty and devotion to the person and rule of their gracious Queen. "For more than a thousand

SURVIVORS OF A FAMOUS SIEGE: THE PRINCE OF WALES BEING PRESENTED TO THE VETERANS AT LUCKNOW

Visiting Lucknow, the Prince of Wales laid the foundation-stone of the memorial to the natives who fell in defence of the Residency, and after the ceremony he was presented to old soldiers who, with their dead comrades, had so gallantly fought on the side of the British.

THE PRINCE OF WALES ENTERING RAMNAGAR: THE WELCOME TO INDIA'S FUTURE EMPEROR

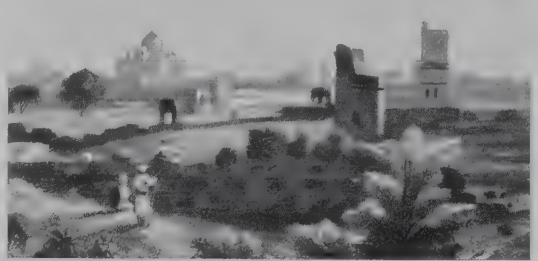
Sailing up the river from Benares in a handsome galley to the old fort of Ramnagar, the Prince of Wales was accorded a magnificent welcome on landing. Preceded by mace-bearers, spearmen, and banners, the Prince and the Maharaja of Benares were borne in gold and silver chairs on men's shoulders from the river to the castle gates.

From drawings by S. P. Hall

IN THE "IMPERIAL CITY" OF DELHI, THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF THE MOGULS

At Delhi, which for more than a thousand years had been the seat of dynasties, which had risen, flourished, and passed away, the Prince of Wales received an address of welcome and an expression of profound loyalty to the person and rule of Queen Victoria. The above illustration shows one of the splendid tombs of antiquity for which the ancient capital of the Mogul emperors is so famous.

years Delhi had been the seat of dynasties which had risen, flourished, and passed away, leaving traces of splendour in palaces and tombs, in mosque and temple, minaret and tower. Although no longer the seat of empire, it was a flourishing city, and was still the home of the language of Hindustan, and the seat of learning." Making a suitable reply, the Prince said he was glad to meet them, and much gratified in being able to convey to the Queen his assurance of the appearance of reviving prosperity in a city so famous and beautiful. There was the usual levée, attended by hundreds of British and native officers and civilians of all grades, after which Lord Napier entertained the Royal guest at his own camp.



THE STATELY TOMB OF HUMAYUN AT DELHI

Humayun was the son of the great Emperor Babar, and the father of Akhbar. His tomb, which was visited by the Prince of Wales, is one of the grandest mausoleums in the world.

On January 12 there was a grand review which formed a very pretty sight. The great plain presented a most animated appearance, and the general effect of the review, which was witnessed by numberless native chiefs in jewelled uniforms, and German and American officers, was marvellously fine. Next day there was an excursion to the Kootab Minar, on the way to which the Prince visited the beautiful tomb of Suftur Jung, and saw the monuments, or the ruins of them, of kings and heroes whose names mean far more to many millions of the people of India than Alfred, Richard Cœur de Lion, Edward the Black Prince, or Henry V. do to us. Mounting to the summit of the Kootab, 238 feet in height, said to be the highest pillar in the world, he viewed the widespread ruins of forts, tombs, mosques, and cities, and next inspected the famous Iron Pillar, looked at the Well of Mehrowlie, where he was amused by native divers who leaped into a hole 80 feet below them. On his way back the Prince stopped at Humayun's Tomb, where the Delhi princes surrendered to Hodson and met their death. This, one of the grandest mausoleums in the world, is of red sandstone, relieved by snow-white marble. January 14 and 15 were devoted to grand military manœuvres and a sham fight, in which the whole of the troops in camp were engaged. Sunday, the 16th, was a day of rest, and Divine service was held at headquarters. On Monday there was a cavalry field day, and in the evening the Royal party attended an amusing exhibition of native soldiers' games, dances, tent-pegging, and feats of arms.

A special train with the Prince and suite left the metropolis of the old Moguls before midnight on January 17, amid tremendous cheers and illuminations, and, after a cold night journey, arrived at Lahore early in the following morning. On the platform to receive the Prince were the Governor of the Punjaub, Sir H. Davies, with the military and civil British and native officials of the province. The cortége made a sweep round the town, and passed the encampments of the Rajas of the Punjaub near to the mausoleum of Runjeet Sing, the founder of the Sikh Empire. Before each camp floated the particular Raja's banner. "In front stood in line elephants, led horses, in gold and silver saddle-cloths and jewelled caparisons, while retainers lined the roadway. The roll of drums, blare of trumpets, and clang and outburst of strange instruments saluted the Prince. Lance and sword, morion and cuirass flashed, and all was light and beautiful. The very spirit of chivalry hovered over these martial faces and noble forms." Fenced in by this extraordinary pageantry,

THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF THE WESTERN PUNJAUB, VISITED BY THE PRINCE OF WALES

The old city of Lahore was the capital of the Western Punjaub. The period of its highest splendour was in the reign of Akhbar, about the end of the sixteenth century. Here, as elsewhere, the heir to Britain's throne was welcomed with enthusiasm and entertained with the magnificent ceremonial so characteristic of the East.

THE ROYAL DEPARTURE FROM JUMMOO: THE PROCESSION OF ELEPHANTS IN MAGNIFICENT TRAPPINGS FORDING A STREAM
From a drawing by S. P. Hall

stood or squatted, silent, motionless, the people, who also crowded the house-tops and the walls to gaze on their "Princely Brother," whom they were able to recognise by the gold umbrella carried over his head in the Governor's carriage. The way was four miles long to the Residency, which was formerly the tomb of a cousin of Akhbar. As soon as the Prince had been introduced to the Lieutenant-Governor's family and staff, he changed his uniform, and received in the drawing-room the members of the Lahore municipality, gentlemen in turbans of the finest gold tissue, brocaded gowns and robes, coils of emeralds, rubies, and pearls, finer than any Lord Mayor's chain, round their necks, who presented the usual address. After a levée attended by European officers, officials, and private persons, there was a reception of native chiefs, who were exceedingly picturesque and brilliant.

On January 19 there were ceremonious return visits by his Royal Highness to the Sikh rajas, nawabs, and sirdars in their encampments, each of which was furnished with great splendour in carpets of Cashmere and Persian work, and the tents were frequently supported by silver poles. The hillmen had brought with them falcons, hunting eagles, and hawks, shaggy Tibetan mastiffs, ragged deerhounds, Turcoman, Afghan, and Persian carpets, furs, and other fabrics, all of which were bought by the Prince and his suite, and the merchants went away rejoicing. In the evening there were a fête and fireworks in the Shalimar Gardens. The weather was now bitterly cold in the morning and at night. On January 20 the Prince and suite left Lahore on a visit to the Maharaja of Cashmere. A special train conveyed the party to the Cantonments at Waizirabad, and thence they performed the journey in carriages, escorted by a troop of the 9th Lancers. On the border of British territory and the State of Cashmere a triumphal arch was thrown across the roadway, where a deputation of chiefs received his Royal Highness, and seven miles from Jummoo the Maharaja himself and his principal sirdars welcomed the Prince to his dominions, and accompanied him to his mountain capital. It was dusk before the party reached the Towee River, on the near bank of which was a vast number of elephants and on the river itself many boats, with rowers in scarlet and yellow liveries, and men floating on skins. On the steep ascent to the ancient walls and city gate were lines of cavalry in armour, and infantry. Here the Prince mounted an elephant with the Maharaja, and led a procession across the river and for two miles up winding roads brilliantly lighted and lined with troops, amid joyous cries, ringing of bells, firing of guns, and a clang of music which made an indescribable tumult. On the summit of the ridge above Jummoo was a huge building, erected expressly for the reception of the Prince at enormous cost, carpeted, hung with shawls, pictures, and mirrors, but it was so damp that his Royal Highness preferred to occupy tents pitched on a lofty plateau between the palace and the city. It was dark by the time the Prince arrived ceremoniously at the palace for the usual Durbar, after which he was conducted to a verandah outside the palace ramparts, and witnessed a fine display of fireworks as a sort of appetiser for a monster banquet which followed.

The Royal Visit to Cashmere

Entertaining the Royal Guest

Next day a sporting expedition was arranged for the Prince, who killed some deer and boars, but the native hunting was not very successful. Afterwards there was polo playing, and there were also athletic performances by some hill tribes. A procession was formed in the evening through the illuminated city to the old palace, where the Maharaja gave a dinner to the Prince and a small party of Europeans. Then there followed a weird performance of a sacred dancing drama by lamas from

THE STATE ENTRY OF THE PRINCE OF WALES INTO LAHORE, JANUARY 18, 1876

Tibet, which rivalled the best shows of the Royal tour. The Prince and suite left the capital of Cashmere on January 22, with all the splendour of a State procession of elephants in magnificent trappings and soldiery of every description. Seven miles from Jummoo the Maharaja bade his Royal guest farewell, with many expressions of gratitude for his honoured visit, but his Ministers and nobles convoyed the Prince as far as the British frontier. At Waizirabad his Royal Highness opened a grand bridge over the Chenab, and named it Alexandra, after the Princess of Wales; then the journey was continued to Lahore, which was reached at 6 p.m. The citadel, public buildings, and streets were illuminated, and after dining with the Lieutenant-Governor and Lady Davies, the Prince went to a native entertainment given by 120 native chiefs—Rajpoots, Pathans, and Belooches, among whom were descendants of the Great Mogul, members of the Royal family of Delhi, of the Royal family of Afghanistan, descendants of Nanuk, the founder of the Sikh faith, and of Govind, who made the Sikhs a distinguished nation. The fête was held in the hall of the College, the walls of which were decorated with coats of arms, banners, and emblazoned shields, and behind the dais, from which the Prince distributed commemorative medals and ribands to the chiefs, were full-length portraits of the Prince and Princess of Wales, painted by order of the Maharaja of Puttiala to commemorate the restoration of his Royal Highness to health. Wonderful fireworks were witnessed from the roof of the College, men with naked swords danced round huge bonfires, and eight Punjaubee girls, in robes plated with precious metals and jewels, sang an ode in the Prince's honour. After supper, of which the chiefs did not partake—they retired as soon as the Prince had taken his seat—the Prince was escorted by the native gentlemen to his carriage, and he drove along the illuminated roads and through immense crowds to headquarters.

After attending Divine service on Sunday, January 23, conducted by Canon Duckworth in Government House, the Royal party visited the Museum and other places of interest. At noon the following day they proceeded by train to Umritsur, where the Prince alighted under a salute from Fort Govindghur, and drove through streets arched with cypress-trees, gilded branches and garlands, with the inscription, "God Bless our future Shah in Shah," and before every door were trays of rose-leaves. At the house prepared for his reception the members of the municipality, Sikh, Mussulman, and Hindu, presented an address expressing fervent loyalty, and the Prince afterwards visited the church and mission schools. Among the native clergymen presented to him was a brother of the Raja of Kuppartulla. Then on to the "Golden Temple," wherein is the Holy Book, or "Grunt of Nanuk," and close by another temple where all true Sikhs are, or should be, initiated. Slippers were prepared for the Prince, as the priest declared he could not enter the shrine without taking off his shoes, but it was considered inexpedient to visit the interior, and he surveyed the golden temple from the terrace, in sight of the crowd, who salaamed respectfully. At dusk the journey was continued to the station of Rajpoorah, where the Maharaja of Puttiala, surrounded by his Ministers and officers, received his Royal guest, and conducted him to a grand palace of canvas hung with shawls and carpets, where a banquet was served.

Then on to Agra, the red walls and towers of the fort above the broad Jumna appearing in sight at four in the afternoon. All the European officials were there to receive

THE ARRIVAL OF THE PRINCE OF WALES AT AGRA, JANUARY 25, 1876

the illustrious visitor; and a procession to the Royal camp was of truly Oriental pomp, including painted elephants, and along the route were inscriptions in Ordoo, Persian, and English, bidding the Prince welcome, and invoking the blessings of God upon his head and his visit. The camp was fixed on the scene of the cavalry action which was fought on the morning of Greathed's arrival with the relieving force from Delhi; and reaching there the European authorities civil and military, rajas, nawabs, and sirdars, passed in review order and saluted the Prince.

At the headquarters, on January 26, a levée was held, at which fourteen chiefs were received, including the Maharao Raja of Bondee, a Rajpoot of the bluest blood, a noted hunter and celebrated for his deeds of horsemanship, a reference to which, by the Prince, delighted him immensely; the Raja of Bikaneer, who, with his numerous followers, had to cross a desert of 200 miles of rolling sand on his famous camels to be present; the Nawab of Rampoor, a poet whom the Prince invested with the insignia of the G.C.S.I.; the Maharaja of Chickaree, son of the chief whom Lord Canning in Durbar styled "Faithful among the faithless," etc.

In the afternoon the troops of the rajas and nawabs passed for an hour and a half before the Prince—a strange mélange of elephants, camels, horses, bullocks, knights in armour, and artillery drawn by oxen; and in the evening there were social functions. January 27 was devoted to the return visits of the fourteen chiefs and a drive in the suburbs, and in the evening an inspection was made of the world-famous Taj, the tomb erected by Shah Jehan to his wife, Moomtaz-i-Mahal. The Taj was illuminated, and one of the fair European ladies present said, "I cannot criticise, but I can tell you what I feel. I would die to-morrow to have such a tomb!" "Holy and profane men, poets, prosers, and political people all write in the same strain. 'Too pure, too holy, to be the work of human hands,' 'A poem in marble,' 'The sigh of a broken heart,' 'Poetic marble arrayed in eternal glory,' 'The inspiration is from heaven—the execution worthy of it.'" The following day the Prince went shooting in the preserves of the Maharaja of Bhurtpoor, and bagged eighty head of game, and on the 29th an excursion was made to Futtehpoor Sikri, a wilderness of stone, where the Prince was shown round the temples by the eleventh descendant of the fakir whose tomb constitutes the principal attraction to the natives.

A POEM IN MARBLE: THE FAMOUS TAJ MAHAL AT AGRA
This peerless gem of Mohammedan architecture, erected by Shah Jehan to his wife, Moomtaz-i-Mahal, was visited by the Prince of Wales during his brief stay at Agra.

At the Famous Taj Mahal

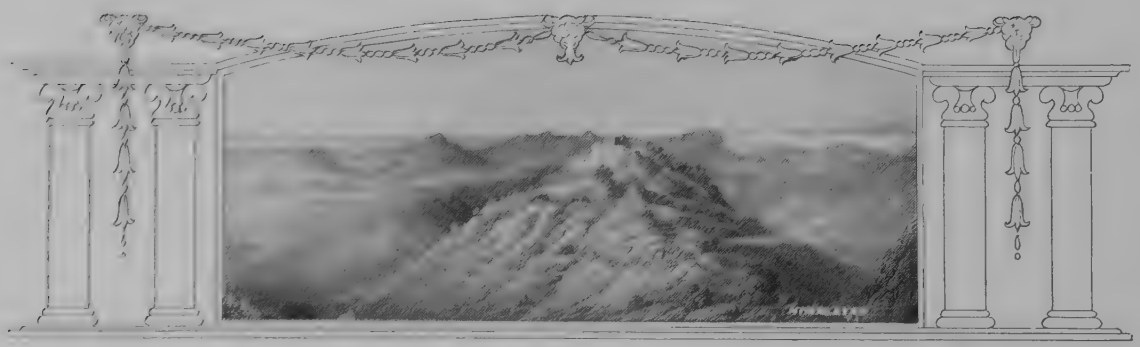
On Sunday, January 30, Divine service was conducted by Canon Duckworth under a large canopy in front of the Lieutenant-Governor's tent, and afterwards a visit was paid to convents, schools, and other educational institutions. The afternoon was devoted to an excursion to the largest tomb in the world, Sikundra, six miles from camp, where lie the remains of Akhbar, to whom both Hindu and Mussulman accord the title of "Great." "The road shows still the round stone pillars which were erected by the Mogul emperor every two miles from Agra to Lahore, near each being a watch-tower and a well for travellers. A grand gateway gives access to a garden, in which is the mausoleum of red sandstone, 300 feet square, built in five storeys, each diminishing from the base to the marble storey at the height of 100 feet. Every terrace is ornamented with an arched gallery and cupolas . . . and it must be admitted that it stands amongst the grandest monuments of any kind ever reared by man."

The visit to the Maharaja of Gwalior began on January 31. The journey from Agra had to be made by carriage, and there were relays of horses and a change of escort every six miles. At Dholepoor, the capital of the native State, the Royal party were received by the youthful Maharaja in a palace built specially for the occasion. The Governor-General for Central India, Sir H. Daly, did the honours with great success at a British dinner and grand ball.

Review of the "Army of Gwalior"

February 1 saw a grand review of the "Army of Gwalior," followed by a sham fight. The chiefs not attached to a corps formed a brilliant group close to the Prince. Their dresses were extremely beautiful in every variety of colour. Some wore damascened chain armour, armlets, and thigh-pieces inlaid with gold; others were laden with chains of precious gems, and even the housings of their horses were set with pearls, emeralds, and diamonds. Several of the horses had anklets of precious stones set in silver on the forelegs. Scindia himself wore a scarlet tunic, with gold facings, diamonds, and gems, and the riband of the Star of India, his cap blazing with jewels and ornamented with an egret plume rising from a diamond socket. At the review, as he passed the Prince of Wales, he saluted with his sword—the first time he ever made such an acknowledgment. Of course, after the sham fight Scindia was declared to have won the day, and when the Prince of Wales expressed his satisfaction, the Maharaja was so overjoyed that he declared he would publish the eulogium in general orders to his army. In the afternoon the Prince visited the famous fortress, and looked down on the city and plain where Sir Hugh Rose defeated Tantia Topee, and where the heroic, if cruel, Ranee of Jhansee met her fate—a soldier's death. There was a State visit to Scindia, who held a Durbar in the old palace, at which a great number of Mahratta chiefs and sirdars were presented. Scindia made a most complimentary speech to his Royal Highness for his presence, and asked him to tell the Queen that he was, "with hands clasped, her faithful servant for ever." Turning to the Lieutenant-Governor, he added, "When the time comes for the Prince to ascend the throne, I hope he will remember Scindia." At the grand banquet in the evening the Maharaja drank the Prince of Wales's health in champagne from a silver cup.

On February 2 Scindia came to the palace to take leave of the Royal visitor. Seizing the Prince's hand, he said, "I can hardly hope to see you again; but, be this as it may, sometimes in England turn a kind thought to me. My State and everything is yours." The Prince replied "that he should never forget Gwalior and the magnificence of his reception, and that he knew that he had a friend in Scindia."



CHAPTER XLIII

STATE VISIT TO INDIA: END OF THE TOUR

An Account of the Prince of Wales's Tiger and Elephant Hunting in the Himalayas and Nepal, and his Return to England

FEBRUARY 3 was a day of repose in the Royal camp at Agra, except for those of the suite who chose to go out wild boar hunting, at which Prince Louis of Battenberg broke his collar-bone. On the following day the Prince went by special train to Jeypoor. *En route* the train stopped at Bhurtpoor, where the Maharaja and his Court gave his Royal Highness a great reception in his palace. Jeypoor, with its battlemented walls and famous old fortress, the guns of which thundered out salutes, was not reached until nightfall. The city,

In the Ancient City of Jeypoor

which is in the centre of a chain of conical hills, on the summits of which are the castle-fortresses of feudal chiefs, was founded by Maharaja Jey Sing in 1728, and is laid out systematically. The main street is two miles long, and 111 feet wide; another is a mile and a half long, and of the same width as the former, while the side streets at right angles are 55 feet broad, and divided into rectangular blocks. In the principal streets, projecting over the shops are terraces like those at Chester. The Prince was lodged in the Residency, and there were the usual festivities and ceremonies.

A great tiger hunt was held on February 5, when the Prince of Wales killed a full-grown female, eight and a half feet long, the carcase being placed on an elephant and borne in triumph to the city amid great rejoicings and illuminations. After Divine service in the Residency on February 6, there was an excursion to Amber, which, according to a writer, "is compared to Jeypoor as Westminster Abbey is to Covent Garden Theatre." But Amber is a city of the dead; there are more monkeys than men about it, and they are much respected by their relatives in the more developed stages who walk on two legs. Yet all the magnificent buildings in the vast enclosure of battlemented walls, which climb up to the summits of the peaks dominated by forts, are of great beauty of design and elaborateness of execution.

All the admirable educational and technical institutions of Jeypoor were inspected next day by the Prince and his suite, and the Maharaja presented to the Prince a sword in an enamel sheath (which enamel work is the speciality of the craftsmen of Jeypoor), gloriously jewelled, a bag of gold mohurs, etc.

Then came the return to Agra, where the Royal party began to break up—the Duke of Sutherland and Mr. Grey homeward bound, Sir Bartle Frere and Canon Duckworth going a tour to the North-West Provinces, the naval commanders returning to Calcutta to take the Serapis and Osborne round to Bombay.

The Prince paid one more moonlight visit to the Taj, bade farewell to his kind host in Agra, and at midnight of February 7 departed by special train for Moradabad, *en route* to Terai, up in the Himalayas, on the long-anticipated sporting expedition in "tigerdom," not only in British territory, but in Nepal, conducted in the former by General Ramsay, and in the latter by Sir Jung Bahadoor, Prime Minister of the Maharaja of Nepal. Magnificent and sometimes dangerous sport was enjoyed from February 8 until March 5, sometimes on a great scale and at others in small parties. On one occasion out of seven tigers bagged six fell to the rifle of the Prince of Wales—one a man-eater—his largest being a splendid male 10 feet long and 19 inches round the fore-arm, and beautifully marked. There were also elephant, leopard, bear, and deer hunts of great interest and enjoyment to the Royal party. Of course, plenty of winged game was shot in addition to the more exciting chase after wild elephants and royal tigers, which latter included a maned specimen said to be peculiar to Nepal.

At one point in Nepal, Sir Jung Bahadoor showed the Royal visitor a procession of no fewer than 700 elephants; and a great Nepalese shikarry, who had killed with his own rifle no fewer than 550 tigers, over and over again expressed the highest admiration for the extraordinary coolness and accuracy of the Prince of Wales's shooting. At a Durbar in the forest camp, Sir Jung Bahadoor, on behalf of the Maharaja of Nepal, in acknowledging his Royal Highness's appreciation of the service rendered by Nepalese troops in India, asked the Prince of Wales to assure the Queen that, when there was occasion, all the assistance that could be rendered by Nepal to the British Government in India would be cheerfully given. At the farewell Durbar, at which Sir Jung's wife and family were presented to the Prince of Wales, among the offerings made to Sir Jung by the Prince was a silver statuette of himself in the uniform of the 10th Hussars. Leave was taken of Sir Jung and the Nepalese officers on March 6, and the Royal party marched through the forest to Bareilly, where the railway was struck, and a special train conveyed them in a run of twelve hours past Lucknow, Cawnpoor, to Allahabad. Here, on the morning of March 7, Lord Northbrook came from Calcutta to see the last of his much wandering guest, and Sir Bartle Frere and Dr. Fayrer joined the Royal party from Lahore.

A Durbar in a Forest Camp

A Chapter of Investiture of the Order of the Star of India was held in the afternoon, when Major-General Sam Browne, V.C., Major-General Probyn, and Surgeon-General Fayrer were invested as Knights, and Colonels Ellis, Michael, and

KING EDWARD VII AS A BENCHER OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE

From a photograph by W. & D. Downey

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THE HUNTERS HUNTED: AN EXCITING INCIDENT DURING THE PRINCE'S ELEPHANT HUNT IN NEPAL
From a drawing by S. P. Hall

Earle, Majors Bradford and Henderson, and Captain Baring as Companions. At the dinner party at Government House a final conversation took place between the Prince of Wales and Lord Northbrook, and Allahabad was left amid loud cheers from a great crowd about midnight for Indore. Travelling all night and next day, the railway journey finished at Chowral, and the progress was continued by open carriages and relays of artillery horses to Indore. Five miles from Holkar's capital there was a great triumphal arch, and there the Maharaja, attired in rich uniform, with the riband and badge of the Star of India and a fine collar of diamonds, surrounded by all his chiefs, met the Prince of Wales. The road thence to Indore was lined with troops, "a picturesque if irregular lot." The Prince was conducted to the Residency, which had been prepared for him by Sir H. Daly.

After the departure of the Maharaja, there was a levée on March 9, which the chiefs of the district attended, and in the afternoon the Prince visited the Rajas of Thar, Rutlam, Jourah, and Dewas, and then he drove to the Maharaja's palace of Lallbagh, where a Durbar in his honour was held. At a State dinner in a pavilion in the garden of the Residency, Holkar proposed the health of the Queen, saying that her rule was founded on the principle of doing justice to princes and poor alike, and his Royal Highness made an excellent reply. The chiefs of smaller note and the officers of the Bhopal and Malwha Bheel corps were received by the Prince on March 10. Five men of the Central India Horse who charged the guns on July 1, 1857, seemed more than rewarded by the Prince's notice and a few words acknowledging their services. There was graceful native dancing by both male and female Bheels. Before his departure, the Prince thanked Sir H. Daly for his exertions in Central India, and what he had done at Gwalior and Indore. Thereafter the Royal party were driven by carriage to Chowral, where a special train started at 6 p.m. for Bombay. At Candwah, where a stoppage was made for dinner, Lord Suffield, in honour of the anniversary of the marriage of the Prince and Princess of Wales, proposed their health, for which the Prince returned thanks, paying a tribute in most gracious terms to the officers of his personal suite, and to those who had joined him in India, and attributed much of the success which had attended his trip to their efforts.

Durbars, Dinners and Receptions

The Start for Home

Bombay was reached at 11 a.m. on March 11, his Royal Highness being received at the Churchgate Station by the Lieutenant-Governor, the Commander-in-Chief, and all the authorities. There was a State procession to the dockyard, the portal of which bore the inscription "God speed you," and many thousands of natives and Europeans were there to bid the Prince good-bye. When he stepped on board the steam launch, to be conveyed to the Serapis, thirteen warships thundered forth their salutes.

Farewell dinners were given at Malabar Point by the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Philip Wodehouse, and on board the Undaunted by Admiral Macdonald, and a farewell address was presented by the corporation of Bombay. It should be stated here that at all the cities which the Prince of Wales visited in India and Ceylon his bounty was largely bestowed on the poor and the needy and on charities which required aid.

And so at 3.45 p.m. on March 13 the Serapis, amid a farewell salute from the warships, left the Isle of Bombay and the shores of India, the Prince standing on the bridge till the outlines of the hills in the background faded into cloudland and darkness fell on the face of the waters. In seventeen weeks to a day he had "travelled nearly 7,000 miles by land, 2,300 miles by sea, got to know more chiefs

then all the Viceroys and Governors together, and had seen more of the country in the time than any living man."

The voyage to Suez, which was reached early on March 27, was uneventful. Lord Lytton, who was on his way to India to succeed Lord Northbrook as Viceroy, came on board with Lady Lytton and Colonel Burne, and breakfasted with the Prince, and in the evening a special train conveyed the Royal party to Cairo, where they were re-installed in their old quarters at Gezireh Palace. Time passed pleasantly enough until April 1, for it was desirable to avoid the keen spring weather in England, and also to visit on the way home the Courts of Spain and Portugal at the dates fixed. The Prince took farewell to the Khedive at Cairo railway station on the afternoon of April 1, and the same evening his Royal Highness embarked on board the Serapis in Alexandria harbour. It blew hard on Sunday, April 2, with a chopping sea within the breakwaters, and after Divine service the Grand Duke Alexis of Russia gave a dinner on board his ship the Svetlana to the Prince of Wales and suite. Before daybreak on the 3rd, the Serapis, with her escort, Invincible, Raleigh, and Research, weighed anchor, stood out of Alexandria harbour, and arrived at Malta on the 6th.

A Busy Time at Malta

A stay of several days was made at Malta, where there were various festivities and military displays, and then the squadron proceeded to Gibraltar, where the Prince met the Duke of Connaught. After five days of military inspections, excursions, and entertainments, the Prince of Wales and Duke of Connaught sailed in the Osborne for Cadiz, whence they journeyed, viâ Seville and Cordova, to Madrid, where a State visit of five days was paid to King Alfonso and the Court of Spain. The Duke of Connaught left Madrid for England viâ Paris, and the Prince of Wales went on by train to Lisbon, where there were festivities of every description during six days, and much enthusiasm of welcome from King Luiz, Don Fernando, the titular King, and the Court. At last, on May 7, the Prince of Wales embarked once more on board the Serapis, and was homeward bound. The voyage was made through a wild, cold sea till May 11, when the chalk cliffs near Portland came in sight, and as the familiar scene unfolded itself every eye was strained up the narrow stretch of water between the Isle of Wight and the mainland. At 10 in the morning the Serapis passed the Needles, and the Enchantress was descried with the Princess of Wales's standard flying and laden with a precious burden.

The Prince was on the bridge, glass in hand, with his eye fixed upon the Enchantress, and when the latter ship was close to Yarmouth, the Serapis slowed to enable the Enchantress to come up on her starboard quarter, so that everyone could see the Princess and her children looking up to the deck of the stately yacht. Then the crew from the rigging, the officers on the decks, and all on board the Serapis gave three cheers and a few cheers more, and men confessed that they felt a little inclination to gulp down something in their throats. The band played "Home, Sweet Home," the marines presented arms; the Serapis anchored, the barge was lowered, and the Prince immediately went on board the Enchantress. It may be imagined with what joy he was welcomed! In a quarter of an hour the Princess of Wales left the Enchantress, and came on board the Serapis. She had a gracious smile and a pleasant word for those known to her as she passed to the saloon. To the Royal children the great ship was a treasure-house of wonder and delight, for there were tigers, and tailless dogs, elephants, deer, horses, ostriches, leopards, birds, diminutive ponies and cattle, monkeys to be exhibited, visited, petted, or dreaded. The Serapis at midnight steamed towards Portsmouth, but slowed down to enable the Duke of Edinburgh to welcome his Royal brother. The scene at the landing at Portsmouth on May 12, 1876, was a becoming prelude to the greetings which the whole country gave the Prince of Wales on his return from the visit to India.

Home Again!

THE "PLEASURES" OF THE CHASE: A PAD ELEPHANT GIVING ITS ROYAL RIDER A SHOWER BATH

During one of the hunts in Nepal, the fatigued elephants evinced their appreciation of the spirited sport by squirting jets of water from their proboscis over their backs, "careless of who was on the pad, even though it were the Prince, who came in for the full benefit of a douche."

CHAPTER XLIV

THE ZULU WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA

Being a Graphic Narrative of the Events Leading up to the Native Rising, together with a Description of the War that Broke the Zulu Power

THE last practical extension of British territory in South Africa had taken place in 1871. It arose from the discovery of diamonds in the regions on the western side of the Orange Free State and the South African Republic. A Griqua chief named Waterboer claimed to have held the title to these lands, which were offered by him to the British Government. On the other hand, President Brand, for the Orange Free State, affirmed that the greater part of the land in question had been definitely and explicitly a part of that state. President Pretorius, for the South African Republic, made a similar claim in respect of the northern portion. Arbitration was proposed, but President Brand declined to admit that there was any case to go to arbitration at all. The South African Republic, however, having a variety of unsettled disputes on its hands, agreed to submit them generally to the arbitration of Mr. Keate, the Governor of Natal. Before Mr. Keate the case for Waterboer was very skilfully presented; the case for the Republic was hardly presented at all. The natural result was that the award went entirely in favour of Waterboer, the arbitrator incidentally declaring in his favour in respect also of the land claimed by the Orange Free State. The Free State had not been a party to the arbitration, which it declined to recognise; nevertheless, Sir Henry Barkly, who was Governor of the Cape and High Commissioner, proclaimed the whole territory a British dependency under the title of Griqualand West.

CETEWAYO LOBENGULA

Two of the most famous native chiefs: Cetewayo, the typical warrior Zulu king, and Lobengula, the last independent Matabele chief.

Conflicting claims, however, immediately arose regarding the title to various portions of the land. British courts investigated the claims; and the investigation practically proved that Waterboer never had any land to sell at all. Armed with these decisions of the British courts, President Brand appealed to the British Government; and the way the British Government found to escape from a very awkward situation was to offer cash compensation, while declaring that Great Britain's position as paramount Power, with immense general responsibilities in South Africa, bound her to retain the control of the diamond districts in her own hands. The Free State of necessity accepted the arrangement. The real importance of this annexation of Griqualand West lay not so much in the acquisition of diamond mines as in what lay behind and beyond. What lay behind was the principle that the needs of the paramount Power must over-ride other considerations, carrying with it the corollary that the paramount Power had corresponding obligations. What lay beyond was the interior of Africa, access to which would have been blocked if Griqualand West had passed out of British control. Just at that time, it is true, the British Government was not thinking of penetrating further into Africa; but the time was very close at hand when access to it was to be regarded as a matter of very great importance.

The Keate award had on the South African Republic an effect not without importance as causing a change of President. The Volksraad could not repudiate the award, but it could depose the President who had committed the Republic to accepting it. Pretorius was replaced by Burgers. Burgers was astute, but he was an avowed free-thinker; and the Calvinistic burghers of the Transvaal very soon came to the conclusion that the blessing of the Almighty would be withdrawn from a nation which had chosen an apostate to rule over it. The sentiment found vent a short time afterwards when there were troubles with a native chief named Sekukuni. Commandoes were called up for the chief's chastisement; but, believing that the hand of the Lord was against them, the burghers either fought very badly or declined to fight altogether, and dispersed to their homes. The position was desperate, and an attempt was made to retrieve it by offering high pay, but the consequent taxes could not be collected; the Republic was practically bankrupt, and its treasury empty, and behind Sekukuni loomed the great military state of the Zulu king, Cetewayo.

Such was the state of things in the South African Republic when Sir Theophilus Shepstone was sent up from Natal to take matters in hand. The South African Republic was independent, but Great Britain was the paramount Power on whose shoulders lay the ultimate responsibility for keeping people in order in South Africa. To all appearance, if things went on as they were doing, the Republic across the Vaal would soon be bringing on

itself a deluge of black warriors. Judging by the campaign against Sekukuni, these burghers had neither the organisation nor the money nor the pluck to face such a deluge. So far as courage was concerned, the estimate was erroneous; the burghers had not dispersed because they were afraid of fighting anybody, but because they feared the wrath of the Almighty. However, there the matter stood. If the fighting blacks came down upon them, they would be wiped out; and it was a moral certainty that the fighting blacks would endeavour to continue the wiping-out process, which would next take effect in the Free State, or in Natal, or in both. In any case, there was imminent danger of an appalling amount of bloodshed. The only way to prevent it was for the British Government to take control into its own hands, to put an end to the existing anarchy, and to make the natives appreciate the fact that they would have the strong arm of the British to deal with.

Britain Annexes the Transvaal

Now, the burghers of the Republic in a general way were no more disposed in the present than they had been in the past to submit to British control; and they had the abstract right, whatever that may be worth, of every free people to remain free if it chooses. But some of them undoubtedly wanted to get what they could out of the British Government, without committing themselves to accepting its control permanently. On the other hand, there were by this time in the Transvaal territory, chiefly in the villages, a considerable number of English or German inhabitants, who did not share the sentiments of the burghers proper, and were eager for annexation as a protection both from the existing anarchy and from the black menace. It appears to have been Sir Theophilus Shepstone's actual conviction that the majority of the white inhabitants of the territory desired annexation, and that the opposition to it was confined to a self-assertive minority. Accordingly, acting within the powers of his commission, he proclaimed in April, 1877, the annexation of the country, which was thereupon entitled the Transvaal Territory, and he himself took over the control.

LORD CHELMSFORD

He was in command of the British forces in the Zulu War of 1879, and had a large share in the breaking of the Zulu power.

This occurred almost at the moment when a new High Commissioner and Governor of Cape Colony had just arrived in the person of Sir Bartle Frere. All that Frere had to do with it was to give an assent which it was not practically in his power to withhold. Shepstone remained administrator of the Transvaal for the next two years. Two deputations were sent to England by the stalwarts, in the hope of getting the annexation revoked, but both were unsuccessful. The feeling was that, the thing having been done, the British Government were now pledged to protect the settlers, who would feel that they had been betrayed if that protection were withdrawn.

Sir Bartle Frere was an Indian administrator of the highest capacity, character, and reputation. There were many who had anticipated that he would become Viceroy of India in succession to Lord Northbrook in 1876. The choice of the Ministry, however, fell upon Lord Lytton, and Frere looked forward to a period of welcome repose. But at this moment Lord Carnarvon was Secretary of State for the Colonies, and he was one of the pioneers of the great conception of Imperial unity which since that time has become a part of the creed of most Englishmen. At that time, perhaps, the average Englishman was disposed to think of the colonies as daughter-states which would some day or other, as a matter of course, set up for themselves, with a parental blessing and perhaps with a sense of relief in the parental bosom. But Carnarvon and some others saw the future with different eyes, and they perceived in the federation of colonial groups the way to Imperial consolidation. Canada had set the example; Carnarvon hoped in South Africa to create a federation like that of the Dominion of Canada, which would put an end to the disintegrating system which had hitherto prevailed.

Lord Carnarvon saw in Sir Bartle Frere the man to carry out this policy. The commonplace work of an ordinary Governor of the Cape would not have attracted Frere; the hope of being the agent in the inauguration of a new and larger Imperial policy did attract him. The hope was vain; local particularism and a not unnatural distrust of any movement initiated by the home Government, together with an extreme jealousy of any interference emanating from that quarter, condemned the scheme at Cape Colony. Matters were not improved by the brilliant injudiciousness of Mr. Froude, who travelled the Empire as a sort of semi-official apostle of the Imperial idea. South African federation remained nothing more than a dream for thirty years to come. And other events were to make of Sir Bartle Frere something of which neither he nor Lord Carnarvon had dreamed when he sailed to Africa as High Commissioner.

The source of those other events was in the Zulus, in whom the native question had at that moment assumed its most aggressive form—that native question which in a form more or less aggressive is nearly always present in South Africa. Apart from any European element, the native races of South Africa fall into two main divisions—those who are, and those who, in the main at least, are not negroes. The indigenous inhabitants of Cape Colony, excluding Kaffraria, belong almost exclusively to the latter class. But outside the colony and German West Africa the native population is almost entirely negro, the name Bantu being applicable to all. But, again, of the Bantu there are two great divisions, the first being by tradition and custom disposed to peaceable agricultural and pastoral pursuits, the second by tradition, custom, and training being essentially military.

The great bulk of the Bantu in the eastern half of South Africa are of the military group; those to the west being for the most part, comparatively at least, peaceably disposed. Of the military group, again, extreme types are presented by the Matabele and the Zulus; the Mashonas and Bechuanas may stand as representing the other group. Under the leadership of their mighty chief Chaka, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Zulus made themselves masters of the region between Portuguese East Africa and the River Tugela, and carried their devastating arms into what is now Natal. Chaka, in effect, created a military state on a system which aimed simply and solely at attaining the maximum fighting capacity. The business of the men was to fight, and to train for fighting and cattle-lifting; any other work that had to be done was done by the women. Chaka's organisation was maintained by his successor, Dingan, the chief who attempted to wipe out the Boers when they first entered Natal, and received from them so stern a lesson on what is known as Dingan's Day. Dingan's power was overthrown, and Panda became king of the Zulus, more or less on terms of alliance, first with the Boers, and then with the British, when the latter took possession of Natal. The Zulu territory was definitely restricted to north of the Tugela. Panda was less energetic and less bloodthirsty than his predecessors; but when he died, in 1872, he was succeeded by his son, Cetewayo, who had already for some time been the dominant figure among the Zulus. Cetewayo was of the same type as Dingan and Chaka, and it very soon became evident that he was determined to bring his Zulus up to the old standard of military efficiency and completeness of military organisation.

Cetewayo on the Zulu Throne

Now, in the British territory of Natal the black

population was very large and the white population was very small. Here, and in Kaffraria, the tribes were partly of the fighting type which had given so much trouble in the repeated Kaffir wars, but were a good deal less formidable than the highly organised Zulus, and partly of the earlier non-military type. That they might still inspire grave cause for anxiety was illustrated by the conduct of one of the chiefs, named Langalibalele, who exercised a very widely extended influence. The immense disproportion between whites and blacks in Natal necessitated a law requiring the registration of all natives who were in possession of guns. Such registration was not a grievance in any real sense, and it was perfectly clear that evasion of the registration law implied the intention of concealing the possession of guns and of finding an illegitimate use for them. It was ascertained that Langalibalele was acquiring a large number of guns from outside Natal. It appeared that his young men were sent to work in the recently discovered diamond fields, and their pay was expended in the purchase of firearms.

Curbing a Native Chief

Langalibalele was called on to account for his possession of arms, and to carry out the requirements of the law. When these demands of the Government were persistently disregarded, a small force was sent to bring him in, and met with armed resistance. It was believed, and the event proved the belief to be right, that Langalibalele had been planning to organise a general rising with the support of the Basutos. Fortunately, however, the very prompt measures taken by the Natal and Cape Governments nipped the affair in the bud. The chief was captured, tried, and deported to Cape territory, where he was detained for some years.

A GLORIOUS EPISODE IN THE ZULU WAR: THE DEFENCE OF RORKE'S DRIFT

In the beginning of the Zulu War of 1879, Chelmsford's main force advanced to Isandlwana, leaving a small band under Lieutenants Chard and Bromhead to guard communications at Rorke's Drift. The Zulus, evading Chelmsford, burst on the camp, and, but for its heroic defence by 120 whites against 4,000 Zulus, would have invaded Natal. The above illustration is reproduced from Lady Butler's picture by the artist's permission.

LIEUT. CHARD

When Sir Bartle Frere arrived in South Africa, it was tolerably obvious that the frame of mind of the Zulu king was distinctly dangerous. Cetewayo had been formally installed in 1873 by Sir Theophilus Shepstone, on his promising to forgo sundry sanguinary practices and to leave Christian missionaries unmolested. But he had treated his promise as applying only to the persons of the missionaries themselves. In 1876 he perpetrated a massacre which was in accordance with the Zulu law, but was of so hideous a character that the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal felt it necessary to remonstrate. Cetewayo replied that he intended his men to "wash their spears"; that he had hardly begun to kill; that his people would not listen unless they were killed; and that he meant to govern by Zulu laws and to take orders from no one. And Cetewayo continued to kill.

All this was bad enough; and it was made worse by the fact that the killing was quite unmistakably a part of the great system of military organisation which could have no end in view but some movement of aggression either against the South African Republic or against Natal; there was no other direction in which the Zulus could move. This was one of Shepstone's reasons for the annexation of the Transvaal territory. There were disputes as to border regions between the Republic and the Zulus, which could easily be made a pretext for a great Zulu incursion. The Boers might assert their own ability to deal with the invader; but, according to the other view, it was the annexation which saved them from total extinction. At any rate, one result of it was that, in 1877, Cetewayo no longer had the South African Republic but the British Empire to dash himself against, in whatever direction he might try to break out.

The immediate problem, however, was to settle the actual existing ground of dispute. The quarrel as to the border territory was referred by consent of both parties to the arbitration of the High Commissioner. Sir Bartle Frere gave his award in favour of the Zulus. The award itself was the work of a Commission, and did not meet with the full approval of the Governor. He, therefore, added to it clauses requiring compensation or protection for the Boers who had settled in the disputed territory. He also proposed to apply the custom which had always prevailed in India of placing a Resident among the Zulus, to supply the British Government with information and the Zulu Government with advice, whose particular business it should be to see that the provisions of the award were duly carried out.

LIEUT. BROMHEAD

With the award were coupled further demands which the recent conduct of Cetewayo made imperative; compensation for certain recent raids into Natal territory was required; and the persons responsible were to be handed over for trial. Also certain modifications were to be made in the rigour of the military system which forbade any man to marry until he had "washed his spear"; and the regiments into which the whole male population was divided were not to be called out without previously obtaining the assent of the British Government. The Zulu king was required to send a satisfactory answer within a month.

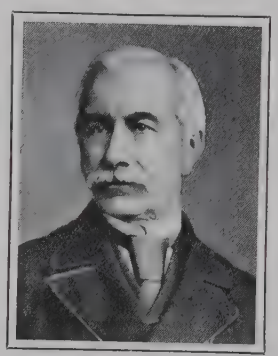
Ultimatum to the Zulu King

The award and the ultimatum were delivered to the Zulus on December 9, 1878. Frere was aware of the responsibility he was assuming. For some time past he had been urging that additional troops were required in South Africa; and he was grievously disappointed

when the Beaconsfield Government persisted in declaring that no additional troops ought to be wanted, and a war ought to be averted by the exercise of prudence and forbearance. The High Commissioner, on the other hand, felt that unless the organisation of Cetewayo's army was broken up there would be not only a Zulu war, but something like a universal war between blacks and whites. The Zulu army itself was at least 40,000 strong. The men were thoroughly trained masters of their own system of fighting, and of their own peculiar weapons; they were not a loose horde of unorganised savages, but formed in regiments under a very stern discipline, and their physique was magnificent. The fact was that the home Government had its eyes on Eastern Europe and Afghanistan, and could not spare attention or troops for South Africa. Still, it was with considerable relief that Frere heard, just after the delivery of the ultimatum, that some reinforcements were actually coming, though with instructions that they were to be employed only for the defence of the lives and property of the colonists. During the month of waiting, optimists believed that Cetewayo would concede the demands; the High Commissioner did not. He was right. The month passed without sign from Cetewayo; and on January 10 the actual responsibility passed to the military authorities.

A Story of Disaster and Heroism

The British force consisted of between 5,000 and 6,000 regulars, with some Volunteers and native troops, the whole under the command of Lord Chelmsford. It was to invade Zululand in three columns; one under Colonel Pearson low down the Tugela; Lord Chelmsford himself went with the central column; while the third column came from the north-west under Colonel Evelyn Wood. The three columns were to converge on Cetewayo's principal kraal at Ulundi. As soon as the time of grace was past, the Zulu territory was entered. For the British to take the offensive was the only way of preventing the Zulus from themselves invading Natal in force at whatever point they pleased, the Tugela and the Buffalo River being fordable at many places.



SIR BARTLE FRERE
Appointed Governor of the Cape in 1877, he was made the scapegoat of the disastrous Zulu War of 1879.
Photo: London Stereoscopic

Colonel Pearson, on his advance, repulsed the Zulu force at Inyesane. On January 23 he reached Eshowe. There he stopped and entrenched his position, because of the news which reached him. Colonel Wood, on the north-west, advanced as far as Kambula, where he also, for the like reason, paused and fortified his position. For on January 22 a tremendous disaster had occurred.

At the passage of the Buffalo River, Lord Chelmsford's column had left at Rorke's Drift a small party of 130 men to keep open communications with Natal. Ten days later the main column encamped under the hill of Isandlwana. The distance traversed was short, owing to the need of constructing a passable track for the commissariat. The next day the general left in the camp some 900 men, and himself moved with the greater part of his force to attack a Zulu military kraal at some distance. Such information as he had received of the enemy's movements was entirely misleading, and in the camp the elementary rules of warfare with the Zulus had been totally disregarded. No attempt had been made either to entrench the camp or to form a laager with the waggons. No one suspected that there was a Zulu in the neighbourhood, when at midday it was discovered that half the fighting forces of the Zulus had encircled the camp, and that 20,000 warriors were pouring down upon it from every side. It would hardly be correct to say that the men in the camp fought for their lives; they had no chance of life; all they could do was to sell their lives as dearly as possible. A very few mounted men succeeded in dashing through before the encircling horns of the Zulu army had completely surrounded the camp. The rest were cut to pieces, although they had managed to account for between three and four times their own number of Zulus. When the report that the Zulus had fallen on his camp reached Lord Chelmsford, he had no alternative but to retreat to Natal.

That same afternoon and night a very different scene was enacted at Rorke's Drift. There the little party under Lieutenants Chard and Bromhead received intelligence that a selected detachment of Zulu troops was descending upon them. Such buildings as there were were promptly loopholed and barricaded, and a breastwork of mealie-bags and biscuit-tins was rapidly constructed. Behind these slender defences, for eleven long hours, the little band held at bay the furious assaults of the masses of the Zulus. At daybreak the enemy retired, leaving 370 dead on the field. Of the defenders, 17 were killed and 10 wounded.

The disaster of Isandlwana created something like panic in Natal. From Cape Colony, however, nearly every available soldier was hurried to the front, and the maintenance of order was confided to purely colonial Volunteer levies. In England there was not a little excitement, and reinforcements were hastily dispatched. Pearson and Wood, at Eshowe and Kambula, held their own and inflicted severe punishment on the Zulu forces sent to attack them. In April, Lord Chelmsford was able again to march to the relief of Eshowe. The reinforcements were now arriving; with them was the young Prince Imperial, the son of Napoleon III., who lost his life when on a scouting party, under circumstances which gave rise to some controversy. Lord Chelmsford advanced on Ulundi with a large force, and fought the decisive battle on July 4. The failure of the Zulus to effect anything further after their one great victory at Isandlwana had gone far to dishearten them, and large numbers of them refused to answer the call to arms. Nevertheless, it was a still powerful army with which Cetewayo fought the final battle. But, despite the fury of the onset, there was no breaking through the hollow square into which the British were formed, whence the Zulus' rushes were checked by a storm of bullets. Beaten off, they began to retreat, when the retreat was turned into a rout by the cavalry. Cetewayo himself was a fugitive, and his army was completely shattered. Ultimately his hiding-place was betrayed, though it had long been loyally concealed, and the Zulu king was removed to an easy captivity within the Cape territory.

Before the victory of Ulundi, Sir Garnet Wolseley had arrived to supersede Lord Chelmsford; but, from a military point of view, that battle had made his presence unnecessary. Sir Garnet, however, had also laid upon him the uncongenial task of arranging the administration of the territory which had thus been deprived of its normal government.

The Commissioner was anxious to get the business off his hands. His settlement divided Zululand into thirteen independent chieftainships, with one British Resident to exercise a general control. The arrangement did not answer, and in course of time Cetewayo, whose conduct during his captivity had been conspicuously correct, was reinstated with an extremely limited authority. He died, however, a year after his return, and the troubles which arose between his son Dinizulu and a rival chief, Usibepu, necessitated the annexation of Zululand to the British Empire in 1887, and the subsequent deportation of Dinizulu to St. Helena.

Trouble Brewing in the Transvaal

The Zulu power was broken; but trouble was brewing in the Transvaal territory. Under Sir Theophilus Shepstone, the burghers had kicked against the annexation; under his successor, Sir Owen Lanyon, this restiveness increased, their desire being to have their independence restored.

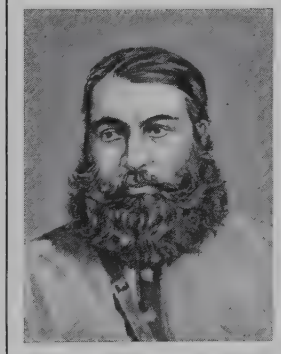
CHAPTER XLV

THE AFGHAN WAR

Being a Graphic Description of Affairs in India in the 'Seventies, of the British Disasters and Successes in Afghanistan, and of Roberts's Famous March from Kabul to Kandahar

WHEN Disraeli's Administration began in England, the British Viceroy in India was Lord Northbrook, who had received his appointment on the assassination of Lord Mayo. Lord Northbrook maintained the policy of Lawrence and Mayo. It was during his Viceroyalty that the Prince of Wales paid his memorable visit to the great dependency. The other principal events that marked his term of office were the famine of 1874 and the troublesome affair of the Gaekwar of Baroda.

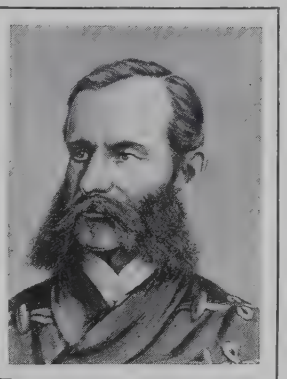
The Gaekwar was one of the three leading Maratha princes. The misgovernment of his dominion compelled the British Government to give him warning that it would be necessary to depose him unless matters improved. A few months after the warning an attempt was made to poison the Resident, Colonel Phayre, who had brought the Gaekwar's misconduct before the Government. A Commission was appointed to inquire into the matter, consisting of three British officers, the Rajput Maharaja of Jaipur, the Maharaja Scindia, and Scindia's great Minister, Dinkar Rao. Of the Commissioners, one held that the Gaekwar was innocent of complicity, two held that the case against him had not been proved, while the three British officers were all satisfied of his guilt. In effect, however, this amounted to an acquittal, and it was perhaps unfortunate that the British Government should have felt it necessary to depose him on the ground of his persistent misgovernment; not because its action in the matter was otherwise than absolutely just, but because it was open to possible misconstruction.



ABDUR RAHMAN
The grandson of Dost Mohammed, he was proclaimed Amir by the British under General Stewart in 1880.

Early in 1876 the Disraeli Government in London had resolved on a change of policy in India. The change was flatly antagonistic to the views held by Lord Lawrence, and Lord Northbrook found himself unable to agree with the doctrines propounded by Lord Salisbury from the India Office. He resigned, and Disraeli chose Lord Lytton to be his successor. In April the new Viceroy entered on his office.

The problem for which a new solution was to be found was connected with Afghanistan. That turbulent country lies outside the borders of British India, beyond the great passes which form the only access to the peninsula by land. All Indian statesmen for many years past had been satisfied of the necessity for preserving Afghanistan as a buffer state, which should prevent the Russian and British Empires from becoming coterminous. In the very early days of Queen Victoria's reign a singularly ill-judged and ill-managed attempt had been made to guide Afghanistan in a manner favourable to British interests. The story of that melancholy blunder has already been told. It was felt that the ruler of Afghanistan was not to be trusted, and that Russia was persistently pursuing a policy of veiled aggression. So Dost Mohammed was ejected by force of arms and Shah Shuja restored, under the supervision of British officers and with the support of British bayonets. The Afghans objected to the arrangement, murdered some of the British officers, and cut the British troops to pieces. As a matter of course, they immediately received a practical demonstration that they could not hope to resist the military power of Great Britain. But the policy so recklessly undertaken was immediately dropped. Dost Mohammed was restored to the throne of Kabul, and the principle was accepted that he should be left to manage his own affairs in his own way, so long as he recognised that his interests lay in loyalty to Great Britain and in closing his eyes and ears to the seductions of Russia.



LORD ROBERTS IN 1880
When Sir Frederick Roberts, he made his famous march from Kabul to Kandahar, in August, 1880.

So long as Dost Mohammed reigned the system worked admirably. The Dost thoroughly understood the art of governing his turbulent subjects; he was also perfectly aware that the British had no desire whatever to take upon themselves the troublesome burden of rulership. He saw absolutely nothing to be gained by friendship with Russia, whose advances he viewed with extreme suspicion. Consequently, even at the moment when he might have caused something more than embarrassment to the British Government if he had let the tribesmen loose on the Punjaub in the early days of the Mutiny, he held them in check instead. In short, without giving him any credit for abnormal virtues, or even for a freedom from the vices of

THE FORT OF ALI MUSJID IN THE KHAIBAR PASS

The fort itself is on the summit of the hill, 1, and the pickets of Ali Musjid are at 2; the spot where Major Cavagnari met the commandant of Ali Musjid is at 3, and 4 is the Khaibar River. It was here that the commandant of Ali Musjid prevented the further passage of the British mission. Such refusal was deemed intolerable, and when, to a letter demanding ample apology, together with an undertaking to accept a permanent British mission, no answer within the brief interval allowed was forthcoming, Lord Lytton, supported by the Cabinet, declared war.

treachery and cruelty which some hostile observers were apt to attribute to the Afghans, it may be perceived that he was thoroughly alive to his own interests, and saw that these lay in maintaining friendly relations with the British.

But in 1863 Dost Mohammed died, and was succeeded by his son, Sher Ali. It was not till after considerable vicissitudes that Sher Ali managed to get rid of his rivals and to secure himself at Kabul, when John Lawrence was Governor-General. During those vicissitudes the Indian Government had steadily abstained from any intervention, and had recognised more than one *de facto* sovereign. But on Sher Ali there was further bestowed a substantial annual subsidy. Now, it was precisely at this time that a movement began for a more energetic policy to counteract Russian designs. The Lawrence policy was summed up in the phrase, "Masterly inactivity." The supporters of that policy held the view that the existing frontier of India was strategically secure, and that any sort of definite interference with tribes or states beyond the border would merely arouse hostility among them, without in any sense increasing our own security. Experience had proved that no native ruler would accept with equanimity the presence of British political officers in his dominions. He would look upon such officers not as ambassadors or envoys, but as mouthpieces of a foreign Government, claiming the right to dictate through them. In brief, he would feel that to admit British Residents or Agents would be to resign his own independence.

The Policy of "Masterly Inactivity"

The new school, on the other hand, was disposed to take a more definitely military view of the situation. It observed with anxiety the constant advance of Russia and the narrowing space between her boundaries and those of India. It anticipated a time when the gates of India would have to be held not merely against wild tribesmen, but against the battalions of a European Power; when it might be necessary for India to pour her own battalions through those passes, and to do battle in regions beyond them. Strategically, they argued, the frontier needed rectifying, and beyond the frontier it was not sufficient to count on the precarious goodwill of peoples who had no cause to love us, or of monarchs whose friendship was purchasable. A wholesome consciousness must be inspired among the peoples beyond the border that if they were seduced into disloyalty to the British their doom was absolutely certain; although so long as they remained loyal there was no wish to interfere with them. Above all, it was necessary that there should be among them British officers who could provide really trustworthy information as to what was going on; who would detect and give warning of treachery and intriguing, and whose very presence would be a guarantee against hostile machinations.

Apart from any ethical question which might be involved, the advocates of what presently came to be called the "forward policy" could see safety only in the occupation of military posts which were not only defensible but would also serve as bases for offensive movements, and in the establishment of a definite ascendancy among the peoples beyond the border. The advocates of the established policy were satisfied with the frontier, and were convinced that no effective ascendancy could be established by anything short of a permanent military occupation at enormous cost in the midst of fighting races who would snatch at every opportunity of overturning the British domination and paving the way for Russia, if Russia should actually contemplate an attack on the British power.

The root ideas of the forward policy had been laid before the Indian Government in a memorandum from Sir Henry Rawlinson in 1868; and their presentation in greater detail in a report by Sir Bartle Frere was probably the decisive factor which induced Lord Salisbury in 1875 to adopt them as the basis of British policy in Afghanistan. For in the interval between 1868 and 1875 it seemed clear that Sher Ali's fears as to the Russian pressure which might be brought to bear on him, and his doubts of the readiness of the British Government to extend active protection to him, were on the increase; and there were strong suspicions in well-informed quarters that he might throw himself into the arms of Russia. The fundamental idea of the new policy, as laid down and as understood by the new Viceroy, appears to have been to insist on the Amir's acceptance of a British Resident. The practical answer was that if a Resident were received at Kabul his life would not be worth many weeks' purchase.

Lord Lytton's Viceroyalty

Before following out the inauguration and progress of the new policy, reference may be made to other events connected with the opening period of Lord Lytton's Viceroyalty. The Home Government had come to the decision that the time had arrived when the Queen of England should assume in India, in form as well as in substance,

the supremacy which was not implied in the title she bore; a title inferior in dignity to that of the dynasty which, before British ascendancy, had held the sovereignty over India. In certain quarters there was undoubtedly strong dislike to the assumption of the new title of Empress of India; nevertheless, there was good reason for believing that, to the Oriental mind, with its keen susceptibilities in all matters of ceremonial observance and its intense appreciation of magnificence, a real purpose was served both by the adoption of the title of Kaisar-i-Hind and by the gorgeous display of the Great Durbar held on January 1, 1877, at which the Queen was proclaimed Empress of India. As a display of sheer magnificence the Great Durbar far surpassed anything of the kind that had ever been known.

MAJOR CAVAGNARI AT A CONFERENCE WITH OFFICERS OF THE AMIR

Sir Louis Cavagnari was appointed British Resident at Kabul in 1879; three weeks after his arrival some mutinous Afghan regiments besieged the Residency and, aided by the populace, massacred Cavagnari and his companions

The year 1877 was marked by a famine of great severity. Of all the enemies with which the British Government has to cope in India, this of famine is perhaps the most terrible, unless it must yield pride of place to the rarer visitations of plague. Even when famine is practically confined to one great district, such as Bengal, as had been the case during Lord Northbrook's administration, the problem of holding at bay starvation in its most literal form is sufficiently serious. But the famine of 1877 swept the whole of Western and Southern India. Over vast tracts of land the immense native population had no food upon which to depend but what grew in their own fields. They were remote from railways, and the normal cattle transport was destroyed because the cattle themselves died for lack of fodder. Multiplication of railways and artificial irrigation are the two great means by which government endeavours to counteract the droughts which produce famine, and to bring food within reach of the population when famines occur. These methods are long and costly; and thirty years ago they were even less advanced than they are to-day. Every possible effort was made to deal with the emergency and to organise relief; but although no less than £11,000,000 were spent, it is reckoned that in one way or another that famine was responsible for 7,000,000 deaths.

Underwood & Underwood, Lon...

A TROOP OF INDIAN CAVALRY IN THE KHAIBAR PASS

This gateway between India and Afghanistan is the only pass on the north-west frontier suitable for artillery; it is 33 miles long and is overhung by mo... which sometimes rise sheer from 1,400 to 3,000 feet above the pass.

Lord Lytton would seem to have arrived in India with a clear conviction that the acceptance of a mission was the paramount necessity of the situation. Hitherto the advocates of the forward policy had, indeed, insisted on the immense importance of giving effect to that plan. As matters stood, the Indian Government was dependent for information as to what was going on at Kabul on the Viceroy's vakil or native agent; it was expressly debarred, or had debarred itself, from the official employment of a European. It is hardly necessary to emphasise the fact that an Indian Mohammedan at the Court of a Mohammedan State, out of reach of British influence, however trustworthy he might actually be, could by no possibility inspire the same confidence in the British Government as a British officer, and the abstract desirability of the change needs no demonstration. But such recommendations had always been made with a proviso that the Amir should assent to the arrangement. It does not appear that Sir Bartle Frere ever intended to suggest that the assent should be obtained by other than diplomatic methods of persuasion. The Viceroy seems to have thought that his own views were in complete accord with Sir Bartle Frere's; but whatever may have been the case at the moment when he landed in India, it is impossible to doubt that he had decided at a very early stage that, whatever else happened, and whatever methods of persuasion might

have to be employed, a British Resident was to go to Kabul. Further, it had been implied that the primary object of placing a Resident at Kabul was to provide the Indian Government with that trustworthy information which at present it felt to be out of reach. Again, it is hardly possible to doubt that the Viceroy's plan went further; that he definitely intended the Resident to exercise a controlling force over the Amir, and, in actual fact, to deprive the Amir of his independence.

Very shortly after the Viceroy's arrival in India communications were opened with Kabul. The Amir was invited to receive a British mission, at some place in his own territories to be chosen by himself. The Amir replied

A SCENE IN THE BAZAAR AT KABUL, THE CAPITAL OF AFGHANISTAN
The chief merchandise sold consists of fruit, which is grown locally, also carpets, shawls, and silk and cotton goods.

with elaborate explanations of the many reasons which interfered with his accepting the proposal. On being informed that persistence in refusal would be taken by the British Government to mean that the Amir no longer desired the alliance and support of the British Government, he proposed as a preliminary to send the vakil to Simla in order to have certain questions cleared up. The vakil was received, and carried back with him the Government's consent to a conference at Peshawar, with some minor concessions conditional on the admission of British officers to certain frontier posts. It may be remarked that about this time a treaty was being completed with the Khan of Khelat, on the Biluchi frontier, which placed Quetta in the hands of the British, this being one of the stations especially demanded by the forward school as controlling the Bolan Pass. Nothing came of the Peshawar conference, which took place at the beginning of 1877, just after the Great Durbar. The Afghan envoy died while the conference was in progress, and Sir Louis Pelly, the British envoy, was recalled, on the ground that Sher Ali was at the same time negotiating with the Russian General Kaufmann.

For a time matters remained in suspense. Russia and Turkey went to war; Indian troops were taken to Malta; a Russo-British war seemed imminent. But the great cloud passed; Lord Beaconsfield secured "peace with honour," and, by a curious coincidence, Russian agents multiplied their attentions to Afghanistan. A Russian mission was received at Kabul in August, 1878.

If the Amir could receive a Russian mission he could receive a British one, and he was notified that Sir Neville Chamberlain, an officer of the highest distinction, who then held the Bombay command, would proceed to Kabul by way of the Khaibar Pass. Sher Ali protested that the Russians had visited him against his will, that his one desire was to be rid of them; but that if a British mission was thus forced upon him nothing but trouble could ensue. Nevertheless, Sir Neville went up to Peshawar with a considerable escort. Major Cavagnari was sent forward to arrange for the passage of the embassy; he was met by Afghan officers, who politely informed him that they had no authority to allow the passage of the embassy, and gave him to understand that it would, in fact, be resisted by force.

Such a rebuff could practically have only one outcome. An ultimatum was delivered, demanding an apology and the acceptance of a permanent mission; no answer was received within the time limit set, and hostilities immediately began. A few days before the date named in the ultimatum the Prime Minister announced at the Lord Mayor's banquet in London that the object in view was to obtain a scientific frontier.

It should be remarked that our judgment on all these proceedings must turn to an immense extent on the interpretation of the language used by Sher Ali on one side, and by the Indian Government on the other. The British case rests on the view that certain changes in the relations between Afghanistan and India had become a political necessity. If they could not be obtained without war, by war obtained they must be; although they involved demands which the Indian Government had repeatedly declared that it would not make. Under such circumstances it would seem to follow that the least the British Government could do was to make every effort to allow the Amir to preserve his amour propre in conceding what was demanded of him. On the other hand, it is impossible to deny that the tone of the Viceroy's communications was exceedingly peremptory, and showed no regard for the Amir's susceptibilities. The justification for this tone was found in the interpretation of all that the Amir said and did as being presumptuous in manner and highly suspicious in matter; as, in fact, prohibiting a more conciliatory tone. The story is one that has been repeated with considerable frequency where friction has occurred between a great and a smaller Power.

The Arbitrament of the Sword

At any rate, the point had been reached when the rights or wrongs of the matter were to be settled by the sword. The British force was very soon ready to advance in three columns; the first, under Sir Sam Browne, from Peshawar by way of the Khaibar; the second, under General Roberts, by way of the next pass to the southward, the Karam Valley; while the third, from Quetta, under General Primrose, was to be supported by a column from Multan under Sir Donald Stewart and was to advance on Kandahar. Within a month (December 20) Browne had swept the Afghans out of their fortress of Ali Musjid, and established himself for the winter at Jellalabad. As far as fighting was concerned, the tedious and troublesome march of the southern division to Kandahar presented no difficulties. General Roberts in the Karam Valley had tougher work to do. The Afghan forces had entrenched themselves on the Peiwar Kotul summits. To deal with this obstruction Roberts had to divide his force into two columns, one of which he led by an arduous night march to turn the left flank of the enemy, leaving the second column, under Cobb, to make a

frontal attack in due time. The movement was successfully carried out. Before daybreak Roberts's force was rushing the defences on the Afghan left, and was soon engaged in rolling it up. Cobb developed his frontal attack; and Roberts, checked in his rolling-up movement, made a further turning movement, which brought him on the rear of the Afghan centre. The Afghans, under fire from front and rear, wavered, broke, and fled. The whole of the British casualties numbered less than a hundred; the Afghan losses were severe, and more than a score of guns, with a great quantity of ammunition and stores, were captured.

For the present there was to be no further advance. At Kabul, Sher Ali was quite alive to the impossibility of offering an effective resistance. If he had ever hoped for Russian support the hope was quite illusory. It may legitimately be supposed that Kaufmann was very well pleased to have stirred up trouble; but Russia had no sort of intention of allowing herself to be drawn into active participation therein. The Russian mission, which had brought on the crisis, retired from Kabul, and Sher Ali himself retreated after it; having first appointed as Regent his son, Yakoub Khan, who for some time previously had been held in durance, from which he was only now released. The Russians refused an asylum to Sher Ali, who died in February, at Balkh, on the Turkestan border. When an Amir dies or disappears in Afghanistan there are usually a good many people who do not join in crying, "Long live the Amir." Yakoub Khan's authority was by no means firmly established. However, he presently made up his mind that his best means of security would be to make terms with the British. A meeting was arranged at Gandamak, now Sir Sam Browne's headquarters, with Cavagnari, who was invested with full powers by the Government; and on May 26 a treaty was signed. Under its terms the entire control of external relations was to be in the hands of the British Government: British Agents were to be admitted, and their security guaranteed by the Amir; the passes, and the control over the tribes in their neighbourhood, were ceded to the British. In return, a promise of support was given against foreign aggression, and the annual subsidy which had formerly been paid to Sher Ali was to be continued. The British forces retired behind the new scientific frontier. The Kandahar force, however, of necessity had to defer its withdrawal till the cold weather, and remained in occupation under command of Sir Donald Stewart.

The Amir's Treaty with the British

The man chosen as the first Resident was the same who had negotiated the Treaty of Gandamak, Sir Louis Cavagnari, an experienced political officer, with a thorough knowledge of the hill tribes. No better man could have been selected. But he was under no illusion as to the dangerous character of the task with which he was entrusted. On July 24 the Resident, with his small staff and an escort consisting of a handful of the Guides, arrived at Kabul, where the British took up their quarters in the fortress called the Bala Hissar. A few days later some Afghan regiments returned from Herat, where they had been under the command of Yakoub's brother Ayoub, who was inspired with a hatred of the British; which he had imparted, if, indeed, it needed imparting, to his soldiers.

The signs were ominous enough. Cavagnari knew that he had taken his life in his hand; nevertheless, his last message on September 2 closed with the words, "All well." On September 3 the old story of 1841 was repeated, as nearly as circumstances permitted. There was a mutiny of Afghan soldiers, who demanded arrears of pay, failed in their demand, and turned their wrath upon the British Residency. The city mob rose, and joined the mutineers. The Amir sat still. His commander-in-chief, Daoud Shah, did not bring out loyal troops to quell the disturbance—perhaps there were no loyal troops to bring.

Apparently, he did endeavour personally to remonstrate with the mob, and was pulled off his horse, and otherwise mauled for his pains. The defence of the Residency was hopeless enough, but it was fierce and resolute. Four times the little garrison, or a portion of it, charged out upon the weltering mob, led the first time by all the four British officers, the second time by three, the third time by two, and the fourth time by a Sikh jemadar. At noon the besiegers broke in, and the little garrison perished to a man, fighting to the last. The only survivors of the Guides were three men who happened to be out on a foraging party at the time, and found protection among some Afghan soldiers who happened to be of their own tribe.

Reports of what had happened quickly reached the British outposts in the Karam Valley, one of the districts ceded under the Treaty of Gandamak; and from thence the wires carried the message to Simla. There was no possible question as to what must be done. It was necessary to strike, and to strike at once, in spite of all the difficulties involved. Fortunately, the withdrawal from Kandahar had only begun, and it was easy to recall the troops and hold Southern Afghanistan completely in check. The Peshawar force had suffered so frightfully on the return from Gandamak from cholera and diseases engendered by the climate that its journey had been named "The Dead March"; and the men had not yet recovered from the effects of that disastrous experience. Headquarters, with no anticipations of evil, had placed affairs in the north-west on a peace footing, and a rigid course of economy had been begun which had seriously reduced the means of transport. Nevertheless, on the very day on which the news of the Kabul disaster was received, the plan of campaign was settled; Sir Frederick Roberts, then at Simla, was entrusted with the command of the punitive force; and

GENERAL VIEW OF KABUL, WITH THE BALA HISSAR IN THE FOREGROUND

The Bala Hissar dominates the city and is a former palace of the Amir; it was the British Residency in 1879, and in it Major Sir Louis Cavagnari and several companions, with about 75 natives, were murdered by mutinous Afghans.

Massy, the officer left in charge in the Karam Valley, received orders to seize the Shutargardan Pass, which was the gateway to Kabul. Roberts, whose whole force amounted only to between six and seven thousand men, procured by diplomacy the comparative neutrality of the hill chiefs, and had his whole army within fifty miles of Kabul on October 1.

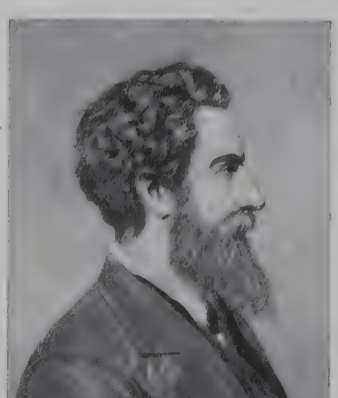
Here he was met by the unlucky Amir, who had no mind to complete the rôle of Shah Shuja, and came to place himself under the protection of the British Army; whereby the general was enabled to claim that he was acting on behalf of the lawful sovereign of Afghanistan. On October 6 the Afghan army disputed the passage of the invader at Charasiab. In spite of the risks, Roberts resolved to attack, and the great Afghan army was driven off the field with a loss of all its artillery. On the 11th Roberts was in Kabul. Early in November some reinforcements arrived for his small army; and he knew that for the winter he could expect no more assistance.

Roberts as Ruler of Afghanistan

On October 12 Yakoub Khan had expressed his determination to abdicate, but the general continued to act in his name until the Viceroy's views should be known. On the 28th the abdication was publicly proclaimed, and, with it, the assumption of control by the British Government until definite arrangements could be made. In effect, Roberts practically announced that he was the *de facto* ruler of Afghanistan, with a jurisdiction extending precisely as far as his troops could enforce it, and no further.

Meanwhile, a judicial commission was sitting for the punishment of individuals who had been responsible for the massacre, or guilty of offering treasonable resistance to the British troops while acting on behalf of the Amir. The evidence collected threw so much suspicion of passive, if not of active, complicity on Yakoub Khan himself that he was very soon sent down practically as a prisoner into British territory.

Roberts, however, was sufficiently well aware, first, that the apparent quiet among the Afghans would not last; and, secondly, that he and his force would remain in a state of isolation throughout the winter. Consequently, he established himself and his forces in the Sherpur cantonment in the immediate neighbourhood of Kabul. In December the expected storm rose. Roberts got information of what was brewing, and, in accordance with what he learnt, sent out Generals Macpherson and Baker in different directions, intending that Macpherson should catch the gathering Afghan force and drive it before him into Baker's arms. Subsequent intelligence necessitated a change in the movement; a cavalry detachment unexpectedly found itself face to face with the main Afghan force; and a disaster was only just avoided by hard fighting. It was avoided—for it had not then become customary to apply that term where the total casualties fell considerably short of a hundred. Three days later there was some more sharp fighting, of which the total result was in effect distinctly encouraging to the Afghans. It had become obvious that Roberts must stand definitely on the defensive at Sherpur. Here the attack on him was carried on with considerable vigour during the ensuing days, culminating on December 23. Roberts, however, had anticipated and prepared for an attack in force on that day, and the effect was that the great Afghan army was scattered to the winds. Roberts was again master of the Kabul district.



LORD LYTTON, VICEROY OF INDIA
Son of the great novelist, he was Viceroy of India from 1876 till 1880, holding this office when the Afghan War broke out.

Sir Donald Stewart at Kandahar had been too strong to be attacked. In March he was able to leave a portion of his force at Kandahar and to advance himself from Kandahar to Kabul. The whole of the intervening territory was hostile; and the march, carried out under great difficulties, was of the utmost value in the impression it produced upon the Afghans. No attempt was made to attack Stewart until he was approaching Ghazni. At Ahmed Khel, however, the enemy, who had gradually been accumulating in great force, suddenly hurled themselves upon the advancing column. Primarily, the battle took the shape of a desperate rush against the British lines of ghazis, or Mohammedan fanatics—men who were absolutely regardless of their own lives, and reckoned death on the battlefield as a direct passport into Paradise. So furious was the charge that the line was absolutely pierced for a moment. After the first shock of the onset, however, the British rallied, and their steady fire mowed down the ghazis. Before long they were completely broken; an hour's fighting saw the end of the battle. The Afghan army was shattered, and Stewart continued his march to Kabul.

The intention of the Government had been to retain the Kandahar province, under a separate governor, a second Sher Ali, and to evacuate the rest of Afghanistan as soon as a government could be established. The problem was to find an Amir. Yakoub Khan was out of the question; his brother Ayoub, at Herat, was violently hostile; the Government made up its mind to come to terms with a fresh claimant, Abdur Rahman, who was now asserting his title after having been for some years in banishment and a pensioner in Russia. It is not in the least likely that Abdur Rahman would have sat still for long with the British occupying Kandahar and a British Resident at Kabul.

Lord Ripon as Viceroy of India

It was just at this time (April, 1880) that Lord Beaconsfield's Administration gave place to Mr. Gladstone's. The Liberals had persistently attacked Lord Lytton and his policy, and were pledged in principle to that of Lord Lawrence; Lord Ripon replaced Lord Lytton as Viceroy. It was no longer intended to demand the presence of a British Resident; there was a disposition on the part of the Afghan sirdars to accept Abdur Rahman, who was officially recognised at the end of July, though it was impossible to say what degree of loyalty might be expected from the new Amir.

The whole Kabul force was on the point of withdrawal, when another change in the situation occurred. The restless Ayoub Khan at Herat had no intention of acknowledging any other Amir except Yakoub. There was no doubt that, sooner or later, Abdur Rahman would have to fight him. But Ayoub was not waiting to fight Abdur Rahman. In June he descended on Kandahar to drive out Sher Ali. Only a small British force had been left in Kandahar. Sher Ali's troops mutinied in July, and General Burrows found himself obliged to march out to deal with the approaching Ayoub on July 27. Burrows, with his brigade of about 2,500 men, gave battle to Yakoub at Maiwand. The battle was a melancholy disaster. Considerably more than one-third of the British force engaged were killed (when Afghans win a battle the list of wounded is small). The whole of the British forces had to be promptly withdrawn into Kandahar, which was rapidly placed in a state of defence.

When the news of Maiwand reached Kabul, Stewart and Roberts at once recognised the necessity for a march to the relief of Kandahar. It was arranged, with the assent of the authorities at Simla, that Roberts should take command of the relieving force of some 10,000 men, less than two-thirds being European. The equipment of the

LORD ROBERTS CROSSING THE ZAMBURAK KOTAL IN HIS FAMOUS MARCH FROM KABUL TO KANDAHAR IN 1880

This illustration represents one of the most famous episodes in British military history. When the news of the melancholy disaster at Maiwand reached Kabul, Sir Frederick Roberts, as he then was, set out for Kandahar, into which the British forces had withdrawn and which was in a state of siege. With 10,000 men under his command, less than two-thirds being European, he left Kabul on August 9 on the long march of 320 miles, through a hostile country. Taking only a day's halt on the way, Roberts and his men entered Kandahar on August 31, and on the following day they fought a hard battle and won a complete victory.

From the painting by Louis Desanges.

force was conditioned by the fact that speed was the first essential. On August 9 the march began. The whole distance is 320 miles. The route lay through a hostile country, from which the supplies would have to be largely supplemented. The value of Sir Donald Stewart's march from Kandahar to Kabul four months before was demonstrated by the fact that no attempt was made to check or to harass the advance of Roberts, but this in no way detracts from the praises due to the commander in the march from Kabul to Kandahar. In twenty days the army had covered 303 miles; it had taken only a single day's halt on the way, yet it arrived absolutely fit. It had never been attacked, but it had had to march in readiness for battle on any day, and almost at any moment. Between start and finish there was no news. Roberts and his column had vanished into darkness; when they emerged, the relief was immense. On August 31, Roberts entered Kandahar.

Ayoub Khan had taken up a strong position in the immediate neighbourhood. On the day of his arrival at Kandahar, Roberts made a reconnaissance; and on the day following, September 1, the decisive battle took place. It was not without hard fighting that the victory was won, but it was complete. The enemy's guns, his camp, and a great quantity of ammunition, fell into the hands of the victor; the Afghan army was scattered, and its leader a fugitive. The Battle of Kandahar is not one among the many examples of a victory gained by a small force against heavy odds. The numbers on the two sides were not far from equal; but there were more than 1,000 Afghans killed, and only 36 of the British. The object aimed at was completely achieved, and the battle ended the war.

The Victorious Battle of Kandahar

This episode had a further effect on the future arrangements of Afghanistan. For good or for evil, it was already a settled fact that Abdur Rahman was to be Amir of Afghanistan; it was a settled fact that the essential feature of the Lytton policy, the establishment of a British Resident at Kabul, had disappeared from the British programme. It was also settled, although necessarily in a somewhat less definite form, that the Amir was to enter upon no relations with a foreign Power, and that in the case of unprovoked aggression on the part of a foreign Power the British would give him such aid as should be necessary.

It was also settled that some of the advanced positions ceded under the Treaty of Gandamak should not be retained. But a question now arose which led to hot debate, and on which military opinion was divided.

Afghanistan's New Amir

Should Kandahar be retained, or should it not? Where the military experts differed, the civilian who ventured to deliver judgment would be a rash man; in fact, he could do little but follow the judgment of his favourite general. The judgments of the soldiers for or against were about equally emphatic. Political considerations, therefore, carried the day. The retention of Kandahar must have meant the maintenance of a large military force, and the persistence of a strong feeling of hostility amongst the Afghan population. It was equally certain that even if the Amir acquiesced it would be with a sense of grievance, a feeling that his dominion was dismembered, which would be by no means conducive to his loyalty.

These considerations decided the British Government to evacuate Kandahar at the earliest possible opportunity, and to leave Abdur Rahman to establish his own authority in his own dominions. The evacuation was completed early in 1881.

Abdur Rahman proved himself a ruler of the most effective Oriental type. His hand was strong, and, after one brief reverse, he crushed all active resistance. That the settlement of 1880 had its dangers need not be denied, but it may be claimed that it was justified by the event.

CHAPTER XLVI

BRITISH AFFAIRS AT HOME AND ABROAD, 1880-85

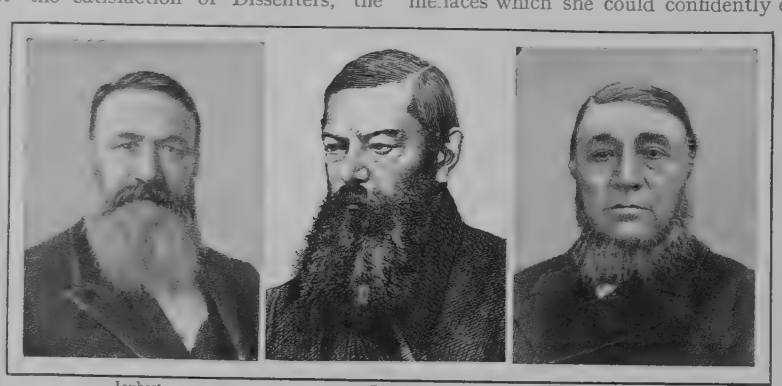
Surveying the Rebellion in South Africa, the Political Troubles in Ireland, the Fighting in Egypt and the Sudan, and the Great Crisis of the Liberal Party

AT an early stage of the Disraeli Administration Mr. Gladstone had retired from the leadership of the Liberal party, which had been placed in the hands of Lord Granville, Lord Hartington acting as leader in the House of Commons. Technically, therefore, when Lord Beaconsfield was defeated, it was to the official leaders of the Liberal party that the Queen was obliged to turn for the formation of a new Ministry. Obviously, however, it was not the official leaders, but the unofficial ex-leader who had won the election and whom the country expected to accept responsibility for the position which he had created. Gladstone was the only possible Prime Minister.

His task in forming a Cabinet was singularly difficult, not from a lack of capable colleagues, but from the plethora of persons entitled, in their own eyes at least, to claim recognition. Further, there were, as usual, exceedingly wide divergences between the different sections of the party, represented at one extreme by the thorough Whiggism of Lord Hartington, and the other by the vigorous Radicalism of Sir Charles Dilke and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain. In the Cabinet at its first formation there was an immense Whig predominance; and room was found in it for Mr. Chamberlain alone from the new Radical wing.

There had been great expectations among the Liberal and Radical rank and file of an era of "peace, retrenchment, and reform." But from the outset the new Government was assailed by unanticipated troubles. Consequently its product in domestic legislation was meagre. A Burials Bill for the satisfaction of Dissenters, the Hares and Rabbits Bill for the convenience of tenant farmers, and a permissive Employers' Liability Bill were, so far as concerned England, the fruit brought forth by the great Liberal majority. Considerable excitement was created by the proceedings of Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, who, as an aggressive unbeliever, desired to be allowed to make affirmation instead of taking the regular Parliamentary oath. This was held to be illegal; but when Mr. Bradlaugh proposed, in consequence, to take the oath as if nothing had happened, the majority of the House refused permission on the ground that they could not ignore his own declaration that the oath was meaningless. There were sundry scenes, in which the Sergeant-at-Arms played a conspicuous part, but Mr. Bradlaugh failed to achieve his object.

In fact, difficulties were pressing upon the Government from every side. It was hardly in the saddle when the disaster of Maiwand complicated the situation in Afghanistan, but it has already been seen how that affair was dealt with. In the Near East it had before it the duty of enforcing to the best of its ability the stipulations of the Berlin Congress. A bargain had then been arrived at which theoretically preserved the integrity of the Turkish Empire, in consideration of the acceptance, also theoretical, by the Turks of sundry obligations in respect of decent government and with regard to frontier questions. It was at this time that the idea of developing the Concert of Europe into an effective international machine began to be translated into action. Unfortunately, the Sultan very soon learnt that the machine was not in perfect working order, and that until it did get into working order he could generally count upon immunity. However, on the boundary questions he ultimately submitted to the demands of the Powers when they managed to come to an agreement among themselves. As far as concerned administration, Turkey continued unabashed to go her own way regardless of menaces which she could confidently expect to remain unexecuted. It was in her Egyptian dependency that this country was shortly to find itself involved in more serious complications.



Joubert Brand Kruger

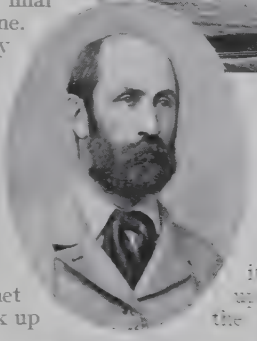
THREE NOTABLE FIGURES IN SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY

When, on December 16, 1880, the Transvaal burghers hoisted the flag of the Republic, Kruger and Joubert were, with Pretorius, elected to the provisional government. Hendrik Brand was President of the Orange Free State during the litigation as to the ownership of the diamond fields.

The problem which thrust itself more unexpectedly on immediate public attention was that of South Africa. The Transvaal burghers were bitterly disappointed when they found that the new Liberal Government had

no intention of reversing the policy which they had condemned in Opposition, and cancelling the annexation; the general principle being recognised in British politics that the accomplished fact is to be accepted, though the act which accomplished it may have been strongly disapproved. It is only in every extreme cases that any Government can set itself deliberately to undo the work of its predecessor. Nevertheless, before the end of 1880, opinion was gaining ground in the Cabinet that the annexation of the Transvaal had been one of those measures which do demand reconsideration. It had certainly been carried out on the hypothesis that the people of the Transvaal as a whole wished for it, or, at least, that the majority were acquiescent. Evidence was now being brought home that this was a misconception; that the Transvaal, on the whole, resented the annexation, and that a free people had been forced into subjection against their will.

The burghers, however, had accepted as final the initial declarations of Mr. Gladstone. They came to the conclusion that the only alternative left them was submission or defiance. On December 16, the anniversary of Dingan's Day, they hoisted the flag of the Republic, having nominated Kruger, Pretorius, and Joubert as a provisional government; and within a week they had compelled a small detachment of soldiers to surrender at Potchefstroom, and had cut up another small detachment at Bronkhorst Spruit.

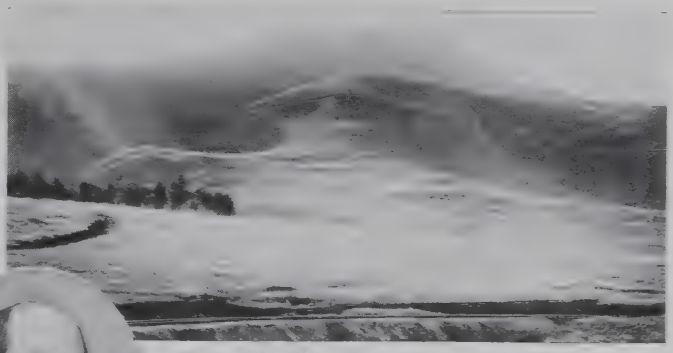


SIR GEORGE COLLEY

Whose force was defeated by the Boers at Laing's Nek on January 28, 1881, during the war in the Transvaal

Sir George Colley, who had taken Sir Garnet Wolseley's place, as a matter of course took up the task of suppressing the rebellion, while the Home Government were engaged in seeking a peaceful solution of the difficulty through Sir Hercules Robinson, who was now High Commissioner at the Cape, and President Brand, of the Orange Free State. With a force of about 1,000 men, Colley attempted to force his way from Natal into the Transvaal. While Sir Hercules Robinson was in hopeful communication with President Brand, Colley was meeting his first reverse, on January 28, at Laing's Nek. Ten days later he met with a second check, and then with a final disaster at Majuba Hill on February 27. On that memorable day his small force of regulars was knocked to pieces and completely routed by a still smaller force of the Transvaal farmers; Sir George Colley himself perished.

The Gladstone Government had already made up its mind to the retrocession of the Transvaal, from the point



THE NATAL HILL ON THE BATTLEFIELD OF MAJUBA

of view that the annexation itself had been essentially unjust and unnecessary, excusable only as a not unnatural result of what was now proved to have been a serious misconception. There were strong enough grounds on the other side for maintaining that, whether the annexation itself had been right or wrong, it had imposed upon the British Government obligations towards the Transvaal loyalists which forbade retrocession. Annexation had been unjust to one set of people; retrocession would be unjust to another set. The Government found the greater injustice in maintaining the annexation. Again, setting aside this question of ethics, it might be argued with almost equal force either that the peace of South Africa would be jeopardised unless the Boer farmers were kept under British control, or that it would be in perpetual jeopardy if that stubborn race were held in subjection against their will.

If there had been no Majuba the arguments on either side would have been so nicely balanced that the accident of personal bias would have been quite sufficient to turn the scales of judgment. But Majuba intervened, and the issue was completely transformed. Could the might of Great Britain calmly ignore the fact that she had been beaten in the field without incurring the utmost ignominy? The Government, of which Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain were prominent members, thought that she could. Assuming that it must be no less obvious to the Boers than to ourselves that Great Britain could crush them to powder if she chose; assuming, also, that our action would be attributed to a generous love of liberty, which could afford to ignore the risk of being misinterpreted as contemptible pusillanimity, the Government resolved to adopt a magnanimous rôle, which half the Boers and half the loyalists in South Africa, as well as the entire Opposition at home, promptly and unhesitatingly

THE NILE CAMPAIGN IN 1885: LORD CHARLES BERESFORD'S DASH FOR KHARTOUM

The above picture illustrates an incident in the Nile campaign of 1885, when General Gordon was shut up in Khartoum, bravely defending it against the savage hordes of the Mahdi. Making a dash up the Nile, he [illegible] reinforcements and reinforcements from Gordon, but he was too late to save the gallant leader. While [illegible] in active pursuit of the enemy, an expedition under the command of Lord Charles Beresford was despatched to their assistance, and sailing up the Nile on the steamer Safia, accomplished the journey [illegible] the party.

From the painting by [illegible]

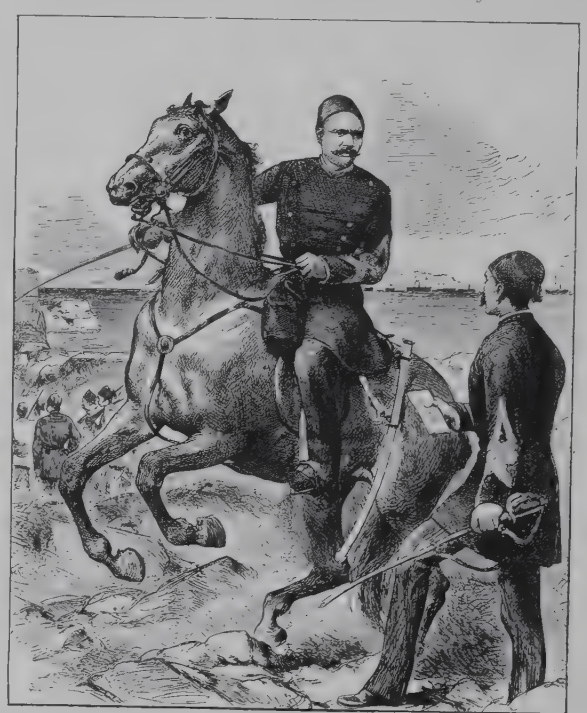
attributed to a despicable cowardice. Whereby a store of troubles was garnered for the future.

The world at large believed, and there was colour in the action of the Government for the belief, that the peace was granted in consequence, not in spite, of the Battle of Majuba. Immediately after the disaster an armistice was arranged, terms of peace were agreed upon with the Boer leaders, and the retrocession was accomplished under a convention which was ratified some months later. Under the convention the Transvaal Republic was to enjoy complete self-government within its own territory, of which the boundaries were definitely delimited. There was to be a British Resident at Pretoria, the capital of the Republic, and the suzerainty of Great Britain was expressly recognised. Two years later, the representations of the Boers, who sent a commission to London, brought about a modification of the convention, which was adopted in February, 1884. The Resident was withdrawn, and the emendations of the original clauses left the second convention without any express mention of British suzerainty. Explicitly, British control was asserted only over the external relations of the Transvaal Republic.

Independence for the Transvaal

While India, Turkey, and South Africa demanded a great deal of attention from the public and the Government for a long time after Mr. Gladstone's accession to power, it was Ireland which absorbed the time of Parliament, and occupied practically the whole of the domestic field. The Government had taken office apparently under the impression that for the time being, at least, Ireland would be contented by the non-renewal of the Peace Preservation Act; but while the official Opposition clamoured against this resignation of the one and only weapon by which law and order could be enforced, the Irish Home Rule members denounced with equal fervour the absence from the Government programme of any remedial measures. A Bill, however, was introduced intended to relieve the distress from which Ireland was suffering at the time. To this was added, at the instance of the Irish members, a supplementary Bill intended to secure to tenants compensation on eviction consequent on non-payment of rent due to genuine inability on the part of the tenant. The Bill passed the House of Commons, but was promptly and uncompromisingly rejected by the House of Lords. This rejection, coupled with the lapse of the Peace Preservation Act, had its immediate effect. Before the end of September a fresh reign of terror had set in in the agricultural districts; there were some murders and innumerable outrages; and that deadly system of persecution called "boycotting," from the name of its first conspicuous victim, was instituted. This consisted in the absolute isolation of the offender, who was cut off from every kind of intercourse and every kind of service.

For this state of things public opinion held the Land League responsible, although it proved next to impossible to bring home to its leaders any definite breaches of the law or explicit incitement thereto. On this followed the resolution of the Government to introduce in rapid succession a Coercion Bill, for the suppression of crime, and a Land Bill, which should cut at the root of the agrarian grievance. Coercion came first, and was fought fiercely by the method of organised obstruction by Parnell and his followers. There were stormy scenes in the House, resulting in the creation of drastic rules for terminating debates, and thirty-six Irish members were suspended at a blow. The Irish members were not in the least pacified by the introduction of a Land Bill which endeavoured to provide what were called the three F's—free sale, fixity of tenure, and fair rent. The fair rents were to be fixed by a Land Court to which tenants, or landlords and tenants acting in conjunction, might make application. The Irish members found themselves wholly dissatisfied, while on the other side the proposals appeared revolutionary and entirely subversive of the rights of property. The Bill, however, made its way through the House of Commons.



ARABI PASHA, THE REBEL EGYPTIAN COLONEL

In 1881, in the early days of European control in Egypt, the discontent due to the general distress following on Ismail's extravagance, and jealousy of the Turkish officers, resulted in the revolt of Arabi which had to be suppressed by the British.

But the Bill drove the Duke of Argyll to leave the Cabinet, and when it emerged from castigation by the House of Lords it was unrecognisable. The Commons restored it practically to its original shape, and a deadlock between the two Houses was only escaped by a compromise which no one viewed with satisfaction.

In this contest of parties the Conservatives suffered from the loss of the great man who for many years they had been compelled to follow, not without reluctance, until at last he had won their enthusiastic loyalty. On April 19, Lord Beaconsfield died after about a month's illness; his last important public utterance had been in the debate on the evacuation of Kandahar. His early political career had been that of an adventurer, trusted by none, but endowed with a caustic tongue which was feared by all. In his last years his genius had converted an anomalous leadership into a decisive ascendancy over the whole party of which he was the chief; after his death he received a sort of apotheosis, curiously different from that which was in store for the great personal antagonist who survived him for thirteen years. He embodied no tradition, but he represented for the public mind the conception of British Imperialism; and the flower which was reputed to be his favourite has become a party emblem.

Irish unrest and Outrages

The Land League and the Irish party took what the Gladstone Government offered them as being merely instalments of the larger demands which they intended to enforce, without any of that gratitude which was expected of them. Certainly there was no love lost between Liberal and Irish leaders. In Ireland outrages continued, and in England it was still felt that Parnell and the Land League were morally responsible for them. In October the Irish leaders were arrested and sent to Kilmainham. The reply

KING EDWARD'S TRIBUTE TO THE SOLDIER SON OF NAPOLEON III.

Fighting for the British in the Zulu War of 1879, the young Prince Imperial, heir of the ill-fated Napoleon III., died a soldier's death. The body was brought to England for burial, and the above illustration depicts its reception at Woolwich on July 10. The Prince of Wales, to whom the death of the young Prince came as a personal bereavement, is standing in the foreground, while the Duc de Bassano is affixing the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour to the pall. Two days later, when the remains were laid to rest at Chislehurst, the Prince of Wales walked beside the coffin. In 1888 the remains of the soldier Prince, together with those of his father, were removed to the mausoleum at Farnborough Hill, near Aldershot.

Specially drawn for this work by T. Walter Wilson, R.I.

was a "no-rent" manifesto. To this again the answer was the pronouncement that the league was an illegal organisation, and was to be completely suppressed. The new Land Act came into operation; nevertheless, outrages multiplied. In the spring of 1882 Lord Salisbury, who had become the effective leader of the Conservative party since the death of Lord Beaconsfield in the previous year, moved the House of Lords to appoint a Committee to inquire into the Land Act. In Lord Beaconsfield's Conservatism there had always been a strong democratic mixture; by temperament and conviction Lord Salisbury was thoroughly anti-democratic, and to his leadership may be attributed the systematic development of the activity of the House of Lords as a counterpoise to the democratic development in the House of Commons. The movement, however, had been initiated with the rejection of the Compensation for Disturbances Bill while Lord Beaconsfield was still at the head of the party.

ALEXANDRIA: THE SEAPORT OF EGYPT AND ITS OLDEST LIVING CITY
During the rebellion of Arabi Pasha, in 1882, the British fleet, under Admiral Seymour, bombarded and destroyed the harbour forts.

It was very soon after this that the events occurred which are known as the "Kilmainham Treaty." The Irish leaders were released from prison, following upon some communications between them and certain members of the Government. The whole of the circumstances can be interpreted according to the personal taste and party bias of the inquirer; in accordance with which the transaction will appear perfectly legitimate or monstrously corrupt. Mr. Forster, who objected to the release of the Irish leaders, resigned the post of Chief Secretary for Ireland, to which Lord Frederick Cavendish was appointed. The Government undertook to bring in a Bill for the relief of tenants whose rents were in arrear, and there was certainly an understanding that the released leaders would exert their influence to check outrages.

But the leaders had hardly been released when Irish affairs were torn further than ever from the sphere of rational discussion and consideration by a peculiarly sensational crime. The new Irish Secretary, while walking in Phœnix Park with the Under-Secretary, Mr. Burke, was murdered with his companion, the assassins escaping undetected. In consequence, a new and exceedingly stringent Crimes Bill was introduced side by side with the Arrears Bill. Point by point the one Bill was fought by the Irish members, and the other by the official Opposition. Both were carried. But practically the only apparent change under the new Lord-Lieutenant and Chief Secretary, Lord Spencer and Mr. Trevelyan, was that it ceased to be impossible to obtain convictions against the perpetrators of agrarian outrages. The Land League had disappeared, but it was replaced by the National League, which was more expressly political and less agrarian in its avowed aims than its predecessor. A fresh sensation was provided at the begining of 1883 by the revelations of James Carey, an informer, with regard to the secret society calling themselves Invincibles; revelations which led to the detection and execution of the perpetrators of the Phœnix Park murders. The Irish Crimes and Arrears Bills were carried during July, 1882.

At the moment when the Crimes Bill was passing through its last stage, the British public was suddenly awakened to the fact that events of some importance were going on elsewhere by the news that the British fleet was bombarding Alexandria, an operation which was to have momentous results, though there were probably very few people in this country who had any more lucid idea of what it was all about than old Kaspar had in connection with Blenheim.

Egypt was a dependency of the Turkish Empire. During the previous decade the indebtedness of the Khedive Ismail had necessitated the establishment of a joint control by France and Great Britain, the principal creditors, over Egyptian finances. Control over finance inevitably involves some dictation in administrative matters, none the less that such dictation may pretend to be no more than serious advice. Besides this Anglo-French dual control there was the Turkish control; while the Government subjected to these conflicting controls was the Egyptian Government of the Khedive Tewfik, Ismail's successor. Naturally, under such circumstances there were Egyptian politicians and military adventurers who developed ambitions of their own. A military party, headed by Colonel Ahmed Arabi, under colour of Nationalism, but with secret support from Constantinople, succeeded in dominating the Khedive, and forcing on him a Ministry in which Arabi himself was the Minister for War. The primary motive of the Ministry appeared to be antagonism to the European ascendancy. The state of affairs was becoming anarchical, and the situation of Christians in general and Europeans in particular was growing critical.

Intervention of some sort seemed necessary both to French and British. French policy at the moment was controlled by Gambetta; England, with some reluctance, followed Gambetta's lead, and the two Powers sent a joint note to the Khedive. The only effect was to give the more colour to the nationalist professions of the Arabi Ministry. The more obviously the foreigners interfered, the more thoroughly they played into the hands of Arabi. Under pressure from England, a European conference was called to deal with the situation, but events forced England into independent action.

Alexandria occupied by the British

Arabi's attitude was daily becoming more aggressively hostile. He was erecting fortifications at Alexandria which threatened the European fleets then present, disregarding warnings and threats from Admiral Seymour. At length the admiral came to the conclusion that Arabi's proceedings must be stopped by force. The French did not concur, and steamed out of the harbour. On July 11, 1882, the admiral bombarded the forts and proceeded to occupy the city.

It was now obvious that intervention must be carried a great deal further. There could be no more peace in Egypt until Arabi and his army ceased to be factors in the situation. Great Britain had begun the affair single-

handed, though nothing had been further from her intention than to do so; and single-handed she was left to carry it through. There was no lack of energy, in which the British Government received general support. An expedition was promptly organised, and placed under the command of Sir Garnet Wolseley. More troops were brought from India. Sir Garnet's plans were carried out practically without a hitch, and on September 13 Arabi's forces were shattered at Tel-el-Kebir. Cairo was occupied, and Arabi himself taken prisoner.

The re-building of Egypt

The position thus reached was curious. Great Britain had knocked the whole Egyptian system to pieces on her own responsibility, and the creation of a new system was a serious problem. Egypt certainly could not be left to reconstruct itself. It was practically recognised on all hands, except perhaps in France, that England had done only what had to be done, and was morally mistress of the situation. If she had chosen either to annex Egypt or to establish a protectcrate she would not have exceeded her rights. France could not colourably claim a renewal of the dual control, while it was in the interest of all Europe that Egypt should be properly governed. The British Government, however, would have nothing to say to annexation, and disliked the idea of a protectorate; but if England did not assume effective control herself she must allow some other European Power, or Powers, to do so, which was out of the question. Therefore she tried to assume effective control, and, at the same time, to persuade herself that she was merely adopting a temporary expedient which would terminate as soon as the Egyptian Government could stand without her support. So she reinstated the authority of the Khedive, while constituting herself an adviser whose responsibility would compel her to insist on her advice being carried out.

THE ASSASSINATION OF LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH AND MR. BURKE IN PHŒNIX PARK

For this dastardly outrage, committed in Phœnix Park, Dublin, on May 6, 1882, twenty men were brought to trial, and five of them suffered the extreme penalty of the law.

At the close of 1882, then, Lord Dufferin was sent to Egypt to inaugurate the new system. The dual control of the finances was abolished, under protest from France. Arabi was tried by court-martial, and deported to Ceylon; an English financial adviser, a controller of public works, and a controller of judicial reforms were appointed, and General Evelyn Wood was entrusted with the task of creating the nucleus of an efficient Egyptian army. Major Evelyn Baring (now Lord Cromer) was appointed Agent and Consul-General, a position which he subsequently converted into that of regenerator of Egypt.

The year 1883 saw some useful but not exciting legislation at home in the Bankruptcy Act, the Corrupt Practices Act, and the Agricultural Holdings Act in the interests of tenants. Gladstone endeavoured to get rid of the Bradlaugh problem by a Bill permitting affirmation; but the House rejected it, regarding it in the light merely of a Bradlaugh Relief Bill, and having no desire to relieve Mr. Bradlaugh, who remained excluded until there was a new Parliament which had no official knowledge of his peculiar views. India was greatly excited by a measure known as the Ilbert Bill, giving magistrates jurisdiction in cases affecting Europeans, a proposal which caused an unfortunate recrudescence of racial antipathies. At home much perturbation was also caused by a dynamite scare, owing to sundry abortive attempts to explode infernal machines and the discovery of a dynamite factory; although happily no lives were lost.

But while British officials were hard at work on Egyptian reorganisation, trouble was brewing in the Egyptian Sudan. The Sudan, we may remark, is the name applied to a belt of territory extending right across Africa, though in common parlance it is usually understood to mean only the western portion lying to the south of Egypt proper, over which the Egyptian Government claimed to exercise dominion, though of a thoroughly ineffective character. The British from the outset definitely refused to accept any responsibility for maintaining Egyptian control over this region. Now, in 1883, a certain fanatic, named Mohammed Ahmed, rose up, calling himself the Mahdi, the successor and representative of the great prophet of Islam. Mohammedan fanaticism gathered about him in those anarchical regions; and very soon the Mahdi and his dervishes were threatening to make themselves masters of the whole Egyptian Sudan. The Egyptian Government elected to embark upon a hopeless attempt to recover its supremacy. Hicks Pasha, an Englishman in the Egyptian service, led a miscellaneous force of 12,000 so-called soldiers from Khartoum to disperse the Mahdi's followers; by whom, instead, they were themselves annihilated. The Sudan was left practically at the mercy of the Mahdi, and there was every probability that he would soon turn his arms against Egypt itself and become the head and centre of a fanatical revival of aggressive Mohammedanism. The British imposed upon Tewfik a Ministry, headed by Nubar Pasha, which prepared to carry out the policy of evacuating the Sudan and fixing Egypt's southern boundary at Wady Halfa.

But the withdrawal of the garrisons was no easy task; and the eyes of the British Government turned upon the one man who might be able to solve the problem before them, Charles George Gordon. Gordon's career had been almost as exceptional as his character. A good many people had heard of "Chinese Gordon," who had done remarkable things during the Taeping rebellion in China; and of Gordon Pasha who had somehow become Governor-General of the Sudan, and had done remarkable things there among the slave traders. But in a general way the public, indeed, knew very little about him. Now its imagination was to be suddenly gripped by the personality

of the Puritan mystic, soldier and saint, absolutely selfless, caring for nothing but to serve God, and yet endowed with an extraordinary power of controlling men. Gordon was one of those men born with a power of accomplishing apparently impossible things by methods which to any other man would be impossible, and of solving insoluble problems by setting at naught all normal human calculations. But such men can be utilised in one way only; by giving them absolute control over everything connected with the task entrusted to them. As surbordinates, in any position where they are fettered, they are worse than useless.

Gordon's Mission in the Sudan

If Gordon was to go to the Sudan, it should have been on the express understanding that those who commissioned him placed themselves in his hands, at whatever risk, and that they would do blindly whatsoever he demanded of them. But these were not the terms on which Gordon was sent; probably no Government would ever have dared to send any man on those terms. The result was that Gordon, on reaching the Sudan, made demands which to the official mind appeared to be midsummer madness, instead of obeying instructions that appeared to him to be foolishness. Again the result was that Gordon found himself shut up in Khartoum; the sole European there, after he had despatched his two comrades down the river, only to be murdered by the hands of traitors. The British Government found itself called upon to send an army to rescue the man whom they had sent to effect the evacuation of the Sudan.

GENERAL GORDON

Governor of the Sudan from 1877 till 1879, he was reappointed after the rise of the Sudan Mahdi, and returned to that country in 1884, only to meet a tragic fate at Khartoum in the following year.

The power of the Mahdi was waxing; one after another of the garrisons was captured; the only checks met by his lieutenant, Osman Digma, were inflicted by the hands of Sir Gerald Graham's small force, which could do little beyond making Suakim secure. But it was imperative that Gordon should be rescued.

Before the end of March the Mahdi's forces were already surging round Khartoum; and no long time had elapsed before it was clear that a relief expedition would be imperative. But weary month after weary month passed while the authorities debated whether the proper route for the expedition would be by the river or by way of Suakim and Berber. In the end the river route won, and on September 1, Lord Wolseley sailed from England to take command. There was no lack of energy now in carrying out the programme; the one monstrous blunder had been in the interminable delay over deciding what the nature of the expedition should be. Then began a desperate race against time. When, in December, the expedition had travelled up the Nile as far as Korti, Sir Herbert Stewart was despatched with a column overland to Metemma, thus cutting off a great loop of the river. On the way there were two sharp fights at Abu Klea and Gubat. By these the advance was hardly delayed; but Stewart was killed, and the command devolved upon Sir Charles Wilson. Rightly or wrongly, but at any rate for sound military reasons, four days passed before Wilson's force embarked on two steamers which had come down from Khartoum, to make its way up the Rapids and rescue Gordon. On the 28th they came in sight of Khartoum; but the flag was no longer flying. Two days earlier the dervishes had rushed the place, and Gordon was dead. There was nothing more to be done. The Sudan was abandoned till the time should arrive for the reconquest.

Another question had been occupying public attention at home throughout the summer and autumn of 1884. Lord Derby's Reform Bill had enfranchised the working man in the towns; but it had left the agricultural labourer still unrepresented. The Liberals had come to the conclusion that the time had arrived for completing the democratic character of the House of Commons by another Franchise Bill. The Opposition were divided, some of them, at any rate, declining to resist the proposed extension of the franchise on its own merits. In the Liberal ranks there was some disagreement on the question whether Ireland should receive the same treatment as England and Scotland. But the extension of the franchise necessarily involved a redistribution of seats; and it was claimed by the Opposition that the two questions should not be separated. The Government declined to take the two measures together. The Opposition could not defeat the Franchise Bill in the House of Commons; but the declarations of Lord Salisbury pointed to a probability that the Lords would again come forward to counteract the democratic influences prevailing in the Second Chamber.

If the Franchise Bill were passed, and Parliament, now in its fifth year, were dissolved, it could hardly be doubted that the new voters enfranchised by the Liberals would ensure their being again returned to power. If a dissolution could be forced and the new Parliament chosen by the existing electorate, that result would be by no means so certain, in view of the many events which had tended to discredit the present Government. It appeared that Lord Salisbury was determined to throw down the challenge. The Liberals angrily denounced the doctrine that the Peers had a right to force a dissolution, and declared that the position of the Upper House in the Constitution would stand self-condemned if it made itself the instrument of a political party. Nevertheless, the Lords, though not in set terms rejecting the Bill, met its introduction by a resolution requiring security that it should not come into operation except as part of a complete scheme. Gladstone thereupon announced that the Bill would be for the moment withdrawn, but only to be reintroduced in an autumn session.

VISCOUNT WOLSELEY

When Sir Garnet Wolseley, he was in charge of the expedition sent to assist General Gordon. Relief, however, came too late, the gallant soldier having fallen two days before the relieving force came in sight of Khartoum.

When Parliament met for its autumn session the Bill was carried through its stages in the Lower House; but when it was introduced to the Lords, it was announced that, provided the Bill were passed, the Government would undertake to bring in the Redistribution Bill forthwith, and, so far as possible, to give in that Bill legitimate play to the views of the Opposition. In other words, the Redistribution Bill was not to be a party measure. The fundamental change lay in the adoption of the principle that, with very few exceptions, each constituency should return a single member; coupled with which was the disfranchisement of all boroughs with a population of less than 15,000. The Redistribution Bill was introduced in the House of Commons; the Franchise Bill was thereupon

Surprising result of General Election.

THE COMING-OF-AGE OF THE VOLUNTEERS: THE PRINCE OF WALES AT THE GREAT WINDSOR REVIEW IN 1881

As has already been seen in earlier chapters of this work, King Edward was an enthusiastic supporter of the Volunteer movement from its very inception, himself becoming an officer in its ranks and assisting it in many ways. A great review of the English battalions took place before Queen Victoria at Windsor, July 7, 1881, and in the above illustration the Prince of Wales is seen riding on this occasion at the head of the Honourable Artillery Company, in which he held the rank of Captain-General.

Specially drawn for this work by T. Walter Wilson, R.I.

promptly passed in the House of Lords; the Redistribution Bill followed it practically without opposition in both Houses; and the storm was averted.

Lord Salisbury again in office

The events of the opening months of 1885 were very damaging to the stability of the Government; there was no doubt at all that there were wide divergences of opinion within the party on the Irish question. When the Budget was introduced it was defeated on the second reading, and the Ministry resigned.

The Conservatives accepted office, and Lord Salisbury became Prime Minister. In effect there was no palpable change of policy. It was discovered that, after all, a Coercion Act was not necessary to the government of Ireland; and a Conservative Ministry could without serious difficulty pass Lord Ashbourne's Act to facilitate land purchase in Ireland, on lines which would have been severely enough condemned if the measure had been introduced by a Liberal Ministry. In August Parliament was dissolved.

The result of the General Election was a surprise. In reply to overtures from Mr. Parnell, Gladstone had entirely declined to commit himself to a definite policy in Ireland, declaring that that must wait until Ireland made her own wishes clear by the elections. Ireland spoke quite distinctly. Every Liberal candidate was defeated, and eighty-five Parnellites were returned. Of all the members of the House of Commons precisely one half were Liberals; and it was obvious that the Irish party were in a position to paralyse any Government whatever. When Parliament opened in January, the Government took the bull by the horns and declared its intention of reverting to coercion. It was defeated on an amendment to the Address moved by Mr. Jesse Collings, and Lord Salisbury resigned.

It was no easy task for Gladstone to form a Cabinet. He had at once to face the refusal of some of the most prominent of his old colleagues to join him; and the moment that his scheme for Home Rule became more definite Mr. Chamberlain, and for a time Mr. Trevelyan, joined the revolt. Nevertheless, Mr. Gladstone was resolute. If there were many men of the highest eminence and of the greatest political weight who refused to go with him, yet the majority of the party were prepared to stand by him, and there were brilliant names among those who joined his Cabinet. Mr. Gladstone's scheme was to associate the Home Rule with a Land Bill, intended to secure justice for landowners as well as tenants, but at an immense cost to the British taxpayer. Under his scheme for an Irish Parliament, Ireland was no longer to be represented in the Imperial Legislature, which was to retain complete control of all Imperial affairs. The attack on the Home Rule Bill centred on this proposal to abolish the Irish representation at Westminster, which was looked upon as explicitly depriving Ireland of her partnership in the Empire and leading directly to its dismemberment. The Land Bill was to enable the landowners to sell their estates to the British Government at twenty years' purchase; and the enormous expenditure involved, apart from all other considerations, was sufficient to create a powerful opposition even among those who in the abstract were in favour of the theory of land purchase. The Home Rule Bill was defeated, and Mr. Gladstone again appealed to the country. Seventy-eight Liberal Unionists were returned; the Conservatives by themselves outnumbered Gladstonians and Parnellites together; and it was clear that no Government would be possible except that of the Conservatives supported by Liberal Unionists. Mr. Gladstone resigned, and Lord Salisbury again took office. It was during the last part of the period which has been under review in this chapter that those discoveries of gold were made in the Transvaal which were later to have such serious results in South Africa.

The Home Rule Bill Defeated

THE DECISIVE BATTLE OF TEL-EL-KEBIR WHICH CRUSHED THE REBELLION OF ARABI PASHA

From the drawing by R. Caton Woodville

KING EDWARD VII IN HIGHLAND COSTUME

From a photograph by W. & D. Downey

CHAPTER XLVII

PERSONAL HISTORY OF KING EDWARD, 1876-85

The Ten Busy Years following the Memorable Visit to India and the Activities of the Prince of Wales in Public Life during that Period

WHEN the Prince of Wales returned from his memorable tour in India, he came back to take up a life of steady toil. For twenty-five years he laboured unceasingly as the representative of his mother in Society. A rough calculation shows that on an average during the period that he was Prince of Wales he opened public works, laid foundation stones, and inaugurated other civic enterprises to the number of over a hundred per annum. In addition to this, he was continually taking the place of Queen Victoria at purely State functions, and at the same time living to the full the life of a private gentleman. Those years after his return from India were full of unremitting hard work. To attempt any detailed list of his doings is altogether out of the question, nor would such a list serve the purpose of portraying the Prince who was afterwards Edward the Seventh. It is sufficient to state the fact that he was never idle; that he performed what he had to do with unfailing tact and good-humour; that he was always the Prince who was never bored; that he executed his innumerable tasks with zest, high spirits, and natural dignity. Of his life between the years 1876 and 1885 it will be sufficient to mention some of the chief of his public acts and domestic doings.

After the special thanksgiving service in Westminster Abbey, the banquet and ball given by the Corporation of London, and the concert at the Albert Hall to mark his safe return from India, the Prince reviewed thirty thousand Volunteers in Hyde Park. In the same year the interest he had always taken in all work that tended to ameliorate human suffering was first marked by his practical efforts on behalf of various hospitals. He was told that the Norfolk Hospital was in a very bad financial condition, and that unless funds could be obtained the hospital would have to be closed. The Prince immediately exercised all his great influence to prevent such a catastrophe. At his instigation, a committee, of which he accepted the presidency, was formed. A meeting was held, and from the presidential chair the Prince made a speech which was circulated widely throughout the country. It was a speech couched in simple, vigorous language, full of deep sympathy, and containing a note of earnest appeal to which no one who heard it could remain deaf. It roused the people, and in two days the £35,000 that was required had been fully subscribed. Shortly afterwards the Prince again demonstrated the high esteem in which he held all medical charities—an interest which culminated in after years in the formation of the King Edward's Hospital Fund—by opening a new wing of the Charing Cross Hospital.

How delicate and difficult some of the tasks were which the Prince of Wales was called upon to perform was admirably illustrated by an incident which occurred in 1877. For some years now the question of the drink traffic has divided the country into two strong parties. There are those, who, while regretting the abuse of alcohol, see no harm in its moderate use. There are those, on the other hand, who, appalled by the evils that have arisen from drink, advocate its avoidance entirely. It happened that in the year 1877 the Licensed Victuallers' Asylum was to hold its jubilee festival. The organisers of this festival approached the Prince of Wales to ask him to be present and to lend his support to what was a very fine and noble charity. The Prince willingly accepted the invitation, but, unfortunately, a certain section of total abstainers construed his acceptance as a proof that he was lending the support of the Crown to the hated "Trade." For quite a long time before the jubilee festival actually took place a perfect howl of rage was raised in certain papers, in which the Prince was roundly denounced. He took no notice of this ridiculous storm, and on the appointed day appeared as he had promised. There he gave an illustration of his extraordinary tact and good-sense. In the course of a little speech he referred to the reason why he was there at all. It was not, he said,

KING EDWARD IN THE YEAR 1884
From a photograph by Russell & Sons

because he was an advocate of the sale of strong drink, but because he wished to support a charity deserving of all encouragement. After that his detractors had nothing left to say.

In the following year, 1878, the Prince was exceptionally busy. The International Paris Exhibition was held in the summer, and the Prince accepted the position of Chief of the British Commission. Here he showed his really remarkable business ability. To all the details of the work he gave personal attention, seeing that everything was carried out well and promptly, and so inspiring all concerned with his example that the British section proved a triumphant success. This year closed with a sad family loss—one that was particularly trying to the Prince. On December 14, the seventeenth anniversary of the Prince Consort's death, his beloved sister, Princess Alice, the Grand Duchess of Hesse, passed away, as the result of diphtheria contracted while nursing one of her children. Between the Prince of Wales and the Princess Alice there had always been a strong bond of affection. She had come over from Germany during his illness, and had remained with him, nursing him tenderly, until he was out of danger. How highly she valued his brotherly affection is illustrated again and again in her letters. In 1875, after the death of the only child of Sir George Grey, then equerry to the Prince at Sandringham, she had written to Queen Victoria to say how much she sympathised with her brother. "Dear Bertie's true and constant heart suffers on such occasions, for he can be constant in friendship, and all who serve him serve him with warm attachment."

When the Prince heard that she was dead, he hastened to Darmstadt, and remained there until the one he had loved so well was laid to rest in the mausoleum at the Rosenhöhe. Yet another blow was sustained six months later in the death of his friend the young Prince Imperial, heir of the ill-fated Napoleon III., who was killed in Zululand while fighting for England. To the Empress Eugénie, who had lost her husband, her crown, and now her son—the one hope left her of a return to the days of Imperial splendour—the Prince showed by every means in his power how great was his sympathy and how much he felt her loss. He expressly went down to Chislehurst to help in making the arrangements for the funeral, and on July 12, the day on which the remains of the young Prince were laid to rest, he walked beside the coffin. One of the most conspicuous wreaths that covered the bier was that from the Prince of Wales and his gracious consort. It bore the following inscription in the Princess of Wales's own handwriting: "A token of affection and regard to him who lived the most spotless of lives, and died a soldier's death fighting for our cause in Zululand. From Albert Edward and Alexandra, July 12, 1879."

A few weeks after this sad event the Prince bade his two sons, the Duke of Clarence and Prince George, farewell before they started on their famous trip round the world in the Bacchante, under the care of their governor, the Rev. J. N. Dalton. The cruise lasted for three years, and it was not until 1882, after they had visited North and South America, Ceylon, China, Japan, Australia, the Pacific Islands, South Africa, and the West Indies, and had covered some fifty thousand miles, that the Prince saw them again. It may be noted here that on their return the Duke of Clarence was sent to Cambridge, while Prince George, at his earnest request, was wisely allowed to continue his career in the Navy.

QUEEN ALEXANDRA AND THE FUTURE KING GEORGE
From a photograph by W. & D. Downey

Among the many public acts of the Prince at this time which call for particular notice was the opening of the recreation ground at Whitechapel in the spring of 1880. Accompanied by the Princess, he went down in State to the East End, receiving a tremendous reception of welcome from the delighted inhabitants. The costers, in particular, turned out in force, decked in their most gorgeous garments, and both the Prince and Princess were highly amused and pleased with their cheers and quaint remarks. In the following year the Prince paid a visit to Berlin and Vienna, after which he travelled to France. Here, in Paris, he had a famous interview with Gambetta, the hero of the Army of the Loire, who had just been appointed Prime Minister of the Republican Government. Gambetta, who had embarked upon a militant policy, having for its avowed object the winning back of the lost provinces of Alsace and Lorraine from Germany, wanted the support, or at least the neutrality, of England. He made it his business to meet the Prince, hoping to sound him on the subject. The Prince, who was never tired of his fellow-creatures—of exploring the recesses of their personality and the extent of their experiences—was equally eager for the interview. The two men, therefore, met. The first few minutes of their meeting, however, were distressingly unpromising. Gambetta was slovenly in appearance, and seemed a little vulgar in his bearing. For a few moments the Prince was plainly uncomfortable. Then his instinct for understanding men asserted itself. Suddenly Gambetta's awkwardness began to vanish. He began to talk—every moment more freely. Finally, he was speaking quite naturally, as only he could speak—absorbingly, fascinatingly. The Prince listened, captive and spellbound. Déjeûner had been fixed for noon. At six o'clock the conversation

KING EDWARD AND THE NAVY: PRINCE ALBERT VICTOR AND PRINCE GEORGE JOINING THE BRITANNIA

To King William IV. is attributed the saying that "there is no place in the world for making an English gentleman like the quarterdeck of an English man-of-war," and much the same view was evidently held by his great-nephew, King Edward, who, in 1877, took an important step with regard to the education of his two sons, entering them on the Britannia as naval cadets. The visit of his Royal Highness, with Prince Albert Victor and Prince George, to the Britannia, at Dartmouth, October 18, 1877, is the subject of the above illustration.

Specially drawn for this work by T. Walter Wilson, R.I.

QUEEN ALEXANDRA AND HER CHILDREN IN 1880
From a photograph by W. & D. Downey

between the two men that had begun so awkwardly had not ended.

On his return from France the Prince took part in what was destined to be the beginning of that Imperial propaganda which has served to draw still closer the vast and scattered Empire of the British Crown. It happened that the then Lord Mayor of London, Sir George McArthur, was an old colonist, and, taking a natural interest in colonial affairs, he invited to dinner the members of the Colonial Institute. Among the guests was the Prince of Wales, and, after the dinner was concluded, he rose in his place and made a speech, which was regarded by everybody as remarkable for its aptness of phrase and the note it struck of Imperial union. Recalling the enthusiasm with which he had been received in Canada and Newfoundland, and regretting that he had been unable to accept invitations from Australia and South Africa, where his sons had been, he went on to point out that that meeting was a good augury for the future of the British Empire. Never before, he said, had representatives of every colony of the Empire met together at one time, and he hoped that the spirit in which they met would extend to every part of the British dominion, and help to link together all the peoples who lived under the British flag. By this means, he said, the peace of the world would be best maintained and the steady progress of civilisation assured. Ultimately, five years later, the Prince inaugurated a subscription for the founding of a Colonial and Indian Institute as a fitting memorial of Queen Victoria's Jubilee.

King Edward and the Colonies

The same year, 1881, death removed two of the Prince's oldest friends—Dean Stanley, for whom he had cherished a deep affection and regard since his early boyhood days, and Lord Beaconsfield. The assassination, also, of Alexander III. of Russia, "the Liberal Tsar," with whom he had always been on terms of friendship, came as a staggering blow to him. In the following year the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish in Phœnix Park, Dublin, removed yet another from the circle of his friends. The death of the Duke of Albany, which occurred on March 28, 1884, was yet another blow. The Duke, who was only in his thirty-first year, had gone to Cannes for the benefit of his health. There an accidental fall downstairs led to an infusion of blood in the brain and an epileptic convulsion, with a fatal ending. Though the Duke had not taken any conspicuous part in the affairs of State, it was remarked that whenever he did speak on any ceremonial occasion his speech attracted universal attention on account of its intellectual character and its genuine eloquence. The Prince, who brought back the remains from Cannes, deeply mourned the loss of his brother, and for a time even his equably balanced mind was overcast with gloom.

Death of the Duke of Albany

Before this last sad event the Prince had made a notable visit to Germany, to attend, in 1883, the silver wedding celebrations of the Crown Prince and Princess of Germany, his brother-in-law and sister. On this occasion he was created a field-marshal of the German Army. Meanwhile, he was paying unremitting attention to the duties that had been thrust upon him by the practical retirement of Queen Victoria from social life. His great interest in all social work which tended to improve the conditions of the poorer classes seemed to increase as time went on. He became a keen advocate of the establishment of parks and open spaces and of all proposals for the improvement of the people's health. He entered with zest, too, into the promotion of the great series of exhibitions which began with the Fisheries Exhibition in 1883. He worked hard to

ANOTHER PORTRAIT GROUP TAKEN THREE YEARS LATER
From a photograph by W. & D. Downey

"THE FOUR PRINCES"

From a photograph by Mr. Robert Milne, reproduced by permission of the London Stereoscopic Company.

This photograph of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh, H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, and H.R.H. the Duke of Albany, was taken at Abergeldie on September 1, 1881, during the residence of the Prince of Wales at Abergeldie Castle.

KING EDWARD BECOMES A "SAVAGE": HIS ELECTION AS A MEMBER OF A FAMOUS CLUB

As an example of the thorough manner in which King Edward, when Prince of Wales, entered into the social life of the metropolis, it is interesting to recall that in February, 1882, he honoured the Savage Club, that famous Bohemian circle of men of letters and the arts, by presiding over one of their celebrated gatherings and allowing himself to be elected a member of the club. He is seen in the above illustration, specially drawn by an artist who was a member of the club at the time, presiding over the gathering, and with the familiar knobkerrie, which is the Savage chairman's wand of office, calling the attention of his brother Savages to the fact that they were now permitted to smoke. King George V., when Prince of Wales, followed the example of his illustrious father by doing the same honour to the Savage Club.

Specially drawn for this work by T. Walter Wilson, R.I.

make this a success and to ensure that it should provide entertainment and instruction alike for the people. At his instigation the Fisheries Exhibition was followed in 1884 by the Exhibition of Health and Hygiene, known at the time as " the Healtheries." In 1884 the prominent position which his knowledge of social problems had acquired for him as a man, apart from his title of Prince of Wales, caused him to be appointed, with unanimous approval, president of the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Poor. At all the meetings of the Commission he attended with unfailing regularity, and his knowledge and business ability were never seen to better advantage than while he was occupying this position. There are hundreds of stories of how, when various prominent persons were giving their evidence and some friction had been aroused by the introduction of some contentious matter, a plain, common-sense remark from the presidential chair would solve the difficulty and reduce the meeting once more to a state of equable temper. In order that the work should be carried out properly, the Prince made it his business to visit the poorest and most degraded quarters of the metropolis. Here, incognito, sometimes quite alone, he would gain his information first hand, and at subsequent meetings of the Commission give the members the benefit of his inquiries.

King Edward Among the Poor

The Prince followed up his work on the Commission by taking an active interest in the housing work of the London County Council. In the years under review he never refused a single invitation to open a block of workmen's dwellings, nor failed on such occasions to speak from the fulness of his own knowledge of what was most needed to solve the difficult question of housing. In 1885 the news reached England that Khartoum had fallen, and that the heroic General Gordon was dead. The Prince of Wales, who had a whole-hearted admiration for Gordon, took an active part in deciding what form the national memorial should take in honour of the great Christian soldier. It had been proposed that some memorial of the ordinary decorative kind should be erected. To this suggestion the Prince was opposed. It seemed to his good, common-sense mind that such memorials were but a waste of public money, and that, at any rate, a memorial to such a man as General Gordon should be of a more lasting and useful character. He proposed that a hospital or a sanatorium should be erected in Egypt which should be open to persons of all nationalities, and he followed this up by attending frequently at the meetings of the Gordon Memorial Committee which had been appointed to consider the whole question.

The death of Gordon, indeed, moved the Prince of Wales profoundly. In common with all Englishmen, he felt keenly the tragic circumstances which had culminated in the fall of Khartoum. He was anxious to do something to repair the harm done to British prestige, and to re-establish the reputation of our arms. When the Gladstonian Ministry was planning an expedition to retake Khartoum and avenge the death of Gordon, the Prince made all arrangements to take the field, and as a soldier to go to Egypt. The expedition was, however, abandoned, and the Prince, much disappointed, was compelled to tread the paths of peace at home. Shortly after this he went to Ireland on the famous visit of 1885.

QUEEN VICTORIA AND THE PRINCE OF WALES AT THE OPENING OF THE ROYAL COURTS OF JUSTICE

CHAPTER XLVIII

EUROPE AFTER THE RUSSO-TURKISH WAR

The Rise of Nihilism in Russia and the Assassination of Tsar Alexander II; the Progress of the Third Republic in France, and the Formation of the Triple Alliance

ON March 3, 1878, the Russo-Turkish War had been brought to a conclusion by the signature of the Treaty of San Stefano. By the terms of this treaty, as has already been seen, Servia, Montenegro, and Roumania became independent States, and Bulgaria was formed into an autonomous tributary Principality, with a Prince chosen by the people and accepted by the Porte with the assent of the Great Powers. In addition, the Porte promised to carry out the necessary reforms, and Russia received certain territorial accessions, partly in lieu of a monetary indemnity. To these terms both Austria and England offered a strenuous opposition. Lord Derby, the Foreign Secretary, insisted that every article of the treaty should be laid before the Congress. The Russian Commander-in-Chief, Gortschakoff, firmly resisted the proposal. Lord Beaconsfield thereupon called out the reserve and summoned troops from India, while Austria prepared to occupy Bosnia, and obtained a vote of sixty million gulden for military purposes. These actions not meeting with the approval of Lord Derby, the Foreign Secretary resigned, and Lord Salisbury took his place. Russia at last consented to the British and Austrian demands, and a Congress was agreed upon. On June 4 a Convention with the Sultan was signed by Lord Beaconsfield, guaranteeing that, provided the Sultan carried out the necessary reforms, Great Britain would oppose all future aggression on the part of Russia; at the same time Cyprus was handed over to Great Britain to be administered and occupied by her until Russia should have restored her Armenian conquests.

On June 13, 1878, the famous Congress met at Berlin, and the treaty, which derives its name from the German capital, was signed on July 13, 1878. Bulgaria north of the Balkans was made an autonomous Principality; Montenegro, Servia, and Roumania were confirmed in their partial independence; Russia acquired Bessarabia and a portion of Armenia; England secured Cyprus; Austria obtained Bosnia and Herzegovina and was allowed to occupy the Novi-Bazar district, thus forcing a wedge between Servia and Montenegro; and France obtained a lien on Tunis. The signature of this treaty marked a new era in the history of Europe. It marked, too, the predominating influence of Prince Bismarck. From that time onward Europe entered upon an era of armed peace. But though the fate of Europe seemed to have been settled for several decades, the German Chancellor still maintained his policy of securing the safety of the Empire by the isolation of France. To that end his diplomacy was almost solely exerted, and five years after the Treaty of Berlin his efforts were crowned by the completion of the Triple Alliance. Before relating the circumstances attending this important event, it is necessary to briefly summarise the immediate effect of the Berlin Treaty on the Near East and Europe.

The terms of the Treaty of Berlin were modified in some particulars during the succeeding years. In Roumania a desire for complete independence was shown. The people clamoured for the management of their own affairs, and, in accordance with their wish, England, France, and Germany gave a formal recognition to their independence in February, 1880. In 1881 Roumania declared herself a kingdom, and selected for her new throne King Charles I. of the German House of Hohenzollern Sigmaringen. Her example was followed in the next year by Servia (1882), the Servians electing a king in the person of Milan I. of the family of Obrenovitch. Unfortunately for the internal peace of the new kingdom, there existed another family with dynastic claims upon the crown, and this fact was destined to lead in future years to the murder of King Milan's successor, Alexander, with his Queen, and the accession of his rival, Peter, the present King of Servia.

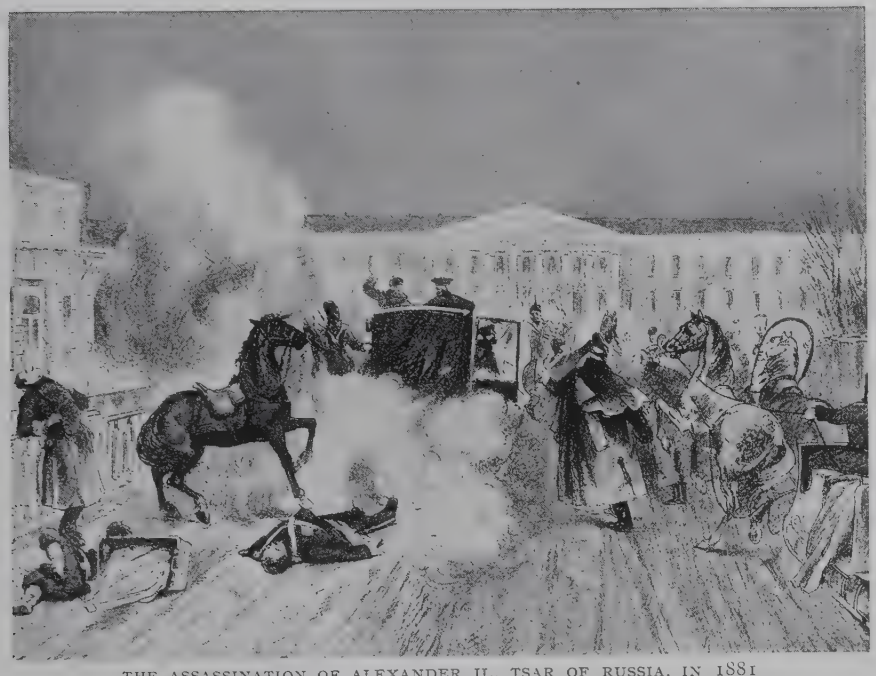
ALEXANDER III., TSAR OF RUSSIA

The father of the present Tsar, Alexander III. ascended the throne of Russia in 1881, after the assassination of his father, Alexander II.

In Bulgaria changes were rapidly effected in the arrangements made under the Berlin Treaty. The division of that country into two provinces separated by the Balkans, the southern of which remained as Eastern Roumelia under the jurisdiction of the Sultan, though ruled by a

Christian governor, while the remainder alone constituted an autonomous Principality, was one which was too artificial to exist. In 1879 Prince Alexander of Battenberg was elected as head of the State. He ruled until 1881, when certain changes were made by means of a democratic Constitution. In the remainder of Bulgaria — Eastern Roumelia — Aleko Pasha was appointed governor by the Sultan. From the first the desire for union between these two mechanically separated States was made apparent. On September 17, 1885, it culminated in a revolution at Philippopolis. The Turkish troops were driven out and everywhere the people rose. Shortly afterwards the union of Bulgaria with Eastern Roumelia, under Prince Alexander, was proclaimed. For some time this change was discountenanced by the Great Powers, but eventually the signatories of the Berlin Treaty gave their consent to an arrangement which had already been accomplished. The other territorial changes marked out by the Berlin Treaty were not effected without some difficulty. Austria was unable to secure her footing in Bosnia until 1881, by which time also Montenegro received the seaport of Dulcigno. The reluctance of the Sultan to part with his territory was shown further in the case of Greece, to which, under the original arrangement, the southern part of Thessaly and Epirus had been ceded. However, this was also carried out in 1881, and for a time the Near East was pacified. But while the smaller Powers were settling down to the new order of things, among the Great Powers considerable restlessness had been displayed. In Russia, the Berlin Treaty had been received with the greatest indignation. The Russian leader, Gortschakoff, referred to it as "the darkest page in his life," and to the Emperor Alexander II. it seemed that Austria had secured without war as much advantage as Russia had obtained at the price of much blood and treasure. Furious with Bismarck, and harbouring military ambitions against Austria, the Tsar broke up the League of the Three Emperors by withdrawing. It seemed that war between Russia and Germany was inevitable. Bismarck countered this danger by seeking an alliance with Austria. In August, 1879, he met Andrássy at Gastein, and on October 15 a secret treaty was signed, which assured to Germany the support of Austria in the event of a war with Russia. But there were other matters which prevented the outbreak of hostilities. Alexander II. had his attention fixed elsewhere than in Europe. Great activity had been displayed by the Russians in Central Asia, and the Government of the Tsar was busily occupied in founding a new Empire beyond the Ural Mountains. Moreover, there were domestic discords which required his attention.

NIHILIST CONSPIRACIES IN RUSSIA: CONDEMNED MEN AND WOMEN ON THE SCAFFOLD



THE ASSASSINATION OF ALEXANDER II., TSAR OF RUSSIA, IN 1881

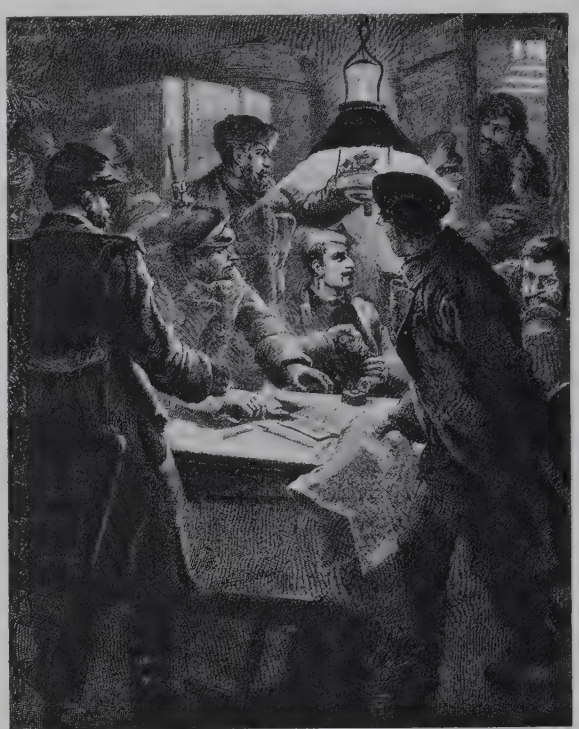
In consequence of the Russian Government's severe repression of the revolutionary movements, the Nihilists determined to have revenge upon the Tsar and his officers, and on March 13, 1881, a bomb was thrown at the Emperor's carriage near his palace in St. Petersburg, Alexander II. being so severely injured that he died a few hours afterwards.

The war with Turkey had left Russia in a state of chaos; the finances were in disorder, peculation was rife, and the whole fabric of the Empire seemed to be shaken. The popular discontent was directed against the person of the Tsar. Already his life had been attempted several times.

On April 16, 1866, he was shot at in his own capital, and in the following year, while on a visit to Paris, another attempt was made by a Pole. The authors of those attempts belonged to an organisation to which the Russian novelist Turgenev had given the name of Nihilists. In 1879 they showed great activity, and, encouraged by the discontent of the people, their secret propaganda made considerable headway. Though Alexander II. had carried out great reforms and had shown himself, as far as was possible, a man of liberal views, his very actions helped towards his own undoing. The introduction of Western ideas, to which he had given his encouragement and support, into a country not sufficiently educated to receive them had fostered to an alarming extent the spread of Nihilist propaganda.

Assassination of Tsar Alexander II

The year after the Berlin Treaty his life was endangered on three occasions, and in each case he was only saved by a miracle. A Nihilist fired a pistol at him, an attempt was made to blow up part of the Winter Palace, and yet another attempt to wreck the train by which he was travelling. Two years later the Nihilists proved only too successful. As the Tsar was passing the bank of the Catherine Canal at St. Petersburg, a hand grenade was thrown under his carriage, and he was killed by the explosion. Of the conspirators five were executed on April 15, 1881. Among their number was Sophia Perovskaya, the daughter of a former governor of St. Petersburg, who, by letting fall a handkerchief, had given the signal to the assassins. The murder of Alexander, who had emancipated the serfs, established a form of local government, and was on the eve of giving a Constitution to his country, strengthened the party of reaction in Russia. The era of political liberty was postponed to another age. Alexander was succeeded by his second son, Alexander III., his eldest son, Nicholas, having died of consumption at Nice in 1865.



THE POLICE SURPRISING A MEETING OF RUSSIAN NIHILISTS

The new reign was inaugurated by a continuance of Nihilist activity, and extreme measures of repression were resorted to by the Government. A small army of police and their attendant spies watched the Tsar whenever he went abroad, and the younger members of the Russian aristocracy formed themselves into a bodyguard for his protection. Private houses were placed under police surveillance, and a careful watch was kept upon the residents and all who went in and out. The stringent Press laws were rigorously enforced, and all liberty of speech was ruthlessly suppressed. At the same time, the anti-Jewish agitation—the almost inevitable partner of reaction—gathered greater force, and, in order to escape from repression, the unfortunate people began to emigrate in large numbers to the United States and Brazil. At the beginning of his reign the Russification of the towns of the Baltic Provinces was begun, and the University of Dorpat, which had existed on a German basis since its foundation in 1801, was turned into a purely Russian seat of learning.

While these events were taking place in other parts of Europe, the Third Republic in France was moving but indifferently on its way. Every day President MacMahon and the Senate, who were monarchical in their views, grew more unpopular. The stringent Press laws were enforced with rigour, and the Government employed its authority to bring pressure to bear upon the electors. The Administration was discredited, and the Monarchists were regarded with distrust and resentment. The Opposition was led by Gambetta, who employed his great oratorical gifts in raising the country against the Government. In 1878 he made a tour through France, denouncing the clericals as dangerous to the Republic, and everywhere he was received with immense favour. The Government, however, held out until 1879, hoping against hope that fate would rescue them from their position. It seemed that chance might yet give them the victory, and that some form of Monarchical Government might be established in France in place of the Republic. Thiers, the great Republican leader, who had rescued France from the difficulties of 1871, had died in September, 1877. In 1878 the International Exhibition was held in Paris, and great hopes were expressed by President MacMahon and his supporters that the brilliant success that attended that function would obliterate the memory of political grievances. But he and they were disappointed. In 1879, according to the law of the Constitution, by which one-third of the members of the Senate were renewed every three years, the senatorial elections took place. Their result was to give the Republicans a majority in the Upper House for the first time, and the fate of the Monarchists was sealed. MacMahon hastened at once to resign, and was succeeded as President by Jules Grévy.

Under President Grévy, Gambetta was elected President of the Chamber, while to the Waddington Ministry, which included Freycinet and other members of the Left, was entrusted the charge of affairs. The first care of the new Government was to settle the long outstanding scores against their political enemies. The members of the Broglie Ministry of 1877 were proceeded against, and by a resolution in both Houses it was declared that they had betrayed the Republic. Another measure which occupied the attention of the Waddington Ministry was the granting of an amnesty to all those who had been condemned under the extra-constitutional powers exercised by MacMahon and his supporters. At the same time the Chambers were removed from Versailles to Paris. The Waddington Ministry were strongly anti-clerical, and, having supplanted and degraded its political opponents, it began that war against religious influence which was to end in the repeal of the Concordat some twenty-five years later. It first directed its attention against the Jesuits. A Bill was introduced by Jules Ferry in June, 1879, which had for its object the removal of all educational responsibilities from the hands of the Society of Jesus. Though opposed by Jules Simon,

France under the Third Republic

KING EDWARD, WHEN PRINCE OF WALES, DELIVERING HIS ONLY SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS, IN 1884

The social welfare of the people was a subject which always lay very near King Edward's heart, and he was ever ready to do what he could to advance the interests of all classes. It was in this spirit that he accepted the presidency of the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Poor, appointed in 1884, and it is worth recording that while this Commission was pursuing its investigations, his Royal Highness paid frequent visits, incognito, to the poorest and most degraded quarters of the metropolis in order to acquire information at first hand. The only speech which King Edward ever delivered in the House of Lords, in February, 1884, was on the subject of the Housing of the Poor—an event illustrated above.

Specially drawn for this work by T. Walter Wilson, R.I.

who had been Premier under MacMahon in 1876, it was carried in the Lower Chamber. Eventually, on Freycinet, one of Gambetta's chief supporters, succeeding Waddington, the Bill became law, and the power of the Jesuits was for a time destroyed.

The strongly Radical views of the new Government were early demonstrated. In the beginning of 1880 the political proscription against Rochefort and Blanqui and other Communists was removed, and they began to exercise considerable influence on public opinion.

Gambetta the hero of the Republic

But Gambetta remained the hero of the Republic. It was he who kept alive the military ambitions of the country, and the apotheosis of his popularity was reached when, on August 9, 1880, he boldly declared that France intended to seize the first favourable occasion to recover Alsace and Lorraine from the hands of the Germans. It was he alone who voiced the real feelings of the nation at the moment, and it was generally felt that he must sooner or later attain to office. In September, 1880, Freycinet resigned, and his place was taken by Jules Ferry. In October, 1881, Ferry also resigned, and Gambetta was at length called upon to form a new Ministry. In that Government he assigned to himself the department of Foreign Affairs.

In France it was thought that the Republic would, in the words of the Duc de Broglie, "now step out." A staunch Republican was at the head of the Government, the last hope of the Bonapartists, the young Prince Imperial, had been killed in Zululand in 1879, and the strongly anti-German views and the energy of the new Premier were well known. But, unfortunately, Gambetta had now to display his talents on a stage to which he was not accustomed, and against an opponent—Prince Bismarck—who was more than his match. His policy was one of adventure. While endeavouring to break the chains of isolation which Bismarck had so carefully drawn round France, he fell into the very trap which the German Chancellor had provided. In drawing up the Treaty of Berlin, Bismarck had given a lien on Tunis to France. His cynically avowed object was "that France in Tunis would mean a lasting quarrel with Italy, and probably an appetite for colonial expansion, which would render friction with England inevitable." True to this prophecy, Gambetta continued the campaign in Tunis which had been begun by his predecessor in 1880. It enhanced the animosity of Italy, who had been accustomed to regard Tunis as offering an opportunity for Italian expansion in Africa. The sympathy between the two countries which had existed for so many years was estranged, and, as the event showed, Italy was driven into the arms of Germany and Austria. At the same time Gambetta was beset with an incoherent dream of vast colonial expansion. Expeditions were sent to Tonquin and Madagascar, but these further demands upon the military resources of the country, while they irritated and estranged the Great Powers, only served to render abortive all hope of France competing single-handed with Germany for the recovery of her lost provinces.

All possibilities of such a war, however, Bismarck was determined to avert, and he skilfully employed the political situation in Europe to that end. In 1881 King Humbert paid a State visit to Vienna, which was followed by a similar visit to Berlin in 1882. In 1883 it was announced that Italy had joined the alliance of Germany and Austria, which had been secretly formed in 1879. The effect of this alliance, which has been renewed from time to time, and still exists to-day, was to complete the isolation of France. The one danger to Bismarck's policy was the possibility of a rapprochement between France and Russia, and to prevent this conjunction Bismarck brought about a meeting of the three Emperors at Skiernevice in September, 1884. Here a secret treaty, the existence of which was not made known to Europe until twelve years later, was signed, by which Germany and Russia promised to preserve a benevolent neutrality towards each other if either should be attacked. Gambetta did not live to see the unhappy fruits of his policy. In 1882 he was accidentally shot, and Freycinet returned to his old position as Premier. The adventurous policy was, however, persisted in, but its continued failure, coupled with the realisation of what the formation of the Triple Alliance implied, excited public opinion in France. Not even the foundation of the French Congo and the occupation of a large extent of territory in Senegal helped to assuage the popular unrest. Everywhere it was repeated that France needed a man who could lead her against her enemies, and that the Republic must have a dictator if she was ever to be firmly and permanently established. It was such sentiments that gave birth to the Boulangist agitation, which is recorded in another chapter.

France in need of a Leader